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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF

MILITARY AND NAVAL AFFAIRS.

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JULY, 1904.

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

SECOND PAPER.

OPERATIONS.

Diplomatic relations between Japan and Russia were broken off on February 6, 1904.

On the same day the Japanese fleet and a number of transports left Sassebo (about twenty miles north of Nagasaki) and Moji (about 100 miles northeast of Nagasaki, on the Inland Sea, near the southern end of Japan proper).

The Japanese fleet comprised six battleships, six armored cruisers, four protected cruisers (the Fakasago, Chitose, Yoshino, and Kasagi), and five divisions of destroyers.

All Corean telegraph lines were interrupted at the same time.

On the following day two large Russian steamers (the Yekaterinoslav and the Argun) were taken by the Japanese in the Strait of Corea, and, later in the evening, the Japanese effected a landing at Fusan and Masampo, on the southeast coast of Corea.

The rapidity of these movements illustrates the advantages of preparedness in troops, material, supplies and plans, which constitutes so important an element in modern warfare.

The Russian main fleet, at the interruption of diplomatic relations, was at Port Arthur, but had several vessels detached in neighboring ports, apparently for purposes of observation, in order to detect and report or to prevent the landing of Japanese troops, and a squadron at Vladivostok.

The main body of the Russian fleet left the inner harbor at Port Arthur (because its narrow entrance permitted the passage of but one ship at a time), and anchored in the open roadstead outside.

Between February 6 and 8 several Russian cruisers made a reconnaissance out to sea, but saw nothing of the enemy.

During the afternoon of February 8 the Koriez, coming out of Chemulpo, ran into a Japanese squadron convoying some transports and fired on the torpedo boats accompanying the squadron. This was apparently the first shot of the war. The torpedo boats fired several torpedoes at the Koriez, but without effect. The Koriez retired to Chemulpo, the inner harbor.

That evening the Japanese effected a landing near Chemulpo, and 2,500 men were sent ashore at once and began their march on Seoul, the capital of Corea, about twenty-five miles inland.

FIRST ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(Night of February 8-9.)

The first attack on Port Arthur was directed against the fleet in the roads, and was mainly a torpedo boat attack.

In leaving the inner harbor the Russian warships gained a position assuring greater freedom of action, but at the same time they exposed themselves to the enemy's attacks, and the Japanese were not slow in taking advantage of their opportunity.

The roadstead at Port Arthur is entirely open toward the sea, and barricades to protect the ships cannot readily be constructed there, while an effective outpost service of cruisers requires a considerable number of such vessels and these were not available. The fact that the usual anchorages were well known to the Japanese, and that the particular anchorage of each ship had been determined by means of spies, also favored their attack.

The Japanese attacking fleet, on approaching Port Arthur, sent out two torpedo flotillas when about fifty to thirty miles from that place, the one to reconnoitre Dalny, the other Port Arthur itself, with instructions to attack the Russian ships if discovered. At Dalny no ships of the enemy were found, but at Port Arthur the main fleet was found. In the night of February 8-9 the First, Second and Third Divisions of Japanese torpedo boats (ten destroyers and a number of smaller boats), supported by the main squadron, made an attack on the Russian fleet in the roads. The outermost outpost, patrol, or scout, the cruiser Pallada, was deceived by the Russian lights carried by the Japanese vessels, and the entire Russian fleet was taken com-

pletely by surprise. The Russian ships had their nets out as a protection against torpedoes, and it is possible they relied too much on this defence, and consequently were not sufficiently on the alert.

The destroyers attacked from two directions; four (the Asashio, Shirakumo, Akatsuki and Kasumi), creeping along the coast, attacked from the west, while the remaining six (the Sazanami, Ikadsuchi, Inazuma, Oboro, Usugumo and Shinonome) delivered a direct attack. All the boats got home, and after delivering their torpedoes, were able to come out of action without loss. Most of the torpedoes were fired at less than 1,000 yards range.

The first torpedo was fired against the Pallada, and struck her amidships. Immediately after, the guns of the Russian ships and forts opened fire, and the Japanese squadron bombarded the Russian vessels at their anchorage. The torpedo attack continued; the Cesarevitch was struck by a torpedo on the stern and the Retvisan in the bow.

The Russian ships were not very seriously damaged, however, as they were all able to retire into the harbor under their own steam.

Nevertheless, this offensive movement on the part of the Japanese considerably improved their chances of securing the sea power so greatly needed for their landing operations.

This first attack was in the nature of a forced reconnaissance, and was designed to be merely preparatory to the main attack which was to follow. It was timed, however, so as to mask the landing of Japanese troops at Chemulpo and the southern ports of Corea.

LANDING OPERATIONS.

It is a well-established principle that, for landing operations beyond sea, a nation must first obtain command of the sea in that vicinity. But in this case Japan did not wait to secure the necessary sea power before beginning the transportation of troops over sea. This is explained by the fact that the distance from Nagasaki to the nearest ports in Corea is so short that the control of the sea for even a day is sufficient to effect a landing. Moreover, the Russian fleet was divided (a part being in Vladivostok, and several vessels detached on observation duty along the Corean coast), so that some time would be required to concentrate it, and even when concentrated, the Japanese fleet would probably be superior. Finally, for political reasons, it was essential that Japan should occupy Corea promptly and secure the person of its Emperor.

Had the Russians, however, established an effective patrol or scouting system, and, after obtaining early information of the Japan-

ese transport fleet, passed around the Japanese fighting squadron and attacked the transports and their covering convoy, the situation for Japan would have been very precarious. Even more serious would have been the position of Japan had the Russian fleet directly attacked the Japanese fleet and beaten it. Indeed, in that case it is quite probable that the war would have been ended, for Russia would have secured command of the sea, and the Japanese army landed in Corea would have been lost.

The success of Japan is mainly due to her general preparedness and her adoption of the *offensive* in the war—two elements which military authority advocates, and the immense advantages of which every modern war emphasises; and yet all recent campaigns illustrate that one or the other of the nations engaged has more or less neglected the former, or failed in adopting promptly the latter.

In all probability the Japanese were aware of the decision of Russia to remain on the *defensive* till superiority at sea and on land should be attained. Moreover, the main Japanese fleet itself probably accompanied the first transports (with their covering squadron), and stood prepared to meet the Russian fleet should it attempt to attack, or else, before the transports set out, it may have come in such close touch with the Russian fleet that it could force the latter to battle before any of the transports could be attacked.

Of course, keeping in touch with the enemy's main fleet would not prevent single cruisers from attacking the transports, but this was provided against by convoying the latter by some of the older, but still effective, cruisers of the Japanese Navy.

The landing operations proceeded as already explained, the main body of the troops at the beginning being landed at Masampo and Fusan, the shortness of the route to be traveled by the transports, and the nearness of the Japanese points of support, making this line of communications the most secure, although the subsequent line of march to the probable theatre of operations would be the longest. A portion of the field army, however, was landed at Chemulpo, in dangerous proximity to Port Arthur, but more favorable for the march on Seoul, the first objective. About 8,000 men were landed at this point and immediately took up the march for Seoul, where they intrenched themselves and took possession of the capital and government of Corea, and secured the person of the Emperor.

The convoying squadron, under Rear Admiral Uriu (comprising the Asama, Naniva, Takachiko, Chioda, Akashi and Suma or Nittoka, and six torpedo boats), found the Russian warships Variag and Koriez in the harbor of Chemulpo, and directed them to leave, and

on their way out engaged them in a combat lasting some four hours. The Russian vessels attempted to retire through the archipelago back to the port of Chemulpo, but were put out of action by the Japanese, who blew up one, while the other (practically a wreck) fell into their hands as a prize, both vessels having been abandoned by their crews.

The Japanese also suffered; the Asama was damaged in her forward turret, and the Takachiko and a torpedo boat were seriously damaged. The Russian steamer Sungari, in the port, was burned by her crew.

At Masampo it is probable that the Japanese convoying squadron also captured the Russian gunboat Rasboinik, which had been detached there in observation.

The full description of the landing operations, when the data connected therewith are all available, will be of exceptional interest to the military world, since such operations on a large scale are comparatively rare in history, and concern all nations with an extended seaboard. Such landings are particularly interesting to nations with an island empire, like England, or which are far removed over sea from other important nations, as is the case with the United States. In future wars between nations possessing navies such landing operations will undoubtedly be combined with the advance of the land armies.

As regards the Russian Army, the Viceroy of the Far East, Admiral Alexieff, who had been placed in supreme command of all the forces, land and naval, in that region, was authorized on February 6, to mobilize and put on a war footing the troops of his command, including the personnel of the fleet, to call in all reserves of the army and navy, and to requisition the horses required for the troops. The orders to effect this mobilization were issued at once, Port Arthur and Vladivostok, as well as the territory traversed by the East China Railroad, were declared to be in a state of siege, and four regiments and three batteries of the Trans-Baikal troops were mobilized without delay.

On February 10 the Third Siberian Army Corps was formed, and placed under the orders of General Stessel, commanding at Port Arthur, and four regiments of Trans-Baikal cossacks were united to form the Trans-Baikal Cossack Division, attached thereto.

These were to be the advanced troops of the Russian Army. Vice Admiral Alexieff established his headquarters at Port Arthur.

As early as February 4 these regiments of Siberian infantry and most of the field artillery were sent from Port Arthur to the Yalu River, and four Siberian regiments in cantonment at Kaiyuen (about

forty miles north of Mukden) were ordered to replace them at Port Arthur. A 'regiment of Ural cossacks also arrived at Port Arthur.

In the advanced position beyond the Yalu (between Wiju and Anju) the important strategic position at the bay of Sunchun was fortified and occupied by 3,000 men.

SECOND ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(Morning of February 9.)

The second attack on Port Arthur was in reality the main attack, for which the first were merely preparatory. It took place in the morning, immediately following the first or preparatory attack.

At daybreak the light cruiser division of the Japanese appeared before Port Arthur, and at 10.30 A. M. took up a position in semicircular formation, in observation of the harbor, ready to engage the Russian main squadron should it decide to come out.

The advance of the Japanese fleet was observed and reported by the signal stations on the coast, and by the ships of the Russian squadron. The latter comprised five battleships, five cruisers and fifteen torpedo boats under Vice Admiral Stark and Rear Admiral Prince Ouktomsky.

The Russian forts opened on the Japanese squadron at long range, but failed to make any impression on it. The Russian ships still intact then weighed anchor and succeeded in driving the Japanese vessels away. The latter retired to the main squadron, and the Russian ships then returned to the protection of the fort guns, the Japanese following with their entire fleet, numbering sixteen ships, and opening an energetic fire at about 5,500 yards, which was answered by the Russian ships and forts. The Russian torpedo boats were kept on the right flank of the squadron during the entire action, at about ten or fifteen cable lengths.

The main target of the Japanese ships was the Russian squadron, but the former did not approach to close range, on account of the fire from the forts. The coast batteries were also fired on by the Japanese, especially Battery No. 13, on the Golden Mountain, No. 15, on the Electric Rock, and Nos. 17 and 18.

The firing was very severe, and lasted about three-quarters of an hour. The Russian ships Poltava, Diana, Askold and Novik, and the Japanese vessels Mikasa, Fuji, Iwate, Yakumo, a small cruiser, and two torpedo boats were more or less injured, but none seriously.

The attack was broken off toward noon, and the Japanese fleet retired southward. The Russian ships did not pursue, but withdrew

.nto the inner harbor and began making repairs on the damaged vessels.

The Japanese utilized the interval to inspect their ships, transport the wounded and make repairs.

On February 10 the Russian cruiser squadron ran out of Vladivostok, and on the 11th destroyed the Japanese steamer Nakamura Maru in the Tsagaru Strait, between the Japanese islands of Yesso and Hondo.

On the night of February 10-11 the Russian torpedo flotilla made a reconnaissance out to sea from Port Arthur, but without result.

This second attack on Port Arthur was made in the true spirit of the *offensive* in war, that is, the incessant disturbance of the enemy by repeated attacks, to take from him all initiative, and to compel him to remain on the defensive.

By repeated energetic advances against the Russian fleet in the harbor the security of Chemulpo as a landing place for the troops was insured, and at the same time the highest duty of the Japanese fleet (the effort to destroy the Russian fleet) was being carried out, and this under the most favorable circumstances, namely, the attack of a fleet blockaded in its own harbor.

The fact that the Russians, after the attack, failed to pursue the Japanese ships and keep in touch with them was a violation of a well-known principle which applies in naval warfare as well as in land wars. To lose sight of the enemy in this way means continual danger of being surprised by him.

The Russians, by their purely *defensive* attitude, simplified the problem for the Japanese to obtain command of the sea considerably, and this command will be all the more complete if the Japanese succeed in their efforts against the Russian fleet.

THIRD ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(Night of February 13-14.)

The Russians meanwhile were employed in laying mines in the bay of Talienwan. On February 11, while engaged in this work, the Russian mine-laying steamer Yenessei was sunk by running on one of her own mines, and on the 12th the Russian cruiser Boyarin was damaged by striking one of the torpedoes laid by the Yenessei, a storm on the evening of the 11th having washed the mines from their moorings.

On the night of February 13-14 the Japanese made another torpedo boat attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, but a heavy snowstorm came up and put an end to their efforts. There were nine

torpedo boats in the attack, but only two got home, namely, the Asagiri and Hayatori, and only one, the Asagiri, succeeding in torpedoing an enemy, either a dispatch boat or the Boyarin, although not dangerously.

FURTHER EVENTS AT SEA.

(February 15-23.)

The Japanese were also busily engaged in commerce destroying, and their control of the sea enabled them to accomplish more in this direction than the Russians.

On February 15 the Manchuria, a large steamer of the East-Asiatic Company, with large supplies of war material for Port Arthur, was captured and taken into Sassebo, and on the 16th the cruiser Takao took the steamers Bovrik and Vadeshda, of the Okotsk-Kampskatka Company, at Hakodate, at the southern end of the island of Yesso.

The Japanese fleet was meanwhile increased in strength by the arrival of the large cruisers Nishin and Kasuga, purchased in Genoa. At Singapore these vessels were met by their crews, arriving by steamer from Japan, and arrived at Yokosuka, near the mouth of Tokio Bay, on February 16. They arrived in such good condition that, after a delay of only thirty-six hours for coaling and completing their equipment, they were able to join the fleet.

Further additions to the Japanese fleet were secured by the purchase from Chili of the small armored vessel, the Captain Prat, the cruiser Chacabuco (a sister ship of the Japanese Fakasago), and the large torpedo boat Almirante Condell. Moreover, the taking of the Corean merchant fleet added five steamers to the Japanese transport fleet.

The Russians, on the other hand, have suffered other losses to their fleet, due to various causes.

The gunboat Sivutsh was frozen in at Newchwang, and dismounted one of its guns to strengthen the armament of the land forts there.

The gunboat Mandchur, which was at Shanghai on the outbreak of the war, was blockaded there by two Japanese vessels cruising in front of the mouths of the Yangtse River, one of which, the Akitsushima, on the 21st, went up to Wusung, where the Mandchur would be compelled to pass in going out, and could therefore be reported to the other vessel outside. But, in the meantime, on the 19th, China had commanded the Mandchur to leave the harbor, but not wishing

to fall into the enemy's hands, it declined to do this, and consequently was compelled to disarm.

The Japanese main squadron had, meanwhile, sent out the first cruiser division, including the Yakumo, Iwate, Azuma and Idzumo, strengthened by the battleship Hatsuse, under the command of Admiral Kamimura, to search for the Vladivostok squadron. This division arrived at Fusan on February 20, as the result of its reconnaissance that the Russian squadron had returned to Vladivostok.

The Russian reserve squadron, including the Osiliabia, Dimtri Dowski, Aurora, three steamers of the Volunteer Fleet, and several torpedo boats, under Admiral Wirenius, on their way through the Red Sea to the theatre of operations, received orders to return homeward, and on February 23 two had passed through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean, and on the 24th the others followed.

OPERATIONS ON LAND.

The first landings effected by the Japanese between the 7th and 9th of February comprised only the advanced troops, which were charged with particular preparatory duties, such as the securing possession of the government of Corea, the telegraph lines, debarkation places, cantonments, points of support, etc.

As soon as Japan found that she could keep the Russian fleet in Port Arthur, Chemulpo was selected as the principal landing place. At the outbreak of the war Japan had mobilized the First, Second, Twelfth and the Guard Divisions, and these were the first troops transported to Corea. By February 22 the Twelfth Division had been landed at Chemulpo, and the Second and the Guard were to follow; in Gensan (on the Gulf of Corea) 12,000 men had been landed; and at Masampo and Fusan unknown numbers.

On February 12, the Third and Sixth Divisions were mobilized, and about a week later a transport for landing these troops on the peninsula of Liaotang was put in readiness.

The troops landed in Chemulpo were assembled at Seoul, and on February 23 took the main road for Ping Yang, the latter having been occupied on the 24th by a Japanese force sent by sea from Chemulpo to Ping Yang Inlet (Tai Tong Bay).

On the Russian side, it appears that the Third Siberian Army Corps was pushed out on the main road toward Fengwangchang, and took up a defensive position on the right bank of the Yalu River along the great road from Wiju to Antong, and rapidly threw out advanced troops (the Trans-Baikal Cossack Brigade), supported by infantry subdivisions, to Ping-Yang.

On February 19, the Russian scouts at Chungjo (about twenty-five miles west of Anju) reported that they had not encountered the Japanese, and that the latter are not yet in Ping-Yang. The Yalu was still frozen over at this time, but the ice will not bear troops below Shaketse. The west coast of the Lian-tang peninsula was still covered with ice.

COMMENTS.

The effects of the first two weeks of the war between Russia and Japan are likely to be far-reaching. Russia's Navy has been sorely crippled, and was in a fair way of being totally destroyed.

As regards the two navies, though they were well matched as regards ships and armaments, the Japanese had a decided advantage over the Russians. Particularly the whole of the Japanese Navy was the growth of recent years, and, with a few minor exceptions, Japan had no vessels in her Navy to which the word obsolete could be held to apply. This was by no means the case with Russia. Turning from ships to personnel, there is really no comparison between the two Powers. The Russian naval officer is of fair average ability, it is true, but he by no means reaches the level of the corresponding ranks in most of the other of the great European Powers. It is when rank and file comes to be compared, however, that Japan's advantage becomes so manifest, for the Russian sailor reaches a very low standard of intelligence.

The Japanese naval officer has been well trained, as was proven in the war with China. Quite a number of them are graduates of the United States Naval Academy, and others have studied and received their training in the navies of other nations, particularly in that of Great Britain, so that they have all the initiative, the ingenuity, and the energy of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Even in this early part of the war in the Far East, there is one broad lesson written plainly on the face of the operations which no one can misread: that lesson is that *the policy of a country cannot safely be divorced from the military preparations which it implies.* The Russians, however, violated this principle, in that they did not keep pace in their military preparations with the diplomatic firmness which they maintained.

"The conduct of the operations so far by the Japanese offers a marked contrast to the Russian unpreparedness. They knew what they intended, and their staff prepared for every eventuality; the plans were ready, the blows followed suddenly and decisively, and there

appears to have been a satisfactory co-operation between the land and sea services. So far, the Navy has been mostly in evidence, and we can only say that, if its efficiency is paralleled by that of the Army, the military campaign is likely to proceed with much smoothness and singleness of purpose, though necessarily with no rapidity comparable to that attained by the Navy. The mobilization of the Japanese forces in 1900 was a remarkable piece of work, and was carried out as though the whole of the Army was mobilizing, and the forces in the field won the admiration of all observers. The same is reported to have been the case at the present time. Their transport, their hospital arrangements, and all the details of their Army organization seemed to qualified observers to leave little to desire, but they have since improved. It would, of course, be unwise to attempt to forecast the result of the military operations which are now beginning. The Japanese have not been tested in long-continued operations of war. They have never suffered serious disaster, and it remains to be seen whether in misfortune the people have that reserve of national strength which will enable them to confront the losses and misfortunes of war. The qualities they have shown do, however, give some reason to think that they will not be found wanting in this respect.

"The Russian unpreparedness has so far been manifested mostly in naval things, in which there seems to have been professional incompetence right through. It must, however, be remembered, in explanation of this, that the Russians, unlike the Japanese, are not a seafaring people. They are a great military people, possessing a vast and well-organized Army, with chiefs of distinguished ability and high repute. The result will not, however, be decided merely by the numbers of the Army, but by the force they can bring to bear at the essential points, and at the present time their forces seem very inadequate, while their centre of military gravity is in Europe. The strength of a chain depends upon its weakest link, and the single line of rails, which is the means of communication between European Russia and the Far East, is peculiarly vulnerable and is likely to be attacked. The uncertainty which attends the railway and telegraphic communications dictated the withdrawal of Admiral Alexeieff's headquarters to Harbin. We do not, however, think that the advance into Korea has been abandoned. It will be imperilled, however, if the Japanese are able to approach the line of Russian communications between Mukden and the lower reaches of the Yalu."—*Army and Navy Gazette.*

"In estimating Japan's success in this land campaign, too much

importance need not be attached to Russia's overwhelming superiority in numbers. There is a point when an army must fail by the very reason of its own size. To feed a military force of a million men, and to keep them supplied with all the thousand and one requirements of a campaign, is a task approaching the impossible. Moreover, the Russian transport and supply department is not the strongest part of its Army. Where Japan is likely to be at a disadvantage is its want of cavalry. The Japanese Army is very deficient in mounted troops, and such as it does possess are rather poorly horsed. Russia, on the other hand, has ample cavalry at its command, and the Cossacks, in particular, are among the most dangerous military horsemen in the world. Their style of fighting may be a peculiar one, and, judged from a western standpoint, an unorthodox one, but there can be small doubt of its effectiveness."—*Military Mail.*

The officers of the Japanese Army have many of them been thoroughly trained. Their military schools have largely been conducted by German officers, many of whom have been giving their time and attention to the Japanese military academies and other training schools for about nine years past. Moreover, in their highest military school, the War College, at Tokio, one of the greatest living authorities on tactics, General Meckel (then Major), of the German Army, worked for four years (from 1885 to 1889) as instructor and advisor. It was he that reorganized the Japanese Army, and introduced Kriegsspiel and General Staff rides and journeys. General Meckel was succeeded by three other prominent German officers, who afterwards became general officers.

These are the main features of the compaign so far as the incomplete information allows them to be presented. The great error of Russia in having her fleet divided at the outbreak of the war, the two principal parts separated by over a thousand miles, and with a number of vessels detached, especially so valuable a warship as the Variag three hundred miles away at Chemulpo, forced the Russian fleet to the defensive, and naturally led to disaster. On the other hand, the success of Japan in this opening period was due to her initiative and her preparedness.

As regards the campaign on land, the Russians began their concentration on the Yalu River, which, with the Tumen River forms the boundary of Manchuria and Corea, and established a temporary base at Liao-Yang, on the railroad just south of Mukden. The Japanese, on the other hand. effected their first concentration at Seoul, connected by rail with Chemulpo.

The Japanese had three courses of action open to them in their land campaign:

First, after landing their main forces in Corea, to attack the Russians massed on the Yalu.

Secondly, to send a containing force against the Yalu, and then attempt to throw their main army across the railroad line to the rear of Port Arthur, at Newchwang or its vicinity.

Thirdly, to send a containing force against the Russians on the Yalu, and then attempt to outflank the Russians on their left with the main army, pressing on against the railway line.

The last promises the greatest results, but requires a march of about 200 miles through very difficult country.

A CRUISE ON THE CONSTITUTION.

By Benjamin F. Stevens.

(Concluded.)

As the Constitution was slowly drifting along towards the port of Manila somewhat before daylight, or rather as the light began to appear, we found ourselves nearly surrounded by a squadron of European men-of-war, say twelve or fifteen, but whether British, French, Spanish or otherwise, could not be ascertained. As we had been a number of months without hearing from home, any guess as to our surroundings was as good as another, but the look about them was in the eyes of some of the old salts on bard unmistakably English. One of the floating vessels bore an Admiral's pennant, afterwards ascertained to be the flag of Sir Thomas Cochrane, in command of the China Squadron. The others were frigates, sloops and brigs. They had evidently paid a visit to Manila and were making their way to some port in the Pacific. As a matter of precaution the Constitution—the favorite ship of our Navy—was got ready for action, or rather put in a state of defense; it would never have done in any event to give up "Old Ironsides" to any other nation than the one which built her and had fought her.

The officers and crew were at their stations, the wind was a dead calm, watch fires were lighted, the magazines opened and every preparation was made to show that we did not mean to give up the ship without a struggle or show of defense. And thus things went on from the discovery of the drifting fleet until the time came round to make ourselves known, when the Star Spangled Banner was hove to the breeze, or what little of it there was, and the flag of Old England became unfurled at the masts of our neighbors.

After a short delay a boat put off from the Admiral's ship and approached the Constitution, and a young officer climbed the side of our ship and stepped on to the frigate's deck. Captain Percival, who was waiting with the first lieutenant, Amasa Paine, of Providence, R. I., to receive him, said, "Is it peace or war?" "Why, peace to be sure." Then the captain of the Yankee ship and the lieutenant of the English steamer shook hands and left for the cabin, where, I think—in fact I know—that they hobnobbed a bit

before getting to business. "Captain," said the English lieutenant, "ever since we left Manila ten days ago we have been drifting our lives away. Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane has an idea that you are loaded with provisions. Will you help us to a part, to be repaid to you at Honolulu, as, if we are pressed, we have not enough provisions to last ten days longer, while if you can help us we will shower down blessings on your head?"

Instead of a fight there was a merrymaking; all hands turned to and helped stow away the provisions from the American frigate to the English ships, at the close of which the English ships saluted us, and we separated, mutually pleased with each other.

Among the many acquaintances we made that day was the owner of a distinguished name, that of the son of the famous novelist, Captain Maryatt, afterwards lost in the Mediterranean.

MANILA.

This city is the capital of the Spanish possessions in the East. It is beautifully situated at the foot of a beautiful bay into which a river empties and on which the city is founded. Manila proper is a walled city, having its portcullises and drawbridges at every entrance, though generally speaking the country round for a few miles is called by that name. There are but few handsome buildings here, with the exception of the cathedrals and governor's house. Most of the convents are overgrown with moss and have quite an antiquated appearance, and may be considered relics of a former century. Without the walls there is a large cigar factory belonging to the Spanish government, where all the Manila cigars are made. I visited this and saw 9,000 girls of all ages at work upon tobacco. Some were very pretty, but they kept up such a confounded chatter and din that I was very glad to get into the open air again.

The amusements of the Spanish residents are riding, theatricals and music. At vespers every evening may be seen hundreds of "calisas" through and around the city, filled with fair occupants, and until a late hour in the evening this scene remains a gay one. It is in fact the only time the Spanish ladies are out. Every Thursday and Saturday evenings the bands perform in front of the palace, and I must confess that I have never heard better music in my life.

Most of the shopkeepers in Manila are Chinese, though their stores and articles are arranged upon the European plans. This class of people form quite a body and are numbered at several thousands. About 7,000 soldiers are retained here. They are mostly natives

and Malays, and are fine-looking men. After enjoying a visit of several days we left on the 20th for the Sandwich Islands.

On the 25th we came in sight of the Bashu group and were surprised to find traces of European customs there. We stood off and on for several days, filled up our water and purchased live stock, etc., of some Spaniards who had formed a colony there dependent upon Manila. Upon the 27th we bent our course for the Pacific, and then began our weary journey of 5,000 miles. To this date (November 12th) we have had a quick passage, though in some respects a disagreeable one.

On the 19th of October and 2nd of November we were in the midst of severe gales of wind. On the 2nd also we crossed the 180th degree of longitude, consequently had two Sundays come together.

On the 16th of November we anchored in the harbor of Honolulu, Island of Oahu.

HONOLULU.

It being Sunday when we arrived, we found everything as still and quiet as could be—not a boat was seen in the harbor and the very whaleships appeared possessed with the spirit of quietness. During our stay I had many opportunities of visiting the town, though I cannot say that I was much pleased with its appearance. It is about the size of South Boston—does not contain any beautiful buildings, though the scenery around it is exceedingly grand. Were it not for this latter the place would be unworthy of note. It is the great depot of the Pacific for whalers to refresh and repair in—in fact, were it not for this portion of the commerce of the world, but little good would result to Oahu and the other islands of the group. There are about twenty-three American families residing here, besides a few English and French, and the business is entirely in the hands of the foreign residents; in fact, the councillors and advisers of the King are selected from this class of the people, many of whom have taken the oath of allegiance to the Hawaiian Government. There are six of these islands altogether under one government, two of which, besides Oahu, viz., Owyhu and Mowee, are becoming of importance for the advantages they offer to those engaged in the whale fishery. Besides this they are the stopping place of many vessels crossing the Pacific to the East Indies, though the present policy of the merchants with regard to prices is calculated to render them gradually of less importance. The most common article of American manufacture cannot be purchased here unless at an advance of from 1 to 200 per

cent. on the cost, while the duty upon all articles is but 5 or 10 per cent. Most people traveling and who are desirous of purchasing clothing cheap look to the Sandwich Islands, where our own countrymen reside, to enable them to lay out their money to the best advantage. Many of us did so, but alas! in buying only necessary articles we were satisfied of the great imposition practiced. With regard to the people, in consequence of the severe laws enacted through the instrumentality of foreign missionaries and those who have lately become subjects of His Majesty, they are gradually decreasing in number and will in a few short years be entirely swept away. From what I have observed and learned from others, I should judge their condition to be far worse now than it was thirty years since, when Christians had not secured a foothold among them. They appear mild and well disposed, though I am informed they are extremely indolent; perhaps much of this latter is caused by the circumstance that much of their labor would be devoted, under the present system, to the King and chiefs. Again, they see foreigners purchasing lands around them and inch by inch taking from them the soil upon which God in His mercy placed them. So far has this latter been carried that many natives have petitioned the King not to permit foreigners to buy any land, and have even asked that he will put away his foreign advisers. Between the foreign residents generally and the missionaries, who are backed by the council of the King, a hostility exists as regards the policy pursued by the latter in Christianizing and civilizing these poor natives. Of late years the conduct of the missionaries regarding their treatment of the Catholics has met with much animadversion, and I should judge that it was well deserved. Sending fanatics to a far country in the midst of a native race like this is not the way to make Christians of them. Had they introduced industry, energy and enterprise among the natives, these islands would have become ere this a perfect paradise, but instead they went with the Bible in one hand and a rod in the other.

At Honolulu we received orders to repair with the least possible delay to the Mexican coast in anticipation of a war with that power. Accordingly, on the 2nd of December, after having taken on board six months' provisions, we left and steered our course for Monterey.

Not finding the American squadron at Monterey, California, as we had hoped, we sailed southerly, and reached Mazatlan, in Mexico, where we found a fleet of thirteen men-of-war of different classes, headed by the frigate Savannah of fifty-two guns, commanded by Commodore John D. Sloat, under orders to act in concert with General Zachary Taylor, who was in command of the land forces. Here the

Constitution remained until the early part of May, 1846, as a permanent attachment to the squadron of Commodore Sloat, until orders were given us to sail for home by way of Valparaiso, Chili, and Cape Horn. The day we left Mexico for home General Taylor I think fought the battle of El Molino del Rey, or King's Mills. You may be sure that there was no looking back as we wended our way out of the harbor of Mazatlan, where we had left our brother tars to remain, no one knew how long, before orders would come to them to start for home; but when we did give a glance backward we were too far away to be discerned with the most powerful of glasses. Our main deck was a scene of jollity till late that night, for there was a brilliant moon the night of the battle of El Molino del Rey, athough we knew not that it had been fought till afterwards.

And our crew, who had been from home since November, 1843, made the welkin ring that first night off their homeward trip, and the old, old toast of "Sweethearts and Wives" echoed from the lips of as stalwart a crew as ever trod the deck of an American man-of-war on their return to their native land and the home of their adoption.

And there were many good voices, too, in that hardy crew which tolled out the old and new sea songs of every sort and fashion, particularly that beautiful ditty, "As we sailed along the lowlands, lowlands, low, as we sailed along the lowlands, low." And so we wended our course southerly towards the famous old Spanish city, Valparaiso, the great commercial port of Chili.

This harbor is known as the scene of the battle between the U. S. frigate Essex and two British ships of superior force in our war with Great Britain in 1812-14, when the Essex was captured by the two British vessels in violation of the neutrality of the port. David Porter, the commander of the ill-fated Essex, was born in Boston February 1, 1780, and died in Pera, Turkey, March 28, 1843, to which country he had been sent as U. S. Minister. He was one of the bravest naval officers in the War of 1812-14, and he became so noted for his destruction of British commerce in the Pacific ocean that Great Britain did not hesitate to adopt any means in its power to capture him; hence the violation of a neutral port. Captain Porter and the remains of his crew were promised safe convoy from Valparaiso round the Horn to New York by the senior officer of the Pacific Station, but whose word was broken, in consequence of which when off Long Island Porter escaped to the shore and landed in the town of Babylon. His career was a most honorable one and full of incident. In 1803 he was captured in the frigate Philadelphia, and remained a

long time prisoner in Tripoli. His son, David D. Porter, became an Admiral of the Navy and succeeded Admiral Farragut.

Another American, William Wheelright, born in Newburyport, Mass., in 1798, died in London in September, 1873. Early in his manhood he commanded a trading vessel on the west coast of America, and in 1829 he established a line of passenger vessels between Valparaiso and other ports. In 1835 he planned a line of steamers which resulted in 1838 in the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, still in successful trade. In 1842 he suggested and built a railway from Santiago to Valparaiso, and for many years later did more to develop Chili than any other man. His statue was erected in the Balsa (Merchants' Exchange) in Valparaiso, where it now remains as one of the most honored testimonials which could be given to a beloved citizen of the United States.

The Chilians are a race of people nearer in character to our own hardy sons of the soil than those of some other South American republics; hence the friendliness of the two nations is noticeable.

We left Valparaiso in the midst of a salvo of artillery from the fort, which was returned by "Old Ironsides" as she slowly moved out of the beautiful harbor accompanied by the music of our full band. In open sea we pointed for Cape Horn, having good weather until we rounded it on July 4, 1846, in a driving snowstorm. We passed into the South Atlantic Ocean and made for Rio de Janeiro, which we had left more than two years before for Madagascar in company with the French man-of-war sloop Berceau, which was fated to be wrecked on the wild coast of that island, after "Old Ironsides" had reached her home in safety. Not one soul was saved from the Berceau, while but twenty-seven of our entire crew passed over the borderland. Strange is the lot of those "who go down to the sea in ships." We can at least spare a tear to the memory of those with whom we sailed in company across an ocean of thousands of miles, whom we met again at Zanzibar and Madagascar, but now whose bones are whitening at the bottom of the ocean, while we had sailed in security and returned home in joy to our dear ones.

Our second, or return visit to the beautiful city of Rio, was an exceedingly pleasing one, for Mr. Henry A. Wise was still our Minister to Brazil, and with his family living only a short distance from the busy haunts of the city, received and entertained us right royally. But war with Mexico had been declared and several battles on her soil had been fought, and the coffee vessels, to the number of sixteen, were detained in Rio awaiting naval protection from the United States when the Constitution hove in sight to be their convoy home.

So we took in provisions and water for a sixty days' trip, and in a few days, bidding our friends farewell, we started for Boston, the home of "Old Ironsides." The passage was a very excellent one; we sailed day and night surrounded by these sixteen coffee vessels under a code of signals until we reached the Delaware breakwater, when the captain gave the signal to separate, and such a scattering we never saw before. The convoy arrived safely at their different destinations, and the Constitution turned her face toward Boston, before reaching which we picked up, dismasted, with the loss of her captain and nineteen men in a severe gale which threw her on her beam ends, the U. S. brig Washington, of the survey service. Captain Bache, in command of this unfortunate brig, who was drowned September 8, 1846, was a descendant of Benjamin Franklin, our great philosopher and statesman.

On Sunday, September 27, 1846, "Old Ironsides" arrived in Boston Harbor, having sailed 55,000 miles and visited more than twenty-five foreign ports and places, mostly in the tropics, with many of which we established commercial relations and terms of amity. Another important matter was ascertained and carried into effect by Captain Percival, viz., that the ration of food allowed for the crew was at the time "Old Ironsides" made this trip around the world (from 1844 to 1846) probably the most liberal of any nation, for soon after we sailed from home the question was put to the crew if they would consent to subsist each mess of twelve persons upon nine men's rations, which was unanimously accepted, the difference to be paid to each mess. Accordingly Captain Percival suggested that the writer should keep account of this fund and any other money which might be added during the cruise, and paid over to the sailors as they desired. And during the entire cruise of the Constitution the account was faithfully kept. This course served to keep the crew in funds from the beginning to the end of their terms of service, besides establishing the important fact of the extreme liberality of the ration allowed by the government.

On Monday, September 28, 1846, we were towed to the Charlestown Navy Yard and surrendered into the hands of the government, and here ends the "Cruise of 'Old Ironsides' Around the World."

*CONFEDERATE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO FORT SUMTER.**

WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTES BY MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

THE subjoined extracts from the archives of South Carolina relating to the demand for the surrender of Fort Sumter by the rebels, their preparations for its capture, and its subsequent defence by them, have not been published. They are taken from the official records of the Executive Council of the State, which still remain in the state-house at Columbia, though in a mutilated condition, a great number of the leaves having been torn out.

The extracts extend from January 5 to April 10, 1861, and consist of resolutions and decisions of the Council and correspondence with its agents and other persons at Washington and Montgomery, Alabama, during that period, including four letters from Jefferson Davis. We have also the minutes of an important council of war, held September 29, 1862.

(1) These papers show that the Executive Council recognized the fact that either the surrender of Fort Sumter or a refusal to attempt to succor it made secession an accomplished fact. It was therefore a vital point, in its judgment, to obtain possession of the fort, either by its surrender or by its capture, during Buchanan's administration, believing—and with good reason, as the sequel showed—that Lincoln would not in that case attempt to recover the fort or invade the State to assert the Federal authority, and that secession would thus be fully achieved.

(2) Governor Pickens justifies the immediate seizure of the fort in a letter to Howell Cobb, President of the Provisional Congress, of the 13th of February, 1861, on that view of the subject. He says, "Mr. Buchanan cannot resist, because he has not the power; Mr. Lincoln may not attack, because the cause of the quarrel will have been or may be considered by him as past." To secure the surrender the Council sent Colonel Hayne to Washington to organize the pressure upon Buchanan, but succeeded only in effecting the compromise proposed by him through John Tyler's telegram of the 9th of February, by which it was proposed that "no reinforcements should be furnished or attempted by the government upon an assurance that no attack will be

*Reprinted from first series of UNITED SERVICE.

made on Fort Sumter by South Carolina."* This was not satisfactory to the Council, but as it enabled the rebels to erect batteries to command the fort and all approaches to it without molestation, and was recommended by Jefferson Davis (whose counsel had been sought by the Governor) in his letter of the 20th of January, it was acquiesced in. It looks, indeed, as if the course of the Administration as well as that of the rebels was dictated by Davis, for he says the arrangement put things in the best possible condition for the rebels, because they needed all the time it gave them for civil organization and military preparation.

(3) The result showed that Pickens reasoned rightly and that Davis was wrong, for we now know that if he had taken the fort as he proposed Buchanan would have acquiesced, because he did acquiesce in the firing upon and driving off of the Star of the West, sent with provisions to the fort, and because Holt, his Secretary of War, expressly instructed Major Anderson to permit the rebels to go on building the batteries to command the fort and its approaches, by which it was afterwards captured.† The permission given to commit these acts of war fully justified Pickens in saying that Buchanan could not resist the capture of the fort itself, for that was the object and ultimate effect of the acts of war which he not only did not resist, but which Holt's instructions to Anderson actually authorized. And Pickens was equally right in his judgment that Lincoln would not have attempted to recover the fort if it had been captured in Buchanan's time. The vote of his whole Cabinet, myself alone excepted, upon the question submitted by him in writing on the 15th of March, 1861, namely, "whether, assuming it to be possible now to provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances, is it wise to attempt it?" is conclusive on this point; for, as these gentlemen then voted for the surrender of the fort when, as the question assumed, it could be relieved, and his premier prevented any attempt being made to succor it for more than six weeks after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, and when, finally, the President did resolve to make the attempt through his minister to Portugal, immediately telegraphed the President's decision to Governor Pickens, so as to have the fort taken before the succor arrived, and surreptitiously withdrew from the expedition the vessel chiefly relied on to effect the relief, and

*A formal agreement to the same effect was made by Holt and Toucey, Secretaries of War and Navy, with Mallory, Secretary Confederate Navy, on the 29th January, 1861, in reference to Fort Pickens. See this document, p. 355 Records of the Rebellion, series 1, vol. i.

†See permission given in letter of 23d February, so to place a floating battery, p. 182 Records of the Rebellion, series 1, vol. i.

thus foiled the attempt, it is certain that no effort would have been made to recover the fort by the Lincoln Administration if it had been taken in Buchanan's time.

(4) The question presented by Mr. Lincoln on the 15th of March was therefore in fact whether secession should be acquiesced in, and Mr. Seward and those voting with him, voted in the affirmative, and his letter of the 10th of April to Mr. Adams (Diplomatic Correspondence of 1861, p. 58) shows the grounds of this action. He there makes the extraordinary statement that the President is not "disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs (the rebels), namely, that the Federal government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience, but in fact willingly accepts it as true," and adds that the only legal mode to secure the return of these States to the Union is by the call of a national convention, "in which the organic law can, if it be needful, be revised so as to remove all real obstacles to a *re*union." It is manifest that it was from the author of this letter that the Confederate commissioners got the assurance sent to Pickens by them that the fort would be delivered up.

(5) Hence it appears, *first,* that the whole responsibility for the war rests on those who failed to reinforce and provision Fort Sumter. South Carolina, "the head and front" of the Rebellion, and the only State which could be brought to inaugurate the war upon the Union, did not dare to strike that blow until assured of capturing that fortress. Nor would Beauregard have marched his army into Virginia and precipitated that State into the Rebellion, in defiance of her previous two-thirds vote against disunion, whilst Charleston was held in the Union by the guns of that fortress. And, *second,* that the question submitted by Mr. Lincoln to his Cabinet on the 15th of March (Andrew Jackson's birthday) was the question of union or disunion, and in all human probability permanent disunion, and that we owe the preservation of the Union entirely to his attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter.

(6) Davis's letter of February 22 shows clearly that he contemplated war upon the Union. The resolution of the Confederate Congress, which was approved by him, and which he transmits confidentially to Governor Pickens, to take Fort Sumter by force if it be not surrendered, was itself a declaration of war. This cannot be reconciled with the recent statement published by Colonel McClure in the Philadelphia *Times* as made by Davis, that he ordered the firing upon Sumter only because of his want of faith in Lincoln's Administration. The resolution which had directed the fort to be taken by force had been adopted two months previously, in Buchanan's time.

The statement is in keeping with the current histories by which the Confederate politicians attempt to mislead and pervert the minds of the rising generation of the South, in the vain effort to justify the war upon the Union. How much better it would be for the whole people if these self-inspired sophistries could cease! But few of those who were really effective in the rebellion now attempt to justify it. Whilst for the most part they are silent on the point before the public, they freely admit in private that it was an error, and that it was fortunate for the South that their efforts failed. The self-seeking politicians, on the other hand, avail themselves of the feeling among the people for the lost cause, arising from their sufferings and sacrifices in it, to justify them in bringing those sufferings upon them, and thus contrive to continue them in a false position.

(7) The minutes of the council of war called by General Beauregard on the 29th September, 1862, show the important fact that if the plan of passing the fort, which had been successful at New Orleans, and which the Navy Department intended should be applied at Charleston, had then been adopted, the same success would have been achieved. The minutes show that this was the mode of attack which Ingram (formerly a distinguished officer of the United States navy) apprehended would be adopted. He was thoroughly informed of the state of defenses, and the whole council concurred with him in the opinion that they were insufficient to meet this mode of attack. Hence it is certain that if it had been adopted it would have been successful.

Session of the Executive Council, held at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, Charleston Hotel, evening January 5, 1861.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. C. G. Memminger, Hon. A. C. Garlington.

Council met at 8 o'clock. A letter was read from Larz Anderson to the Governor. Council took the matter in consideration. It was then upon consideration determined that he might bear dispatches from Major Anderson to Washington, and that all mail-matter should be forwarded to him, but that inasmuch as it was intended not to permit communications between Fort Sumter and the city, such mail-matter would be transmitted to him through the Governor.

Permission was given to Mr. Robert N. Jourdin to call at the post-office and get all mail-matter there for Major Anderson, and to visit the fort on the same terms as he did yesterday, and deliver the mail to him. The Governor stated to Council that he had received dispatches this evening from Norfolk stating, "Brooklyn still at navy-yard, now

5 P. M., and no steam." Dispatch dated 5th January, 1861. Council adjourned at 11½ o'clock.

JAMES M. SHACKELFORD,
Secretary Executive Council.

Report from Harbor Master and Pilots in reply to order to Captain S. C. Turner, January 4, 1861:

"HARBOR MASTER'S OFFICE,
"CHARLESTON, 5th January, 1861.

"To HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS.

"SIR,—We beg leave to submit the following replies to the above questions: We are of opinion that no vessel over sixteen feet draft, under the present circumstances, could pass the bar. Vessels from thirteen to sixteen feet could be excluded by closing the channel with wrecks. Those under thirteen feet, with a smooth sea, and at high water, have no difficulty in entering with the assistance of a regular pilot.

"Very respectfully,

(Signed) "S. C. TURNER, H. M.
(Signed) "N. ST. MCDONALD.
(Signed) "J. C. LEA.
(Signed) "S. ALDERT.

"P. S.—With regard to your Excellency's last question, if we think obstructions in the harbor useful, we beg leave to say, for the present, by no means.

"Very respectfully,
(Signed) "S. C. TURNER, H. M."

Session of Executive Council, held at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, evening 7th January, 1861, at Charleston Hotel.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath; Hon. C. G. Memminger, Hon. A. C. Garlington.

Council met at 9 o'clock P. M. The Secretary read the minutes of the last two sessions, which were confirmed. The Governor informed the Council that he had received a telegram from Norfolk that the Brooklyn was at the navy-yard at 6 P. M. this day, but that she would probably drop down to Hampton Roads to-morrow, and that it was now believed she was not destined for Charleston. Mounting guns

at Fort Monroe, no embarkment of troops. Telegram also from Governor M. S. Perry, Florida, informing him that the State had resolved in favor of secession by a vote of 62 to 5.

Telegram from an individual signing himself "Jones," addressed to Governor Pickens or Mr. Rhett, from New York, that the steamer Star of the West had left New York on Saturday night with two hundred and fifty men, supposed for the purpose of reinforcing Fort Sumter.

The following order was furtherwith issued:

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE, 7th January, 1861.

"Colonel Hamilton of the staff is hereby directed to proceed without delay to Fort Moultrie, and for this purpose to use the steamer Osiris, and the said steamer is further ordered to proceed and land Major Stephens at his post on Morris Island. Colonel Hamilton will consider himself authorized to take the Osiris under his command for this purpose, and to proceed to the bar with such orders as Colonel Hamilton will prepare.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS."

Session of the Executive Council, held in Charleston, at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, evening 8th January, 1861.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. C. G. Memminger, Hon. A. C. Garlington.

Session commenced at 8 o'clock P. M. The Secretary read the minutes of the last two meetings, which were confirmed. The Governor informed Council he had received the following telegrams.

Dated at Washington January 8. Received at Charleston, 3 o'clock 30 min. P. M.:

"To HON. F. W. PICKENS, Governor of South Carolina:

"Secretary Thompson has resigned. Government troops were sent on Saturday night from New York to Charleston. Mr. Thompson has been deceived by the Administration. These facts I derive from Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, who has just left Secretary Thompson.

(Signed) "L. Q. WASHINGTON."

Dated at Wilmington, 8th January, to J. L. Orr. Received at Charleston, January 8, at 4 o'clock 30 min. P. M.:

"Star of the West left New York on Sunday, returned that night, and secretly took on board munitions of war, provisions, two hun-

dred and fifty men, under command of Lieutenant Bartlett. She was charctered by General Scott. She will be at Charleston this afternoon.

(Signed) "W. S. ASHE, President."

Session of Executive Council, held at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, in Charleston, January 9, 1861.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. C. G. Memminger, Hon. A. C. Garlington.

Session commenced at eleven o'clock. Governor stated to Council what information he had received of the attempts of the Star of the West to enter the port this morning, and her repulse by the batteries at Morris' Island and Fort Moultrie. A communication was received from Major Stephens giving an account of his having first fired ahead of her, and she not stopping, then into her, when she retreated outside of the bar. The Governor submitted to the Council matters in regard to pursuing the Star of the West. The opinion of the Council was that no attack should be made on her outside of the waters of South Carolina.

His Excellency the Governor sent telegraphic dispatches to the Governors of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana, informing them of the attempt made by the Star of the West to enter the harbor with reinforcements, and her having been repulsed by our forts.

A telegram was received from A. Burt, Commissioner to the State of Mississippi, dated Jackson, 8th January. Received in Charleston 10 o'clock 30 min. P. M.:

"TO GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"Arrived last night. Mississippi will go out to-morrow. Saw the Governor this morning; he agrees to your views, and will be ready in arms. This State was not quite unanimous. Have not submitted my credentials by advice. All right.

(Signed) "A. B."

The following telegram was sent:

"TO COLONEL JEFFERSON DAVIS, Washington:

"The Star of the West has been beat off by our batteries. As Mississippi has seceded, the defense of South Carolina is the defense of Mississippi. I hope, therefore, you will come immediately here for military consultation, and perhaps more.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS."

January 9, 1861.—The following order was given to Captain Carrighan:

"HEADQUARTERS, 9th January, 1861.

"Captain Carrighan will forthwith proceed to take charge of the slaver now lying at Custom House wharf, put in her the granite seized as belonging to the United States, wherever it may be, and take it from the possession of any one in whose charge it will be, and carry the vessel down to the channel and there sink her; and Captain Carrighan will continue to sink vessels and block up the channels except Maffit's Channel. In the course of the day other vessels will be sent down to you. The object is to completely shut up the entrances to the city, excepting Maffit's Channel. If the granite should not be readily come at, use any other material of which you can get possession.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS."

Session of Executive Council, held in Charleston, at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, January 10, 1861.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. C. G. Memminger, Hon. A. C. Garlington.

The following dispatch was sent to C. A. L. Lamar, Savannah:

"The Brooklyn is expected. We are making preparations to meet them on water as well as on land. Have you any steam-tugs you can send? If yes, send two without delay. Please answer.

(Signed) "A. G. MAGRATH."

The following telegrams have been received this morning previous to the above dispatch having been sent.

Received in Charleston 10 o'clock 30 min. A. M. Dated Norfolk, 9th January, 1861:

"GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"Brooklyn on her way to Hampton Roads, now twelve o'clock. Her lieutenant, Chapman, says she will anchor there, and may remain there several days. He said he should resign to-day.

(Signed) "CHAS. HARRIS."

The day after I was inaugurated I sent Lieutenant--Colonel Jno. Green to Fort Monroe, with instructions to give me the most certain information as to all military operations there, as I knew this was the only place the government would send reinforcements and supplies to Charleston; but Colonel Green became suspected and got Mr.

Charles Harris, who was then at the head of the minute-men of Norfolk, to keep me regularly informed, and he hired a workman to the fort to work in it and give him regular information, and I owe Mr. Harris a great deal for the fidelity and assiduity with which he kept me informed. It was from this source I got my information.

F. W. PICKENS.

October 14, 1862.

Received in Charleston, 9 o'clock 15 min. A. M., January 10:

"Brooklyn passed Cape Henry about two o'clock this day; went to sea; took no troops. Her commander received sealed orders this morning from Washington. Rely on this. Now (5) five P. M.

(Signed) "CHARLES HARRIS."

Council held a conference with Colonel J. R. Hamilton. Took the steamers Marion and Aid into the service of the State, to be manned and armed under directions of Colonel Hamilton, who has charge of these vessels.

Received in Charleston, January 11, 1861, 9 o'clock 30 min. A. M.:

"WASHINGTON, January 11.

"GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS:

"Brooklyn due at Charleston now. Her purpose supposed pacific by some, others believe she will try to reinforce Sumter, but cannot succeed. Government regarded hostile and treacherous. Your conduct warmly sustained by our friends.

(Signed) "L. Q. WASHINGTON."

"WASHINGTON, 20th January, 1861.

"GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS.

"DEAR SIR,—I wrote you a note yesterday announcing to you my disappointment at the circumstances which prevented me from visiting you on my way home. You will not be surprised when I say to you that my quiet hours are mostly spent in thoughts of Charleston harbor, and may therefore pardon the pregnancy of my letters. Colonel Hayne has doubtless informed you of the condition in which he found matters here. The opinion of your friends, which has been communicated to him, is adverse to the presentation of a demand for the evacuation of Fort Sumter. The little garrison in its present position presses on nothing but a point of pride, and to you I need not say that war is made up of real elements. It is a physical problem, from the solution of which we must need exclude all sentiment. I hope we shall soon have a Southern Confederacy. I shall soon be ready to do all which

interest or even pride demands, and in the fullness of a redemption of every obligation the most impatient will find indemnity for any chafing they would have to endure. We have much of preparation to make, both in civil and military organization, and the time which serves for our preparation, by its moral effect, tends all towards a peaceful solution. Secure of ourselves, walking steadily onward to the purpose we have avowed, if any should misunderstand us, it will be only to awake from their delusion to the realization of the virtues and powers which will seem all the greater for their sudden development.

"I learn but vaguely of the progress of your works, but rest content in the conviction that all is done which is possible.

"You have in your city an old and esteemed comrade of mine when he and I served together in the U. S. Dragoons; his name is Captain L. B. Northrop. As a son of South Carolina he has deemed it incumbent upon him to leave the service of the United States, and has, no doubt, before this made himself subject to your command. An intimate acquaintance with him enables me to say that to a high degree of professional attainment he adds fine native intellect. Before his physical disability he was full of energy, and, from the natural fearlessness of his character, prone to hazardous adventure. I know not what may be the present state of his health; with that exception, I would not hesitate to indorse him for anything which a soldier could be called on to do.

"The occurrence of the Star of the West seems to me to put you in the best condition of delay, so long as the government permits that matter to rest where it is.

"Your friends here think you can well afford to stand still, so far as the presence of a garrison is concerned; and if things should continue as they are for a month, we shall then be in a condition to speak with a voice which all must hear and heed.

"I should be very happy to her from you at Jackson, Mississippi, and hoping to meet you soon, permit me to assure you that my heart will be with you and my thoughts of you.

"Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) "JEFF. DAVIS."

Session of Executive Council, held in Charleston, at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, February 6, 1861.

Council met at 8 o'clock P. M.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. A. C. Garlington.

The following telegrams were received.

Received in Charleston, February 6, 2 o'clock 45 min. P. M.:

"WASHINGTON, 6th February, 1861.

"To HON. A. G. MAGRATH:

"Ingraham takes to-day copy of my communication to President. I still await answer. It may require rejoinder; if it does not I will start back to-morrow. Send this to Mrs. Hayne. Peace Congress does not advance.

(Signed) "ISAAC W. HAYNE."

Received in Charleston, 7 o'clock 10 min. P. M., February 6:

"WASHINGTON.

"To HON. A. G. MAGRATH:

"Answer received at four o'clock. Refusal outright. It demands a rejoinder. I will remain to-morrow and close.

(Signed) "ISAAC W. HAYNE."

Council heard from His Excellency the Governor. His views on the new aspect affairs had taken, and the necessity of soon taking decided steps in regard to the reduction of Fort Sumter, unless the Provisional Government, now being formed by the Congress of the seceding States at Montgomery, should themselves take the matter in hand.

The Hon. A. G. Magrath, Secretary of State, introduced the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved, 1st.* That the refusal of the President to surrender Fort Sumter, as communicated in the telegram of Isaac W. Hayne, makes it now the duty of this State to hasten, in every manner, the completion of the measures necessary for its reduction.

"*2d.* That the intelligence conveyed in the letter of Mr. Memminger renders it proper for this State to invoke the aid of its own resources and counsels to determine the means and time proper for its reduction.

"*3d.* That the policy of the State, that which its dignity requires, is not to apply to the Southern Convention for aid or advice, unless that body will recognize and declare the question of Fort Sumter to be a question of all the seceding States; and that the representatives of this State, through its delegates in that body, and of the other seceding States, will assume its management.

"*4th.* That if the question of Fort Sumter shall be assumed by the Southern Convention, it will become the duty of the State to defer to

that body; unless in so doing it should affect its dignity or change the relations it now occupies towards the United States.

"*5th.* That so far as this State is now concerned, it has exhausted all measures within its control for a peaceful settlement of this question; and every consideration requires that, as soon as the necessary preparations can be made, and which must be before the close of the present Administration at Washington, the State must obtain possession of that fort."

The following is an extract from the letter of the Hon. C. G. Memminger to the Governor, referred to in the above resolutions, dated Montgomery, February 4:

"Chase has come up here, leaving his troops at Pensacola. They have made no advances to our attack on Fort Pickens, and can be driven out of Barrancas in a few hours, so that at last the conflict must be at Charleston. Nothing has yet been prepared here to relieve you from the responsibility of acting; so that for the present it seems to be expected of us to prepare everything for the attack, and, as far as I can yet see, we will have to take the fort ourselves; for, while I have heard no proposal as yet for negotiation, all who speak say these forts must be taken before Lincoln comes in."

An order was issued to Brigadier-General Dunovant, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, Feb. 6, 1861.

"TO GENERAL DUNOVANT, Commanding in the Harbor of Charleston.

"SIR,—You will immediately issue orders to each officer commanding the different posts and batteries in the harbor to put his post and battery in full preparation for attack, and have ammunition fuses, shells, balls, and all that may be necessary for forty-eight hours' constant bombardment, and every effort must be made to be thoroughly prepared, and with the utmost expedition.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS."

Council adjourned at 10 o'clock P. M.

JAMES M. SHACKELFORD,
Secretary Executive Council.

Session of Executive Council, held in Charleston, at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, February 7, 1861.

Council met at 8 o'clock P. M.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. A. C. Garlington, Hon. Ed. Frost.

The following telegrams were received.

Received at Charleston, 7th February, 1 o'clock 40 min. P. M.:

"WASHINGTON, 7th.

"To GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"Can my voice reach you? If so, do not attack Fort Sumter. You know my sincerity. The Virginia delegates here earnestly unite.

(Signed) "JNO. TYLER."

Received in Charleston, February 7, 3 o'clock P. M.:

"MONTGOMERY, 7th.

"GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"Committee have reported Provisional Government, and Congress now engaged in considering it. All anxious to make speed.

(Signed) "C. G. MEMMINGER."

Received in Charleston, 7th February, 7 o'clock 55 min. P. M.:

"WASHINGTON, 7th.

"HON. A. G. MAGRATH:

"President's reply, through his Secretary of War, is addressed to myself. Rejoinder written. Will leave in the morning; clouds thicken.

(Signed) "I. W. HAYNE."

Received in Charleston, February 7, 1861, 9 o'clock 30 min. P. M.:

"WASHINGTON, 7th, *via* RICHMOND.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"President's reply, through Secretary Holt, is not only a flat refusal, but is insulting in its tone. My mission would shame me and disgrace the State if Sumter is held one moment longer than necessity compels submission on your part. Copy of reply will be sent by mail to-night.

(Signed) "ISAAC W. HAYNE."

His Excellency the Governor sent the following telegram to John Tyler, Washington, D. C.:

"STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, 7th February, 1861.

"To HON. JNO. TYLER, Washington City:

"I have just received your telegram, and in consequence of the urgent appeal of the Virginia delegation, and from great regard to Virginia, I am willing to wait as long as I can do consistent with the

sacred rights of South Carolina; but when Sumter is held with no other view but to overawe the State, and finally to enable us to be subjugated by the North, then I am sure even Virginia would say it is not to be borne. As yet I do not know the exact grounds upon which the President acts, and will decide when I know.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS."

Telegram of Governor to Mr. Memminger, at Montgomery, Alabama:

"Received your telegram to-day, but am sure if you do not act immediately, and appoint a *Commander-in-Chief* to take charge, it will be *too late*. Act *quickly* now, or I shall be compelled *to act*. Send your commissioners on to Washington now, right off, and telegraph me, or it will be beyond your control. Things look bad from Washington.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS."

A copy of the first telegram received this day from Colonel Hayne was sent to Colonel Memminger. Hon. A. G. Magrath sent to Colonel Memminger copy of the last telegram from Colonel Hayne.

The following telegram was received.

Received in Charleston, 9th February, 1861, 1 o'clock 30 min. P. M.:

"The President says the letter to Colonel Hayne was designed to be both respectful and kind; that he read it, so considered it, and if it seemed otherwise he deeply regrets it. The President desired me to say this to you. He complained much of Colonel Hayne's last letter, as Mr. Holt in his letter had no unkind intention, but the contrary. He manifested great solicitude on this point. Will you give an assurance that no attack will be made on Fort Sumter by South Carolina, provided the President will give a like assurance and pledge that no reinforcements shall be furnished or attempted by the government here?

(Signed) "JNO. TYLER."

Session of Executive Council, held in Charleston, at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, February 9, 1861.

Council met at 8 o'clock P. M.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. A. C. Garlington, Hon. Ed Frost.

The following telegrams were received.

Received in Charleston, February 9, 1861, 6 o'clock 45 min. P. M.:

"MONTGOMERY, 9th.

"TO GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS:

"I am directed by the Southern Congress to inform you that a Constitution for a Provisional Government for the States represented has been unanimously adopted.

(Signed) "HOWELL COBB."

Received in Charleston, February 9, 1861, 6 o'clock 45 min. P. M.:

"MONTGOMERY, 9th.

"TO GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS:

"Toombs and all the hottest Southern men advise against the immediate attack upon Sumter. Toombs will write you to-day.

(Signed) "WM. PORCHER MILES."

Received in Charleston, February 9, 1861, 7 o'clock P. M.:

"MONTGOMERY, 9th.

"TO GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"Davis and Stephens unanimously elected President and Vice-President. Davis will be here in less than three days. All of us, excepting Rhett and Barnwell, think you should wait his orders, unless the status is changed by Federal Government. Miles writes by mail.

(Signed) "C. G. MEMMINGER."

The rejoinder of Colonel Hayne to the reply of the President, through Secretary Holt, to Colonel Hayne's demand for the delivery of Fort Sumter was received and read. Council approved of the rejoinder of Colonel Hayne, and it was determined the same should be published with the demand on, and reply from, the President.

Council had an interview with Colonel Hayne, just returned from Washington, who gave them his views on the present state of things in Washington, etc.

At half-past 10 o'clock P. M. Council adjourned.

JAMES M. SHACKELFORD,
Secretary Executive Council.

Session of Executive Council, held in Charleston, at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, February 12, 1861.

Council met at quarter-past 8 o'clock A. M.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. A. C. Garlington, Hon. Ed. Frost.

His Excellency laid before the Council the following telegram he had received.

Received in Charleston, February 12, 1861, 4 o'clock 50 min. P. M.:

"MONTGOMERY, 12th.

"To His EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"I am directed to inform you of the passage of the subjoined resolution by the Congress of the Confederate States of America this day:

"*Resolved,* That this government takes under its charge the questions and differences now existing between several States of this Confederacy and the government of the United States relating to the occupation of forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and other public establishments, and that the President of the Congress be directed to communicate this resolution to the Governors of the States.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) "HOWELL COBB,

"President of the Convention."

His Excellency the Governor stated to Council his views on the above. That he considered we still had the right to attack Fort Sumter in case of any invasion, or attempt to throw in reinforcements, or on any sudden emergency, and that we should go on with our preparations as heretofore, although he was disposed to act in accordance with the views of the Congress of the Confederate Southern States; and if the President of the same would come on here, or send a commander-in-chief to take charge, he would willingly leave the matter to him.

Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee gave his views that we should take Fort Sumter as soon as our preparations to do so were complete. That it would be a reflection on the honor of the State not to do so.

The Hon. A. C. Garlington said he thought it was best for the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of the telegram, stating that he would forward a communication by mail giving the views of Council fully on the subject.

The Hon. D. F. Jamison gave his views that we should not commit ourselves, and if the government of the Confederate States of America would relieve us of the responsibility by acting in the matter he would be pleased, but if they did not do something positive, we should ourselves take Fort Sumter as soon as our preparations to do so were complete.

The Hon. Ed. Frost stated fully his views, to the effect that the Governor and Council acquiesce the resolution of the Congress of Confederate States of America, with the understanding that the resolution does not restrain the action of South Carolina against Fort Sumter, in case of an attempted reinforcement or any aggression on the commerce or sovereignty of this State.

The Hon. A. G. Magrath gave his views, embodied in the following resolution introduced by him:

"*Resolved,* That the Governor communicate to the President of the Convention the acknowledgment of the receipt of his telegram, and that in reply the President be informed that the State of South Carolina having exhausted all attempts to acquire the peaceful possession of Fort Sumter, has been obliged to adopt other measures for obtaining that possession. And that those measures are being completed, with the fixed conviction of the authorities of this State that the dignity and welfare of the State require that Fort Sumter shall be in the possession of the State, as a part of the new Confederation, before the end of the administration of Mr. Buchanan. And that upon this conviction the State looks to the period when the preparations are complete as the proper time for using its resources to obtain that possession."

After some discussion the resolution was adopted, and the Hon. A. G. Magrath requested to prepare a communication to be sent to the President of the Convention, in accordance with the resolution. And His Excellency sent the following dispatch by telegraph:

"HON. HOWELL COBB, President of the Convention, Montgomery:

"Your dispatch covering resolution of Congress of Confederate States, taking charge of questions and difficulties now existing between the several States of the Confederacy and the government of the United States, relating to the occupancy of forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and other public establishments, is received. Will communicate by letter. But we most respectfully urge that it is due to us under all the circumstances to get possession of Sumter at a period not beyond 4th March.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS."

The following telegram was received.

Received in Charleston, February 14, 1861, 8 o'clock 40 min. P. M.:

"MONTGOMERY, 14th.

"HON. A. G. MAGRATH:

"Military Committee have reported in secret session about Sumter. Report will be considered to-morrow. We will probably make a demand through the President, who is expected to-morrow night.

(Signed) "C. G. MEMMINGER."

The Governor submitted the following dispatch received by him.

"MONTGOMERY, February 16, 1861.

"TO GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"Governor Moore will give us (50,000) fifty thousand pounds powder in exchange for that at Pensacola. It is at Mount Vernon, on the Alabama River, and more accessible. I leave at four o'clock for Mobile, to engage a steamer for transportation to this place. Colonel Memminger suggests that Colonel Moore proceed to New Orleans in search of powder, as Governor Moore thinks larger quantity of good powder was stored there; will give you further advice. If Colonel Moore should not go to New Orleans he will assist me here. Have delivered dispatch to Hon. Howell Cobb, with request not to publish. Will send dispatch to Mallory by mail with explanation.

(Signed) "J. JONATHAN LUCAS."

The Hon. A. G. Magrath introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

"*Resolved,* That a council of war be ordered at the headquarters of the Governor, Tuesday, 19th inst., at 12 o'clock M., to consider and determine the measures necessary to be arranged in connection with the attack on Sumter, including in the business of such council the amount of arms, etc., ammunition, the number of troops necessary to be in position, and the disposition of such troops for the said attack.

"*Resolved,* That the said council consist of Brigadier-General Dunovant, Colonel Petigru, Colonel Gregg, Lieutenant-Colonel Ripley, and Major Stevens, and that the said council make a report to general headquarters, and that their officers be notified of this council."

The Secretary addressed to each of the officers composing the council of war the following:

"SIR,—A council of war, of which you are a member, is directed to be held at the headquarters of the Governor at 12 o'clock M., Tuesday, 19th inst."

There being nothing more before Council, adjourned at half-past 10 o'clock P. M.

His Excellency submitted the following telegram received by him.

Received in Charleston, February 18, 1861, 4 o'clock 40 min. P. M.:

"MONTGOMERY, 18th.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"Of course everybody thinks we ought to have Sumter as soon as practicable. What is the earliest moment at which we can successfully attack? We ask merely for information, accounts being very conflicting.

"THE UNDIVIDED SOUTH CAROLINA DELEGATION."

His Excellency submitted the following letter he had received:

"MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, February 20, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for your kind expressions and cheering assurances. There is enough in my situation to discourage one more confident than myself, to suggest the apprehension that he would disappoint his most sanguine friends. I hope that provisions will this day be made for executive departments, and thus enable us to put in train the work of preparation for the duties of the hour. As soon as possible I will, in compliance with your wish, send an engineer of military skill and examine and report on the condition of Charleston harbor, and its works of defense and offense. I am prepared for the criticism which the rash often bestow upon necessary caution, but if success follow and the blood of the brave thus saved, I will be more than content to have the censure which in the mean time may be encountered. My mind has been for some time satisfied that a peaceful solution of our difficulties was not to be anticipated, and therefore my thoughts have been directed to the manner of rendering force effective. We are poorly prepared for war, and have but little capacity for speedy repair of past neglect; valor is ours, and the justice of our cause will nerve the arm of our sons to meet the issue of unequal conflict, but we must seek to render the inequality as small as it can be made. I hope to hear from you, and fully, and that you will pardon any failure which the pressure of public engagements may create on my side of the correspondence. Your very interesting letter addressed to me at Jackson reached me at that place.

"Very truly your friend,

(Signed) "JEFFERSON DAVIS.

"GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS."

"MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, February 22, 1861.

"GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have not yet been able to obtain the services of such an engineer as was contemplated in our late correspondence. Major Beauregard or Captain Whiting will probably be here very soon. To-day, as informed by one of your delegation, the powder to be sent hence has been forwarded to you. I fear it is not sufficiently coarse grain for your heaviest guns. The want of exact information as to the supplies in the several States, and of competent officers to take charge of ordnance matters, is not the least of my embarrassments. A resolution which devolves upon the general government of the Confederate States the duty of getting possession of the forts now held within our limits by the United States forces has been adopted, and a copy is, I am informed, to be *confidentially* sent to you this day. A letter was shown to me this morning which indicated a purpose on the part of the military to attack Fort Sumter on the 25th of this month. I hope you will be able to prevent the issue of peace or war for the Confederate States from being decided by any other than the authorities constituted to conduct our international relations. The most ardent and sensitive should believe that we will not be unmindful or regardless of the rights and honor of South Carolina.

"The importance of success, whenever an attack is made upon a garrison to take one of our forts from the possession of the United States, is too apparent not to be appreciated by even the most heedless, and the technical knowledge necessary to solve the problem of attack and defense which is before you, can only have been obtained by much both of military study and experience. I am very constantly engaged and have necessarily written hurriedly. Hoping to hear from you often and fully,

"I am respectfully and sincerely yours,

(Signed) "JEFFERSON DAVIS."

His Excellency the Governor laid before Council the following communication from President Davis:

"EXECUTIVE OFFICE CONFEDERATE STATES,

"MONTGOMERY, February 22, 1861.

"HIS EXCELLENCY F. W. PICKENS.

"DEAR SIR,—After writing to you to-day the subjoined resolution was received. The injunction of secrecy, you will perceive, has been removed only so far as to authorize me to communicate in the manner deemed expedient, and I must, therefore, ask that you consider it as confidentially done. The resolution suggests two methods by which

possession of the forts may be had. It was not intended, however, that the progress of the one should retard or affect the preparations for the other. While, therefore, steps are being taken for negotiation, earnest efforts have been made to procure men of military science and experience, and to seek for munitions and machinery suitable to remedy the supposed or known deficiencies in the existing supplies.

"Congress probably did not design to interfere with the progress of constructions which had been commenced by State authority. The instruction of troops or other preparations, which will be useful in future operations, I hope that you will continue thus to prepare for whatever exigency may arise. As soon as a skillful engineer is available he will be sent to make examination of the fort within your State and to aid in the work needful to the execution of the resolution of Congress, should force be the means to which we must resort.

"Very respectfully and truly yours,

(Signed) "JEFFERSON DAVIS.

"*Copy of Resolutions.*

"February 22, 1861, Congress

Resolved, That the President of the Confederate States be requested to communicate in such manner as he may deem expedient to the Governors of South Carolina and Florida the resolution of Congress concerning Forts Sumter and Pickens.

"The resolution above referred to is as follows:

" '*Resolved,* By the Confederate States of America, in Congress assembled, that it is the sense of this Congress that immediate steps should be taken to obtain possession of Forts Sumter and Pickens by the authority of this government, either by negotiation or force, as early as practicable, and that the President is hereby authorized to make all necessary military preparations for carrying this resolution into effect.'

"Passed February 15, 1861."

Council adjourned at 11 o'clock P. M.

JAMES M. SHACKELFORD,
Secretary Executive Council.

Session of Executive Council, held in Charleston, at the headquarters of His Excellency the Governor, February 27, 1861.

Council met at 12 o'clock M.

Present, His Excellency Governor F. W. Pickens, Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee, Hon. D. F. Jamison, Hon. A. G. Magrath, Hon. A. C. Garlington, Hon. Ed. Frost.

His Excellency the Governor read to Council a letter he had prepared to President Jefferson Davis in reply to his of 22d instant, covering the resolution of the Congress of the Confederate States of America.

The Hon. D. F. Jamison stated his views in the matter: that the Governor should write to President Davis that we believed by Friday night or Saturday night of this week we would be able to take Fort Sumter; that the floating battery, it was said, would be finished by that time, and to insure this he would himself devote his whole time to it getting additional force, etc.; he therefore wished the Governor to write to President Davis to know positively from him, if we were prepared at that time to attack the fort, if we should do so, and to request an answer by telegraph.

After some alterations suggested by the Council, the following is a copy of the Governor's letter sent:

"HEADQUARTERS, 27th February, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours dated 22d inst. by Colonel Lucas, inclosing the resolution of Congress expressly taking charge of the military operations in the harbor of Charleston. I have the fullest confidence that you and the Congress will do everything that may be due to the honor and the rights of South Carolina. Of course we feel that our honor and safety require that Fort Sumter should be in our possession at the very earliest moment possible. We have had great difficulties to contend with. By the extraordinary movements of the United States garrison from Fort Moultrie we were suddenly and unexpectedly precipitated into a situation which created the most hostile feelings, and were at the outset involved in the most scientific and expensive branches of modern warfare, when the most exact military knowledge and experience were required. I felt this, and therefore telegraphed you to come by Charleston in way to Mississippi, in order to consult in military matters, etc. I again sent to the Governor of Georgia for General Twiggs, and then sent to you for a military engineer, as I desired the highest military approbation.

"Before taking the last step I earnestly wished the best military councils. Major Whiting is here, and thinks our energies have been too much directed to attacking Fort Sumter, and not enough to the defenses of the harbor, so as to prevent reinforcements, etc. You will see him, and of course know.

"We will await your orders and the dictations of the Congress, as we feel that our cause is common, and that it is due to a common government that we should do nothing to involve all the States inter-

ested in a permanent war by any separate act of ours, unless it shall be necessary in self-defense or to prevent reinforcements. But, in the mean time, I will go on with the same activity as ever in preparing our defenses and our men for any event that may arise.

"We would desire to be informed if, when thoroughly prepared to take the fort, shall we do so, or shall we wait your order? and shall we demand the surrender, or will that demand be made by you? An answer to this by telegraph is desired.

"I have the honor to be,

"Yours respectfully,

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS.

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA."

Lieutenant-Governor W. W. Harlee stated that the latter part of the Governor's letter expressed his views on the subject.

The Hon. Ed. Frost said that when we were prepared and received orders from the President to attack the fort, then we should do so.

The Hon. A. C. Garlington said he concurred in the propriety of making the inquiry of President Davis contained in the last paragraph of the Governor's letter. The policy which the Council has constantly pursued has been to recover Fort Sumter as soon as practicable, and when the preparations were all made for the attack, unless controlled by the paramount authority of the government at Montgomery distinctly communicated to us.

The Hon. A. G. Magrath said that he concurred in the opinion of General Jamison, and considering that as indicating not only what is now, but what has always been, the opinion of the Council as to the course which it became the State to pursue. The action of the State, when its preparations are completed, should be at once to reduce Fort Sumter, unless that action was controlled by paramount authority and positive command of the government at Montgomery. The statement which Major Whiting had made satisfied him that if other preparations should be made, that the only positive preparation to defend the State was without delay to reduce Fort Sumter.

Council adjourned at 2 o'clock P. M.

JAMES M. SHACKELFORD,
Secretary Executive Council.

His Excellency laid before Council the following telegram, just received:

"MONTGOMERY, March 1, 1861.

"To GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS:

"Your letter to President received. This government assumes the control of military operations at Charleston, and will make demand of the fort when fully advised. An officer goes to-night to take charge.

(Signed) "S. P. WALKER,
"Secretary of War."

"MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, March 1, 1861.

"GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS:

"MY DEAR SIR—I have requested the Secretary of War to inform you fully of the arrangements made and making for the efficient discharge of our duties in connection with the defense of Charleston and the vindication of our rights, territorial and jurisdictional. I use the pronoun 'our' because the cause is common to the Confederate States and near to my heart as if I were a citizen of South Carolina. General Beauregard is full of talent and of much military experience; he has been selected because of his peculiar fitness for the position, and because his zeal and gallantry cannot fail to win your confidence, and that of the brave men who have given themselves to the service of their country in the hour of its need. He will confer freely with you, and must needs depend upon you for the power to be useful. I have discussed the subject of the works needful, as well as to prevent the entrance of reinforcements as to reduce Fort Sumter most speedily, and at least cost of the blood of our patriotic sons.

"I have not despaired of being able to visit you, and will avail myself of the earliest occasion when public duties here will permit to do so. Very truly yours,

(Signed) "JEFFERSON DAVIS."

His Excellency submitted to Council the following telegram received.

Received at Charleston, March 22, 1867, at 5 o'clock 15 min.:

"WASHINGTON, 22d March.

"To GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"In spite of appearances, I believe I am not mistaken about Sumter. It will be evacuated if there is faith in man.

(Signed) "JOHN FORSYTH."

Copies of telegrams received by Governor Pickens.

Received at Charleston, March 15, 1861, 9 o'clock 45 min.:

"WASHINGTON, 14th.

"To GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"I confidently believe Sumter will be evacuated, and think a government messenger left here yesterday with orders to that effect for Anderson.

(Signed) "JOHN FORSYTH."

Received at Charleston, March 29, 1861, 7 o'clock 50 min.:

"MONTGOMERY.

"To GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS:

"General Beauregard will designate agents to receive two thousand percussion muskets, for which am much obliged.

(Signed) "S. P. WALKER."

Received at Charleston, March 30, 1861, 7 o'clock 15 min. P. M.:

"WASHINGTON, 30th.

"HON. F. W. PICKENS:

"Evacuation of Sumter agreed on several days ago. Connecticut election evidently delays. Telegraph more definitely after interview this evening.

(Signed) "MARTIN J. CRAWFORD."

Received at Charleston, April 1, 1861, 8 o'clock P. M.:

"WASHINGTON, 1st.

"To GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"I am authorized to say that this government will not undertake to supply Sumter without notice to you. My opinion is that the President has not the courage to execute the order, agreed upon in Cabinet, for the evacuation of the fort, but that he intends to shift the responsibility upon Major Anderson, by suffering him to be starved out. Would it not be well to aid in this by cutting off all supplies?

(Signed) "MARTIN J. CRAWFORD."

Telegram received by Governor Pickens.

Received at Charleston, April 8, 1861, at 11 o'clock 15 min. By telegraph from Washington, 8th:

"To GOVERNOR F. W. PICKENS:

"The military and naval movements are conducted with extraordinary secrecy. We are assured you will not be disturbed without

notice, and we think Sumter is to be evacuated and Pickens provisioned. We have taken steps to define relations of peace or war with this government within a few hours; our patience and noble forbearance will not be much longer put to trial.

(Signed) "FORSYTH, ROMAN, AND CRAWFORD."

The following recorded by direction of Governor Pickens:

(*Copy.*)

"I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and that if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort.

"The above was communicated to us on the evening of the 8th of April by Robert T. Chew, Esq., of the state Department, in Washington, and Captain Talbot stated that it was from the President of the United States, as did Mr. Chew, and was delivered to him on 6th inst. at Washington, and this was read in their presence and admitted.

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS.
(Signed) "G. T. BEAUREGARD.

"8th April, 1861."

Telegram received by Governor Pickens.

Received at Charleston, April 10, 1861, at 12 o'clock 20 min. P. M By telegraph from Washington, 10th:

"TO GOVERNOR PICKENS:

"Will attempt to provision Sumter certainly be resisted?

(Signed) "JOHN FORSYTH."

Governor Pickens's reply to above:

"CHARLESTON, April 10, 1861.

"TO HON. JOHN FORSYTH:

"Telegram received. Yes, at every cost. What is the force sent?

(Signed) "F. W. PICKENS."

(*Confidential.*)

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA.
CHARLESTON, 1862.

In the office of the General Commanding the Department, Charleston, September 29, 1862, at a conference to which General Beauregard had invited the following officers: Commodore D. N. Ingraham and

Captain J. R. Tucker, Confederate States Navy; Brigadier-Generals S. R. Gist and Thomas Jordan; Colonels G. W. Lay, Inspector-General, and A. J. Gonzales, Chief of Artillery; and Captain F. D. Lee, Engineers—Captain W. H. Echols, Chief Engineer, being absent from the city—the General Commanding proposed for discussion a number of queries prepared by himself in relation to the problem of the defense of the harbor, forts, and city of Charleston against the impending naval attack by a formidable ironclad fleet.

It was agreed to separate the consideration of these questions so as to discuss:

1st. The entrance,—*i. e.*, all outside of a line drawn from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, thence to Cummings' Point, including also outside of this line Battery Beauregard, at the entrance of the Maffit Channel.

2d. The gorge,—*i.e.*, the section included between that line and the line of a floating boom from Fort Sumter to the west end of Sullivan's Island.

3d. The harbor,—comprising all of the bay within the second line.

4th. The city,—its flanks and rear.

In the discussion no guns were classed as heavy if not above the calibre of 32, except rifled 32-pounders. The following conclusions were arrived at:

1st. The existing defenses of the entrance are, Beauregard Battery, with two heavy guns; Fort Moultrie, with nine; the sand batteries on the west end of Sullivan's Island, with but four yet mounted; and Fort Sumter, with thirty-eight. Of the gorge, say nine guns in Fort Moultrie, thirty-two in Fort Sumter (not including seven 10-inch mortars), and as yet but four in the sand batteries. Of the harbor, say fourteen guns of Fort Sumter and the four guns in the new sand batteries. Fort Johnston has one rifled 32-pounder, but it is not banded and is unsafe. For the city defenses some batteries have been arranged or commenced, but heavy guns are neither mounted nor disposable.

2d. The floating boom is incomplete.

3d. It is no barrier now.

4th. The boom, even if complete on the present plan, might be forced, although it would serve as a check, but it cannot be depended upon if attacked by the enemy on a scale commensurate with his means. It has already been broken in parts by the force of tides and

currents. On account of its having to bear this strain of the depth of water (up to seventy feet), and the difficulties of the anchorage-ground, of the limited means at disposal in anchors and chains, the indifferent quality of the iron, and the deficient buoyancy of the whole (the pine being green and sappy and getting heavier with time), a modification of the construction is required.

5th. We have no means or material at hand for the construction of a better boom. It is thought, however, that the one now under construction will be materially improved by discarding the continuous chain of bar and railroad iron and links, and by linking together the logs as they are now arranged by short chains so as to make a continuous chain of each section of the spars, there will be a saving of iron and greater buoyancy attained by this.

6th. A rope barrier has been devised and constructed to place in advance of the spar-boom, but has not been placed in position, as the rope will rot in the water, and some anchors are still wanting,—they are being searched for.

7th. Ironclads in forcing the harbor must pass the gorge or throat everywhere within point-blank range of our batteries, and must consequently be in great danger from the concentration of the metal that can be brought to bear upon them, especially from the elevation of Fort Sumter. *Note.*—Distance between Sumter and Moultrie seventeen hundred and seventy-five yards; air-line of obstructions, fifteen hundred and fifty yards.

8th. The plan of naval attack apparently best for the enemy would be to dash with as many ironclads as he can command—say fifteen or twenty—past the batteries and forts without halting to engage and reduce them. Commodore Ingraham thinks they will make an attack in that way by daylight.

9th. Ironclad vessels cannot approach or pass so close to the walls of Fort Sumter as not to be within the reach of the barbette guns. Those guns may be depressed to strike the water at a distance of one hundred and fifty-four yards of the walls. Vessels of probable draft of gunboats cannot be brought closer than two hundred yards.

10th. After forcing the passage of the forts and batteries, and reaching the inner harbor, gunboats may lay within six hundred yards of city face of Fort Sumter exposed to fire of about fifteen guns. The magazines would be unsafe as now situated, or until counterscarp shall have been extended along city face.

11th. If ironclad vessels pass the forts and batteries at the gorge or throat of harbor, then the guns at Forts Ripley and Johnston and

Castle Pinckney would be of no avail to check them. In consequence of the exposed condition of the foundations of Fort Ripley and the general weakness of Castle Pinckney, it would not be advisable to diminish the armament of the exterior works to arm them, and this necessarily decides that Fort Johnston cannot be armed at the expense of the works covering throat of harbor. Fort Johnston must be held, however, to prevent the possibility of being carried by the enemy by land attack, and the establishment of breaching batteries against Sumter. The batteries at White Point Garden, half worn, and Lawton's and McLeod's batteries for the same reasons, cannot be prudently armed at present with heavy guns.

12th. The line of pilings near Fort Ripley is of no service and is rapidly falling to pieces.

13th. The city could not be saved from bombardment by any number of batteries along the city front, if the enemy reached the interior harbor with ironclads. It can then only be defended by infantry against landing of troops.

14th. We have no resources at present for the construction of efficient obstructions at the mouth of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, and we have no guns disposable for the armament of interior harbor defenses.

15th. Should gunboats effect a lodgment in the harbor and in the Stono, the troops and armament on James Island may be withdrawn, especially after the construction of a bridge and road across James Island Creek, about midway the island near Holmes' House. From the western part, can be withdrawn under cover of Fort Pemberton. McLeod's battery is intended to protect the mouth of Wappoo Creek, and Lawton's battery the mouth of James Island Creek when armed.

16th. With the harbor in the hands of the enemy, the city could still be held by an infantry force, by the erection of strong barricades and with an arrangement of traverses in the streets. The line of works on the neck could also be held against a naval and land attack by the construction of frequent and long traverses. The approaches thereto are covered by woods in front,—possibly a more advanced position might have been better, though also protected by woods, but so much has been done that it were best to retain the line, remedying the defects by long and numerous traverses. Two ironclad gunboats carrying four guns each will be ready for service in two weeks, as an important auxiliary to the works defending all parts of the harbor, and in that connection it will be important to secure for them a harbor

of refuge and a general depot up the Cooper River as soon as the guns for its protection can be secured.

(Signed) G. T. BEAUREGARD,
General Commanding.

(Signed) D. N. INGRAHAM,
Commodore Commanding C. S. naval forces, Charleston Harbor.

Official.

CLIFTON H. SMITH, Assistant Adjutant-General.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE.

I, R. M. Sims, Secretary of State, do certify that the above is a true copy of a paper on file in said office.

Witness my hand and the seal of State at Columbia this 10th day of August, 1880.

[SEAL.] R. M. SIMS,
Secretary of State.

*JAPAN'S OBJECT LESSONS IN NAVAL WARFARE.**

ALTHOUGH it may be early to deduce final and finely-drawn lessons from the naval conflict in the Far East, a number of broad facts are available, which emphasize the significance of the naval operations and their effect upon the subsequent movements of the Japanese armies. Since modern instruments of warfare were introduced this contest has had no parallel. The present generation has never had more striking and conclusive illustrations of the exact meaning and influence of "command of the sea," of the fruits of economical and careful organizations and war-readiness, and of the big issues which hang on the initial decision between the claims of strategy dictating concentration for the ends of war and the clamors of a nervous people for local naval defence.

The hostilities now in progress are the culmination of six or seven years preparation on the part of the Japanese. Probably one of the most extraordinary facts is that during part of this period when Japan was bracing herself for the present struggle, Admiral Alexeieff, who had been Russian attaché in the Japanese capital prior to the China War of 1894-5, was in command of the Russian fleet in the Pacific, while General Kuropatkin, now in control of the Russian army, was in Japan, in the midst of the war preparations, as late as last summer. Keen observer as the Russian viceroy has shown himself in many respects, he not only failed to fathom the temper of the people among whom he was living, and with whom in 1897-8, and again in 1900, during the Boxer troubles, he was continually associating, and he did not recognize the meaning of the warlike measures which were taken in hand almost immediately after the retrocession of Port Arthur in 1895 at the dictation of Russia. Admiral Alexeieff, unfortunately for Russia, lived in Tokio, among those officials of the Russian legations who consistently ridiculed the Japanese people and treated with contempt their aspirations and efforts to enter the comity of nations. To the very last Admiral

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Alexeieff believed that Japan would not dare to fight the Colossus of the North, whose might had time and again made European statesmen pause, and then decide not to throw down the gage.

It might be assumed from a good deal of newspaper comment which has appeared in the past two or three months, that this spring Russia and Japan were on a practical equality in naval strength. The truth, of course, is that while the fleet of Russia was inferior only to the forces of Great Britain and of France, that of the Island Kingdom was the least of the seven leading navies of the world, with only half the fighting strength of Italy, the power sixth in the scale. Russia had sixteen first class battleships with two others nearly ready for sea, and five of older types, and Japan had six of the first class and one older, while in armored cruisers Russia had an advantage of two. It was pointed out by many critics who had faith in the "might of Russia" that even if Japan gained small initial successes, the Czar could order out to the Far East reinforcements to completely crush the small navy of Japan. The fleet of the Island Kingdom was looked upon by many as an exotic which would be crippled at the first onset of war with a Western Power. Some observers were never tired of pointing out that practically all the battleships and cruisers, and far the greater proportion of the torpedo craft, had been built abroad, and built, moreover, in so short a time that it was almost impossible that the naval department at Tokio could have an adequate supply of trained officers and men to control and fight these mechanical instruments of war. The last of the six battleships of Japan, the Mikasa, was not delivered until early last year. On the other hand, the best qualified English opinion still cherished the high estimate of Russian naval power which Nelson a hundred years ago had entertained. These admirers of Russia's fleet were oblivious to the facts that in the past century a fleet depending upon wind and manual labor had given place to ships driven by machinery, and worked in almost all departments by mechanical means. Russia is not a country of high technique. So long as she was satisfied with small fleets for coast defence in the Baltic and the Black Sea, fleets which were never intended to roam the seas and take the offensive, she was able to man the ships with officers and men of fair ability, some training, and high courage. In 1898, however, she decided to double her fighting strength in order to deal with the crisis in the Far East, which was seen to be approaching, though England, not Japan, was then regarded as the probable antagonist. She called in the aid of foreign shipbuilders, with the result that the new vessels were soon ready for

sea, but, in the meantime, she had failed to provide complements of officers and men. In the anxiety to impress Asia with her might, men-of-war were sent to the Far East with to few mechanical ratings and with seamen who, on the confession of one Russian officer, were "merely agricultural laborers," not only unused to sea life but unversed in even the simplest mechanical knowledge. In January last, when the two fleets stood face to face in the Far East, practically all European naval opinion still clung to the belief that Japan would be worsted, and badly worsted, in the conflict at sea, because of the reserves Russia, it was said, could send out. It was generally held that the odds were fairly even as regards the strength of the opposing fleets actually in the Far East, but, on the other hand, British naval officers, at least, recognized that Japan had important strategical advantages. When the war opened the position in the Far East was roughly this:—

	Russia.	Japan.
Battleships	7	6
Armored Cruisers	4	6
Protected Cruisers	7	20
Unprotected Cruisers	—	9
Destroyers	24	19
Torpedo Boats	20	82

Reinforcements en route from Europe.

One Battleship, one Armored Cruiser, two Protected Cruisers, and some Torpedo craft were in the Red Sea, eastward bound.

Two Armored Cruisers, purchased from Argentina, were on their way from Genoa to Japan.

As has been remarked, Japan, on the eve of the war, was the smallest of the seven leading navies of the world. Last year Russia spent on her fleet nearly eleven million sterling, while Japan, for the whole of her navy, expended only £2,385,000, in addition to £500,000 extraordinary expenditure, for new ships, etc. Consequently Russia was laying out on naval power nearly four times as much as her opponent, and Japan was devoting to her whole navy a sum equivalent to the amount spent by the British fleet on coal, paint and oil alone. During the years in which Japan was waiting to revenge the insult she received from Russia in 1895, she might have been tempted to incur a heavy expenditure on her fleet and army in order to make sure of victory; instead of this the statesmen of Japan determined to do nothing to imperil the financial resources of the country, and the navy department was satisfied if it could maintain what it con-

sidered a slight margin of superiority over the squadron which Russia kept in the Pacific. Naval officers of Japan, many of whom have spent years in Russia carefully observing the organization and standard of efficiency in the fleet, believe that if fairly matched in material, the superior training, scientific attainments, and mental quickness of the Japanese officers and men would ensure victory. Russia last year spent £48,000,000 on her navy and army—probably more, but this is the official estimate; Japan, in the same period, provided a matter of only £7,500,000 for her land and sea services.

The secret of Japan's success lies very largely in the extreme care which was taken in adapting the national defensive machinery to the end in view, while a considerable sum was devoted to subsidies to encourage the mercantile marine, which has furnished transports for the army.

After the successful issue of the conflict with China, Japan set herself to the creation of a new fleet. China had been worsted though she had several armored ships, and Japan had none, except one old battleship, the Fusoo. Senator Hale would have concluded from this conflict that battleships and armored cruisers were useless, and had he been an elder statesman of Japan he would doubtless have used the same language as he did in the Senate of the United States the other day, when he quoted the incidents of the present war to support his contention that America should not go on building battleships —that, in face of the torpedo, they were obsolete. This sage legislator declared that the lessons of the war showed the vulnerability and unsafety of battleships, and the undesirability of further construction of such vessels. If struck below the waterline, he added, their center of gravity was disturbed; they turned over like a turtle, and everybody was drowned. In a word, Senator Hale argued that the evidence was against the building of any more battleships, just as some people in France have done for some years past. Japan did not suffer from such advisers. The Japanese were not led away by hasty and ill-founded conclusions. Though they never treated their former enemy with the foolish contempt with which the Russians regarded the Japanese, they correctly assessed the *personnel* equation in the Chino-Japanese War, and made allowances accordingly. Reviewing all the incidents of that struggle, and looking forward to the clash with Russia, they decided that it was essential that they should build big ships, that it was essential that they should have high power of offence, that it was essential that they should have the thickest armor obtainable, and, lastly, that they should have the advantage of speed

over anything of equal capacity of offence and defence which they were likely to meet in battle, allied with great radius of action. They determined that if it were worth while to build big cruisers, these vessels should have armored belts and good protection for the gun's crews, so as to enable them, if necessary, to take their place in the line. The national physique was peculiarly adapted to torpedo warfare, and while it was determined to build a large number of destroyers and torpedo boats, it was also accepted by the naval department as their duty to see that nothing should be neglected which foresight, constant training, and devotion on the part of the crews could do to enable these crafts to be used effectively. But it was also requisite that the fleet should have ships to act as "eyes and ears" to the battle squadrons. Had the Japanese followed British policy they would have squandered large sums of money in building huge cruisers without armored belts, in many cases without protection for the guns' crews, and even devoid of the margin of speed above that of contemporary battleships, which is of course a *sine qua non.*

It used to be one of the amusements of superficial observers to say that the Japanese were merely imitators. It was a shallow and untrue generalization. They accepted in naval matters all the guidance which the Western world could give them, but at the same time they struck out a line of their own. Acting contrary to all precedent, they created in the years following 1895 a fleet unique in the character of its units. Of the battleships little need be said except this, that in the early vessels the Japanese took Sir Wiliam White's Royal Sovereign and improved upon it, and that later on they adopted this same distinguished battleship designer's model of the Majestic, and improved upon it also. In the Mikasa, the last battleship to be completed, they acquired a vessel which, in the disposition of armor and the protection of guns, has set the fashion to the world. When it is said that the Japanese improved upon British models, it must not be forgotten that they had the expert advice of that pioneer in the designing of swift, heavily armored cruisers, Mr. Philip Watts, then at the Elswick, and that Mr. J. Dunn, one of the directors of Messrs. Vickers, Son, and Maxim, was the actual designer of the Mikasa. The Japanese have always been keenly anxious to have the latest thing, but they have had the wisdom to winnow the wheat from the chaff. The result of their policy is that they obtained six modern battleships with features which have won the admiration of the world. They built also an equal number of armored cruisers. No navy in the world had before attached such importance to the latter type of ship

as to build a number equal to the total number of modern battleships. These vessels are not only swift, with a speed from twenty to twenty-three knots, but they have protective decks, are heavily armored on the sides, and each carries four eight-inch guns, firing a shot of 210 pounds, and a secondary armament of twelve to fourteen six-inch quick-firers, in addition to twenty small weapons for repelling torpedo attack. On a displacement of from 9,400 to 9,750 tons, they got vessels with a fighting value equivalent to the German battleships of the Kaiser class, and with the same figure of value as the British battleship Royal Sovereign.

At the time that the Japanese were building these excellent ships with their belts, varying from three and one-half to seven inches, their decks of from two to three inches, side armor above the belt of five inches, high speed, good coal-carrying capacity, and great gun power, the British government were strengthening their list of cruisers with the Powerful and Terrible, and eight cruisers of the improved Powerful type. The Powerful, it is true, has two 9.2-inch guns, but the other eight vessels have no weapon bigger than six-inch, are without belt, and the speed of the best on trial has not exceeded 21.6 knots. The coal capacity of the British ships is somewhat greater than that of their Japanese contemporaries, but it is to be borne in mind that while the Japanese ships have a displacement of less than 10,000 tons, the Powerful displaces 14,200 tons, and the other eight ships 11,000 tons. No unbiased ship designer would for one moment attempt to claim that the British ships have been as good an investment as the six armored cruisers built for Japan, while many would not quarrel with the assertion that the eight ships, costing from £600,000 to £750,000 each, were among the worst investments the British Admiralty ever made, except the Powerful and Terrible, of course. The Japanese, these so-called slavish imitators of the Western nations, built no first class protected cruisers. If it were worth while to build big ships at great expense like the ten British ships mentioned above, they argued, it was madness to fail to give them armored belts. For the "eyes and ears" of their fleet they determined to rely on small, cheap, swift, heavily armed vessels, many of them about the same size as the "scouts" which have since been taken in hand for the British navy. They built twelve cruisers of from 3,000 to just under 5,000 tons, each of the larger ones having a main armament of two eight-inch guns, or one 12.5-inch piece, some vessels of quite miniature size, and, lastly, nine small cruisers without even protective decks. Acting in accordance with their definitely adopted policy,

the naval authorities provided the Japanese nation with a fleet of twelve armored ships, battleships, and cruisers, and twenty-nine scouting vessels, at an infinitesimally small outlay; at the same time eighty-two torpedo boats and nineteen destroyers were constructed. This was a larger proportion of craft of these two types than any navy in the world, in proportion to size, had ever built. In view of the ultimate aim of fighting Russia on the high seas, the Japanese would have been told by many persons learned in naval matters that, useful as small torpedo boats might be for coast defence, it would be impossible to employ them at any considerable distance from a permanent fixed base, and that they could not, therefore, be regarded as a part of the offensive naval forces of the country. The Japanese had their own opinion, and they acted upon it.

In the organization of their fleet the Japanese also followed a policy largely their own. The financial resources of the country imperatively demanded that only a portion of the ships should be kept in commission all the year round. On the eve of the war Japan had in commission only what is called the Standing Squadron, apart from certain training ships. It included the fine battleships Shikishima, Yashima, Hatsuse, Asahi, and Mikasa, together with ten cruisers. But they kept their torpedo craft almost continuously at work. This was the entire naval force which Japan had ready for action at the beginning of November last, when it was recognized that war might occur at any moment the rest of the ships were in reserve.

That reserve was of a very real and efficient character. Year by year since Japan acquired her new navy, paying for it, by the way, out of a portion of the indemnity of £32,000,000 provided by China, it had been a practice of the Japanese to mobilize the whole of their fleet. The lessons learned during the operations were noted and applied. They had always foreseen the probability that the army and navy would have to act in conjunction, and also that in a naval action it was possible that the commander of a division of the fleet would be struck down and a substitute required. The annual peace operations were utilized not only to test the efficiency of the reserves, but they were also carried out in close combination with the army, and it was the custom to embark practically all available senior naval officers in order that they might profit by the cruising and tactical exercises, and a number of army officers also went afloat. In the maneuvers in 1900, apart from officers actually engaged on board the mobilized vessels, the fleet included four rear admirals, seven captains, twenty commanders, and eleven chief engineers, while junior engineer officers

were detailed to all engine rooms, merely to watch the work there and gain experience. Twenty-three officers of the general staff of the Japanese army were also present on duty during the maneuvers, some being on board the ships, while others watched the operations from the coast fortresses. The reasoning of the Japanese authorities was this: these exercises of the fleet entail a heavy expense, and it is essential that every available officer should gain advantage from them, and it is also desirable that in view of joint operations, those responsible for the army should have full knowledge of, and sympathy with, the fleet.

How, it may be asked, has this policy stood the test of war? Late in October, Vice-Admiral Togo was detailed to take over the command of the Standing Squadron. This officer, who had shown his courage, ability, and high qualities of leadership so conspicuously in the Chino-Japanese War, at once took in hand the task of putting the finishing polish upon the war-training of his force—not "spit and polish" of old fame. Target practice became the continual occupation of the ships, even while the negotiations were in progress. At the same time the admirals commanding the Imperial dockyards were engaged in mobilizing the reserve fleet. The operation was carried out so quietly that nothing more than hints as to what was going forward appeared in the press of Japan. Had the venue of these preparations been Great Britain, every detail would have been chronicled from day to day, and probably exaggerated, and the government would have been bombarded with questions by irresponsible M. P.'s, who would have pointed out that such action was provocative of war. Japan has a constitution infinitely better suited to the waging of successful war than that of Great Britain, with the result that she was able to put on her armor without the rest of the world gaining knowledge of her action. For instance, at the end of October Admiral Togo became commander-in-chief of the squadron, and put to sea, and the notification which appeared was that it had left "for an unknown destination." What that destination was we can now surmise. Even at that date Japan was preparing that advanced temporary base in the Elliot Islands which has been in some measure the secret of the success of her operations in the Bay of Korea and the Yellow Sea. While the negotiations were being dragged on from week to week, Admiral Togo was engaged in preparing the groundwork of his campaign, and day by day was receiving further accessions of strength from the dockyards.

Had Japan been a thoroughly modern democratic country like,

say, the United States, or even Great Britain, in which every man criticises the plans of those who have made naval science their life-long study, Admiral Togo would have received many suggestions, complaints, and possibly even threats. On the eve of the outbreak of hostilities he had concentrated the whole of the fleet of Japan in or about the naval dockyard at Saseho. He had left the whole coast line of the islands of Japan, which is about the same as that of the British Isles, unprotected, and he had not even dispatched a squadron to guard Formosa. The whole littoral of the empire, with the exception of Saseho and its vicinity, was without any local naval defence. During the Spanish-American War, when Cervera's squadron was supposed to be in the neighborhood of the Cape Verde Islands, the people who lived on the Atlantic coast of the United States raised loud complaints that they were without protection. In a democratic country even the best strategists cannot ignore the ignorant outcries of the people. As a result of the protests of those who lived on the Atlantic sea coast, the plans of the strategy board were delayed, and under civilian pressure had to be amended. Those who had paid for the fleet regarded ships of war (which were really built in order that the venue of hostilities might be removed from their shores, and that the enemy's coasts might become their frontier), as mere instruments of coast defence; had they had their way to the full extent the whole course of the war with Spain would have been changed. In Japan there is no many-tongued democracy to interfere with the schemes of the naval and military authorities. From the very first the press was quietly, but firmly, muzzled as far as preparations for war were concerned, the government then sat on the shore ends of the cables, and those whose business it was to initiate and prosecute the campaign were left free from those irritations and distractions which, in time of war, are a source of weakness to every country with a free press and a right of free speech in all circumstances. When war is in the air silence is golden, and Japan owes not a little of her success to the fact that her trained advisers of the navy, as well as the army, were able to lay their plans without unnecessary interference.

Admiral Togo, acting on the soundest authority, was consequently in a position to concentrate his fleet instead of dissipating it. The issue of war depends upon the result of the clash of massed forces of men or ships as the case may be. This is the basis of the naval policy of Germany; every ship flying the black eagle is kept in the North Sea or in the Baltic; Germany is building a navy which may never be little more than about half as strong as the fleet of Great Britain, but

she is building it on the assumption that "generally a great sea power will not be in a position to concentrate all its forces against us." Her watchword is "Concentration," and that, too, was the watchword of Admiral Togo. He recognized that his fleet was much inferior to all the ships of Russia, but he also realized that the Baltic was 12,000 miles away, and that he might do a good deal before the men-of-war from Western waters could reach the Far East, if he struck quickly with his full force.

When the Japanese, irritated, but not deceived, by the prevarications of the Russians, broke off negotiations on February 6, Admiral Togo had the whole mobilized fleet of Japan at Saseho. Directly it was decided to withdraw the Japanese representative from Russia, and to hand Baron von Rosen his papers at Tokio, word was sent to the commander-in-chief of the fleet. It reached him late on February 5, and he immediately summoned a council, which was attended by the divisional commanders and by the senior captains of the fleet. These officers sat in solemn council throughout the night, and at dawn they separated with everything arranged. They were in possession of complete knowledge of the dispositions of the ships possessed by Russia; they knew not only their fighting value on paper, but the deductions from that fighting value which could be safely made owing to the inability of the Russians to dock the ships for cleaning purposes; the inadequate crews on board some of them, and the absence of any real war training. They were aware that Admiral Stark had the main body of the fleet at Port Arthur, and had lately been cruising; they were also aware that, apparently owing to the importunity of the Russian Minister at Seoul, a cruiser and a gunboat were at Chemulpo, while three armored cruisers and a protected cruiser had gone to Vladivostok to be docked and repaired; and they knew that a gunboat, the Mandjour, was at Shanghai. Now if the Japanese had been a thoroughly intelligent, democratic, self-assertive people, they would have told the navy department that it was out of the question to leave all the northern coast of Japan unprotected against raids by those four powerful cruisers at Vladivostok, within a few hours' steaming of their shores, and the governor of Formosa would have put in his claim to ships to protect the territory under his control. Admiral Togo, fortunately, had no such distraction. He decided on his course of action without thought of any matter except the defeat of Russia. The Vladivostok ships might make their way out to sea—as they did—and bombard one or more coast towns, but such a raid, inconvenient as it might be, could not affect the issue of

the war. He determined, for the time, to ignore the isolated Vladivostok squadron, and to bend himself to the prosecution of war in a manner best adapted to lead to the defeat of the main body of the Russian fleet.

On the morning of February sixth detailed plans for the campaign had been settled, orders had been issued to the officers concerned, and Admiral Togo, in order to take at once the actively offensive rôle, swept out of sight of the shores of Japan (in order that he might defend them), and away from the menacing squadron stationed at Vladivostok. Lieutenant Mutsumura, a staff officer under Admiral Togo, has supplied some particulars of what followed. The fleet was organized in four tactical units, and, accompanied by torpedo boats and destroyers, sailed on the sixth. Off Mok-po, Rear Admiral Uryu, Commander of the Fourth Fleet, was detached, amid cries of "Banzai" and band playing, to Chemulpo, with a message from Togo, running, "I congratulate you, in anticipation, on success." The same night was spent by the other three fleets in reconnoitering, the seas running so high that the crews of the torpedo craft, wallowing in the troubled waters, in the rear of the main body, suffered greatly. This officer thus describes the despatch of the torpedo vessels to Port Arthur on their deadly task:—

"The eighth dawned very fine. The squadron did not sail direct for Shan-tung Promontory, lest we should be observed by the Russians, but made for Yuen-tao (Kuan-toa), the Third Fleet leading in order the reconnoitre. The First and Second Fleets, flanked by the destroyers, followed.

"At six P. M. it was decided that the destroyers should attack the enemy.

"The commander-in-chief signalled 'Blow up the enemy's squadron! I wish success to all!'

"Some destroyers replied that they would succeed, while others declared that they would fight to the last.

"On their reparture, the entire crew of the squadron came on deck and saluted."

There had been no declaration of war, and it has been urged by Russian apologists that Admiral Stark was taken by surprise in an unfair manner. The conclusion from events is that, while the Japanese knew what the Russians were doing and proposed to do, for they had one eye upon the reinforcing squadron of Admiral Virenius, then in the Red Sea, eastward bound, the Russians were ignorant of all that was happening in Japan. As a matter of fact, the day the

Japanese fleet sailed, the Japanese legation at Tokio still had their usual quota of representatives of the Czar, and M. Pavloff, the Russian Minister at Seoul, was not unacquainted with the course of events. It has since become known that for some days he had had his suspicions as to the possible action of Japan, and on the 8th of February the gunboat Koreitz was leaving Chemulpo to carry dispatches warning Admiral Stark, when she fell in with the squadron of Admiral Uryu, which Admiral Togo had detailed to clear Chemulpo harbor in readiness for the disembarkation of the advanced troops of Japan. It is unnecessary to recount the circumstances in which this ship and the cruiser Variag were destroyed. The fact is that it was the gunboat and not the Japanese ships, which fired the first shot of the war. This was, it has been said, an accident. In war, an accident, even if it has been due to the youngest and most inexperienced sailor, is no excuse for firing upon the ships of another nation. The Koreitz foolishly began hostilities outside the harbor, and then retreated into the port, the Japanese following. It is a debatable question whether Chemulpo could be regarded as neutral since the Emperor of Korea was unable to protect its neutrality. The Japanese had determined to seize Chemulpo as a military base, and if the Emperor and his incompetent advisers at Seoul had cared to consider this an act of war, they would have been quite justified. No doubt the Japanese actually made war against this hermit kingdom as well as against Russia. Korea, however, was not even a pawn in the game; she did not count.

Admiral Togo, having sent off one division to Chemulpo, continued his course to Port Arthur. Here, again, it has been claimed that the Japanese success was due to the unfortunate circumstance that on the night of the 8th, when the famous torpedo attack was carried out, all the officers of the fleet were ashore celebrating the name-day of the wife of the admiral. On the 8th a party was given by Mrs. Stark, and it is also true that a number of officers attended, and were enjoying themselves when the first crippling blows were struck by the Japanese torpedo craft. Other officers were at the theatre at Port Arthur, witnessing a play founded upon the coming struggle, and at the moment that the Russian fleet was actually being decimated, many of the officers were cheering a spectacle representing the victory of the Czar's forces—on the stage. Many officers were ashore, but it is an entire misapprehension to state that the ships were without executive officers on board. In view of the critical state of affairs and the knowledge that war might be declared at any moment,

the holding of Mrs. Stark's evening party was a grave indiscretion which will be handed down to later generations as an illustration of the manner in which the fate of nations may hang upon a most trifling event. While the whole civilized world was holding its breath expecting each day to hear the echo of the first gun which should open the war, the commander-in-chief of the Russian Pacific squadron was ashore, and had left his ships in the outer harbor, unprotected from torpedo attack. In view of his failure to appreciate the serious *impasse* which the negotiations had reached—he had, it must be remembered, the Viceroy's daily paper, the *Novi Krai,* always hopeful and boastful, published at his very door—his error in leaving his ships in the outer roadstead is not surprising. Owing to the narrow and tortuous channel leading into the inner harbor, and the restricted deep water available there, this officer, no doubt anxious to give as little work to his subordinates as possible, thought it convenient to all concerned not to trouble to place his ships out of reach of a danger he did not apprehend, and the gravity of which, if he had foreseen it, there is every reason to conclude he would have under-estimated. The Japanese destroyers, on the night of the 8th, entered the outer harbor under cover of darkness, and succeeded in torpedoing the Russian battleships Tsarevitch and Retvisan, and the cruiser Pallada, putting these three important ships, as events have since shown, out of action for the remainder of the war. They had to be grounded; although the Pallada is reported to have been put in dock for repairs, and the Tsarevitch to have had a mud dock constructed round her, the Retvisan was hopelessly "holed." On the following morning the Japanese fleet closed in and succeeded in temporarily damaging by gunfire the Poltava, the Diana, the Askold, and the Novik.

In commenting upon this torpedo raid which gave Japan the advantage which always lies with the belligerent who can get in a first decisive blow, efforts have been made to rob Admiral Togo and his officers of the credit which is due to them for their enterprise, skill, and courage, but history will assuredly not fail to do full justice to the success which the Japanese achieved in thus placing the Russian fleet, fairly well-matched with the Japanese as it was, in a position of inferiority so serious that for many weeks not a single Russian ship went to sea, and Admiral Virenius, then in the Red Sea, almost immediately received orders not to proceed further. The damage which had been done to the Port Arthur squadron was so serious that Admiral Stark was not in a position to co-operate with the officers in command of the reinforcements, nor was that officer in

sufficient strength to move forward alone. By his first blow Admiral Togo not only disabled the Port Arthur ships, but securing to himself by this means a marked superiority of power, he also got between the three Russian forces immediately concerned, those under Admiral Stark at Port Arthur, Admiral Virenius in the Red Sea, and Admiral von Stackleberg at Vladivostok. The torpedo alone achieved this important strategic end, and from the night of February 8, apart altogether from the result of the gunfire of next day, all the anticipations and prophecies which had been previously indulged in by observers had to be readjusted to suit the changed circumstances. Admiral Togo secured command of the sea to a sufficient degree to permit transports to move in safety and pour troops into Korea, and he cleared the way for the two cruisers, which were then on their way from Genoa to Japan.

It has been concluded in some quarters that the success of the torpedo on February 8th, and on later occasions, has proved that Japan could have won her success if she had had no battleships or armored cruisers, and had depended entirely upon torpedo craft. It is a fact that so far as we know the guns of the Japanese fleet have not permanently disabled a single Russian man-of-war, while from the effect of torpedo or submarine mine, one battleship has been sunk with terrible loss of life, including Admiral Makaroff, the world-famous poineer in torpedo warfare, who succeeded Admiral Stark; three battleships, the Tsarevitch, Retvisan and Pobieda, have been disabled for the whole course of the war, so far as can be seen for the present; and one cruiser, the Boyarin, has been sunk by Russian mines, in addition to the torpedo transport, the Yenisie, and one or two torpedo craft. This is a list of casualties credited to high explosives used in torpedo or submarine mine, which may cause observers to question whether naval war cannot be successfully waged without the assistance of those heavy ships which are now costing from one to one and a half millions sterling each, or even more. Those who have followed the course of the war, and have carefully read Admiral Togo's dispatches, will recognize that great as has been the actual and moral effect of the torpedo, the efficiency of this weapon has depended upon the method of its employment. The Japanese admiral always sent in his torpedo craft at night, with a body of cruisers to hang off the port as a screen, and, on most occasions, some heavy ships of the fleet have been in the offing. It was the menace of the battleships and armored cruisers and their guns which kept the Port Arthur squadron imprisoned in the harbor. The effect of this "fleet in being" was that

Admiral Stark could not venture to sea, and it was similarly the menaces of the heavy ships on April 13 which drove the Petropavlovsk and the Pobeida upon the mines which the Japanese had previously laid in the fairway of the channel into Port Arthur. Throughout the past four months it has been the realization of the power concenrated in the battleships and the big cruisers under the command of Admiral Togo and Admiral Kamimura which has disarmed the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, and prevented the ships at Vladivostok from taking the offensive. At the same time, Japanese tactics have confirmed the conclusion that battleships and cruisers cannot remain in an open roadstead with immunity, that the Power which hopes to employ battleships when it has not docks in which they can be repaired or mechanicians who can carry out the repairs, is paving the way to disaster. Big ships must either be secure at night behind adequate defences or at least they must keep on the move at sea, when they have little to fear from torpedo boats and destroyers.

The Japanese have revealed to the world the wide range of usefulness of even the smallest torpedo boats. Possessing only nineteen torpedo boat destroyers, good sea-worthy craft, they decided to form flotillas of boats of quite small size, and these have been used with success off Port Arthur in the depth of winter, 500 miles or more from a permanent base. The secret of this lies in the early seizure of a harbor in the Elliot Islands, which has served as a base for all the torpedo craft, and in the presence there of "mother ships." Ten years ago the Japanese realized the need of "mother ships" for torpedo craft. They acquired in 1894 an old British merchant vessel, now known as the Toyohaschi, a ship of 4,120 tons, which they armed with two 4.7-inch quick-firing guns and smaller weapons, and equipped with all necessary machinery and tools for the repair of torpedo craft, while at the same time providing reserves of every variety of stores. As soon as the war began, they similarly transformed another merchant ship, and have consequently had at their advance naval base these two most useful vessels, in addition to a couple of hospital ships, the Hakuai Maru and the Kurl, each built to take 292 patients. They also provided the fleet with a steamer built for picking up and cutting submarine cables. All these ships, and a number of supply ships and colliers, have been concentrated at Admiral Togo's secret base. The result is that the admiral has been as well provided with facilities for repair, for dealing with cables, for coaling ships, for the care and removal of wounded to shore hospitals, as foresight and a slender purse could provide.

The whole secret of the Japanese success may be said to lie in the fact that the problem of the present war was studied in detail, instruments acquired fitted for the end in view, and, lastly, in the war readiness of the fleet. Directly the government of Japan had decided to throw down the gage, the fleet, held on the slenderest leash, was ready to spring forward and deal that first crushing blow which altered the whole aspect of the campaign afloat. The events of the past three months have emphasized the fact that a fleet is not maintained in order to show the flag on foreign coasts, to provide local defence to distant coast towns, or to cruise, ship by ship, in a silly isolation, but must be concentrated to meet the strategic needs of any probable war.

By the masterly strokes which Admiral Togo dealt at Russian naval power, and by the subsequent blocking of the Port Arthur channel, he freed the Yellow Sea and the Gulf of Pechili to the transports carrying the Japanese armies. He did more even than this. By "sealing" up Port Arthur, he robbed Russia of a base which the much-talked-of reinforcements from the Baltic hoped to gain with the assistance of the squadron within, disabled though it were, and he gave a singularly vivid illustration of the truth that the mere possession of ships with crews inadequate in numbers and unskilled in warlike duties, is not equivalent to naval strength. Behind the fleet, even if well-manned, and under a leader of courage, great strategical and tactical ability and personal magnetism, must be a well thought-out organization, and dockyards well equipped and with ample supplies of labor for repairs. Japan has supplied the world with object lessons in warfare and the influence of the command of the sea, but, above all, she has illustrated the fruits of intelligent, careful organization and the meaning of being ready for war. She has humbled a power against whom even Napoleon could not prevail.

EXCUBITOR.

A BALLAD OF APIA BAY.

By the Late Rowan Stevens.

By green Upola's curving shore the slender palm trees wave,
And peaceful billows, rippling o'er, its yellow beaches lave.

The dusky native dreaming lies beneath his mango tree,
Or in his swift canoe he flies along the dimpling sea.

From isle to isle, and port to port, his pleasant way he seeks,
From Apolima's island fort to Tutuila's peaks.

So calm it is, so gentle there, so soft the ruffling breeze,
It seems amid the scented air an Eden of the seas.

But eastward, eastward! know ye well, along the ways of doom,
A thousand leagues of Ocean swell to give the Storm King room!

At sunrise in Apia Bay the triple fleet was lying,
It flaunted in its brave array its colors on the air;
Beside the Knightly German Cross the Yankee Stars were flying,
And the Meteor Flag of England hung in folds of glory there.

Ashore, we watched the glowing scene; the peaceful harbor spreading,
The ships atanto, trim, serene, the launches to and fro,
The quartermaster's glass in hand, their snowy decks atreading,
The graceful spars that rose on high, the long, dark hulls below.

At sunset in Apia Bay, from eastern darkness soaring,
The tempest growled its awful way in gathered clouds of gloom;
It burst along the waters grey with thunder and with roaring,
And swept the billows' crest away in clouds of misty spume.

Through scudding spray towards the deep our eager glances straining,
We saw the stout ships roll and leap amidst the mounting seas,
We saw their funnels, black with smoke, the leeward darkness staining,
We saw them t'wards their anchors steam, and watched the cables ease.

But fiercer, louder rose the storm and piled the breakers higher,
And on there drew a drifting form, all hopeless of relief,
Dismasted in that awful sea, and drawing ever nigher,
Along the furious white lee shore towards the roaring reef.

She struck upon the solid rock, the angry waters churning,
And quivering at the awful shock, her bows she lifted high,
And down she plunged full fathoms deep, her riven keel upturning,
And o'er the thunderous billows rang her last despairing cry.

Then, as the tempest lulled again, amid the scattered shipping,
The gallant Trenton beat in vain against the rushing gale,
And, battling grandly in her wake and seaward ever slipping,
The royal ship Calliope dipped low her British rail.

We watched their gallant officers, the decks all slowly pacing,
The knots of stalward sailor-men, the trim marines arow,
And, as they plunged their nosing bows, we heard the engines racing
Or humming with a steady hum, as sunk the screws below.

And on they struggled, side by side, by where the Eber drifted,
A helpless wreck, a shattered hull, along the howling bay,
By where the stranded Nipsic hung, with every breaker lifted,
And where with crowded tops and shrouds the sunk Vandalia lay.

Too soon we knew the fate they bore, their varied courses reading,
The Trenton gathered way no more, the Briton gave her room,
And through the shades of falling night we dimly saw them spreading,
The Briton to the open sea, the Trenton to her doom.

Then as the Briton crossed her bows, to seaward disappearing,
The Trenton's men together manned the shrouds that swung on high,
And o'er the thunder of the deep there rose the sound of cheering,
A tribute to the heroes saved, from those about to die.

And once again, and once again, superb and death-defying,
The voices of the Trenton's men rang o'er the rising squall,
Till rose anew the tempest's roar, its feathery vanguard flying,
And darkness settled down once more—and night was over all.

But through the night of death, at last, the dawn come greyly gleaming,
And morning's waves arose and, moaning, lipped their prey,
And with her rigging, ripped and torn, on leeward billows streaming,
The noblest wreck among them all, the gallant Trenton lay.

Oh, Britain! when the flame is cold, and quenched the fitful ember,
That fired us to hate of old, and fratricidal war,
The hearts of England still shall hold, and cherish, and remember,
The Trenton's parting cheer that rolled by far Samoa's shore.

THE CHINESE ARMY OF THE NORTH.

(Translated from the French by Captain F. D. Wickham, 12th Infantry.)

OLD CHINA, after centuries of stagnation, which has made of her a unique product of social outlawry, appears to be satisfied, from a military standpoint, to deceive herself by quickening her aptitude and progress.

I hasten to say appears, because the changes that have been made in the army of the Celestial Empire are, however willing the observer and one that professes a little love for this interesting race, more apparent than real.

I happened to be in China during the two periods of war. In 1894 I saw the Japanese campaign, in 1900 I witnessed the European-American-Japanese crusade against the Celestials. In five years all had changed. From an armament of the middle ages, the Chinese had quickly passed to one of the most perfect and modern. There is no more doubt there; China has aroused from her stupor and broken with her traditions. Will she be able to walk in the steps of the Empire of the Rising Sun?

In their campaign of Corea and Manchuria in 1894, the Japanese were at war with nothing but hordes of soldiers remarkable by their lack of discipline and the prehistoric character of their arms. The famous army of Li Hung Tchang, then so much talked of in Europe, had no value. They had, it is true, a semi-modern armament, but extremely mixed. In one section of infantry were encountered the following rifles: Gras, Albini, Dreyesse, Chassepot, Martini Henry, etc. Furthermore, the cartridges carried by the soldier were not those for the rifle he carried in his hand. The Imperial Guard, charged with the protection of Pekin, were provided with matchlocks, lances, tridents, blunderbusses, worked by two men, whose recoil regularly overturned the firer, battering rams, guns a thousand years old—dangerous weapons—loading sometimes at the muzzle and sometimes at the breech.

Nothing astonishing then that the gallant army, thus equipped, made but a mouthful for its adversary. The campaign for the Japanese was nothing, as it were, but a maneuver against an outlined enemy, upon which they fired with ball cartridges and loaded shells.

The Chinese troops would not stand fire, I understand, and likewise excuse them. What would you do against the balls of the Murata with shields for the "Tigers of War," or the Mussulman cavalry of Kan-Sac, that I saw through Pekin going to Manchuria? The men had some rare old muskets, lances and tridents, most of them had nothing but simple sticks pointed with old rusty nails. This was a cavalry of the same kind that was so easily put to rout at the bridge of Pa-li-kao (in 1860), by our artillery, a rout which was soon changed to panic. I do not speak of the troops with banners, a sort of reserve of Mandchou soldiers that had been called under arms to oppose the Japanese; they were not armed the same. Their march through the streets of the capital produced the most picturesque effect. Each man —or almost—carried an immense flag and a saber. Now to hold the flag solidly it was necessary to use both hands, but, it is true, the flagstaff could be used as a lance. The banners were also composed of archers, and the shooting of the bow is in high favor with the mandchow Tartars.

By their number, and above all by their size, flags, pennons, and streamers of all kinds held an important place in the Chinese Army. The flags were as large as sheets, and all this array of many colored banners had the immense advantage, which, over and over, they were unable to guard against, of signaling from afar, to the enemy, the presence of Chinese troops.

The defeat inflicted by the Japanese was, to the Celestials, a cruel humiliation; the Great China, the "Center of Population" conquered by this little Japan, for which she had nothing but contempt. The European Powers, profiting by this heartrending state of the Chinese government, hastened to offer them instructors who could organize a good and solid army. The ambassadors competing good naturedly with Tsoung-li-Yamen to obtain the support of their nations in orders for artillery, small arms and war vessels. The agents of large firms lavishing on the mandarins generous bribes; for these military affairs, gold was truly the back-bone of the war, and a serious backset; better and sounder arguments triumphed with difficulty.

Rapidly the nucleus of the army was getting together, at Nankin and Pe-tchi-li. All the viceroys of provinces were purchasing arms of Chinese manufacture.

Europe could before long declare herself satisfied; in furnishing instructors to the Chinese army and filling their arsenals with all modern material, she gave to proud China a confidence—exaggerated fortunately—in her power, a confidence that permitted the government to allow her to be drawn into all the follies of the "Boxers" and

to declare against Europe, Japan and America, a war that would cost her horribly dear with all the nations combined.

The Chinese troops of Generals Ma and Nihi, that were engaged at Tientsin and Peitsang (August 14) stood fire very well, inflicting serious losses upon us. They had a perfect armament; the fire of their artillery (Krupp model 1896) was remarkable. If the famous Yuen-chi-kai, present viceroy of Tientsin, had obeyed the orders of the Emperor, if he had marched against us his excellent army of Chan-Toung, the allies not only would not have taken Tientsin, but by the beginning of July would have been driven into the sea.

The valor of these troops, trained by Europeans, was a cruel surprise for the allies.

However, at Tientsin we could not know but that this was the same Chinese army. We had all, first and foremost, judged the quantity neglectfully, when Admiral Seymour made the audacious and unfortunate march on Pekin. This resulted in making us consider this same army one of the first order (extremes meet it seems). Also after the taking of Tien-Tsin, instead of pushing on to Pekin with 12,000 men, we hesitated and talked of waiting for the arrival of 40,000 men on their way from Europe—and that we could do but little until September—and we would have waited, if the Japanese had not, after the battle of Peitsang, urged, in spite of themselves, the allies on to Pekin and delivered the legations, the principal object of the campaign, which had been all but lost to view.

The Japanese understood the Chinese marvellously well. They knew that this force had not the valor that had been accorded them. The army that had fought at Tien-Tsin was very good, but it was but a weak nucleus, compared to the mass of armies of the viceroys. These had modern arms, it is true, but was this sufficient to make them strong troops?

This is what happened at Pekin; for fifty-five hours 350 sailors and 50 volunteers held off an army of seven or eight thousand men, supplied with all the implements of modern warfare: this proved that the perfected army could be nothing if it did not serve to carry the gates.

The legations were besieged, turn by turn, or simultaneously, by the troops of Song-Lou, the "Invincibles" of Li-Pin-Heim, and the Mussulmans of Xenophobe, Fou-Fou-Sian. Very fortunately, these troops had poor commanders, who did not know how to use their arms or who served without confidence and with reluctance. Their armories were filled with Krupp and Manlichers. And yet the walls were defended by smooth bore guns, also some old guns without

carriages dating from the first centuries of our era. These ancient rampart guns were fired from the magazines.

Rifled artillery could, if it had been well directed, have reduced the European quarter to cinders in a few hours, but the Krupps, trained by the Chinese, firing at random, the shells, of which the fuses were regulated by "punching their noses," exploded where and when they could. The Chinese had not the least conception of the use of the rear sight, or the repeating mechanism of their rifles.

The results that they obtained were pitiful enough. Therefore they tried to strengthen their natural tendency to believe that all these arms, brought from "barbarians of the western seas," were not so good as the old arms which had served them for centuries past. Was not the double saber or the crossbow, in a hand to hand contest, superior to the little revolver? The guns of the Emperor Kan-Si, so noisy and so heavy, were much superior to the Krupp, so fragile looking. Of what value were the Mitrailleuses, Maximum or Nordenfeldts, compared to five rifled guns, mounted on the same platform and whose fuses were lighted simultaneously? And would not the rocket fire the houses much better than all the time-fused or percussion shells?

Nevertheless, the saviors of the legations were not a little surprised to find on the walls of the city a prodigious accumulation of all sorts of arms, obsolete and modern, having the effect of a retrospective exhibition of artillery.

The race, the most conservative in the world, could not do, all at once, more in the domain of war than in the domain of moral ideas, tables of thirty centuries past that all the defunct generations are striving to maintain unchangeable. The Chinaman, as some one has said with reason, lives with his feet in the present and his head in the past. Why not leave them in this sweet torpor, when it gives them arms to fight with for a day? It is but a regret that they suffered some instructors, and if the purchase of arms was not bad in their sight, it was because the mandarins were finding large profit in it.

For the Chinese to humor themselves, in this way, became a second nature. From us they had acquired a modern armament; they had created a few military schools. From the brilliant titles of the officer, as he came from a Celestial War College, he was considered the equal of the man of letters. China is not a military nation, nevertheless, the highest and popular divinity is Konan-Ti, the God of War, who is also the God of Riches. They have always been governed by moral ideas; the brutality and force of war is distasteful to them. The saber is an object of scorn. The pen only gives glory and fortune.

In case of war it is the bright man of letters who understands the commanding of an army. He is recognized—at the feet of Confucius—who can recite without a mistake 100 pages of the Lives of Saints, but not so for him who understands the loading of a repeating rifle. And what of this improvised taking to officers of European education, who cannot shoot a bow, who cannot raise and throw a heavy stone or wield the heavy halberd of 25 pounds, or imitate the tread of the tiger with a saber in each hand?

In conclusion: The selling, strictly arms,—above all of most perfect and delicate mechanism—to China, would be a lucrative business. But it does not teach them to use them with mercy. And that for a time, at least, history serves for future generations and that the affair of Tien-Tsin and Pekin teaches them that the best means to make the Chinese support them, is not to give the Chinaman the means with which to drive them from the Flowery Kingdom.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

An analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the most important and valuable articles.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. The Russian Cavalry.—*Jour. Cav.*, April.
2. Four or Six Guns to the Battery.—*Bulletin of Military Notes No.* 1.
3. The New National Guard.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, May-June.
4. Canada's New Army.—*Same.*
5. A Map Card System.—*Same.*
6. The British Naval Budget, 1904-5.—*Mar. Rund.*, April.
7. The U. S. Naval Budget for 1904-5.—*Same.*
8. The Army and South Africa.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, April 16.
9. Some Notes on Naval Needs and Requirements.—*Nav. Inst.*, March.
10. The Fleet and Its Personnel.—*Same.*
11. The Two Years' Service in France.—*Rev. du Cercle Mil.*, April 16, 30.
12. Two Imperial Problems.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, May.
13. Imperial Defence.—*Same.*
14. British Field Organization.—*Same.*
15. The Organization of Volunteer Infantry.—*Same.*
16. Changes in the World's Armies and Navies.—*Mar. Rund.*, April, May; *Nav. Inst.*, March, June; *Bulletin of Military Notes*, No. 1; *Journal R. U. S. I.*, April.

The *first* of these articles is a translation from the French which gives a very good idea of the Russian cavalry, especially of the Cossacks, their training, modes of attack in battle, and their peculiar characteristics. The article is a continued one and is well illustrated, especially by cuts of the Cossack horseman in his various drills mounted.

After describing the *lava*, the peculiar charge as foragers of the Cossacks, the author takes up the subject of *cavalry raids*, and we quote a few of his remarks:

RAIDS.

"The War of the Secession exhibits the employment on a grand scale of masses of cavalry, really independent, moving on a large radius, without thought of their communications, and knowing how to utilize their arms under all circumstances. However, these remarkable experiences passed unperceived in Europe; the latter saw in the American raids a result of the employment of improvised cavalry, composed rather of expert pioneers than of instructed cavalry soldiers. Besides, it was believed that their employment was useful only over the vast tracts embraced in the theatre of operations of the American Armies, and that these achievements would be impossible in Europe on account of the *terrain,* cultivated, wooded, intersected, and densely populated.

"Since then public opinion has fully come to an appreciation of raids; it has been demonstrated that on the battlefields of Europe no cavalry has been at the height of its usefulness in modern campaigns. The exploits of the French cavalry in 1805 and 1806, principally in exploration and pursuit, have never been equaled. One can cite as memorable actions on the battlefield only those illustrated by the Austrian cavalry at Custozza, in shock action against the Italian infantry. The War of the Secession alone has seen realized in the action of two opposing bodies of cavalry what can be demanded and expected from that arm under the conditions of modern war. The raids of the Northern cavalry exercised a predominating influence in crushing the resistance of the Confederates.

"The employment of great flanking raids, utilized with success by the Americans, profoundly impressed the Russians, as their war customs during the campaigns of the Empire and their expeditions in Central Asia, as well as their predilection for fighting on foot, had well prepared them for these kind of operations. The desire to practice them on a grand scale has been one of the determining causes of the organization given to their cavalry."

The *second* article is on a subject that has been under consideration by the military world ever since the introduction of the latest rapid-fire field gun.

The *third* article is of considerable interest in connection with the new Militia Law; it is by Colonel James M. Rice, (late) National Guard of Illinois, and is to be a continued article. The main question in this, the first instalment of the article, is in reference to service *on foreign soil:*

"There is nothing in the Constitution that in any way limits the place where the National Guard in the service of the United States may be used. The only limitation is as to what occasions shall justify the President in calling it out. When once in the service of the United States it is subject to the same Constitutional provisions as the regular army and volunteers in every particular, except as to the appointment of its officers.

"Professor Ordroneaux is cited as authority to the contrary; but his argument that the militia cannot be used outside the United States breaks down completely in two places. It is based upon that section of the Constitution which gives Congress authority 'to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasions.' The Professor says that in the history of this provision there is nothing indicating that it was ever contemplated that such troops should be employed outside the boundary of the United States. This is his first error and it is a very important one. When the Constitution was first drafted this clause included after the word 'Union' the words, 'enforce treaties,' so that it read, 'to call forth the aid of the militia to execute the laws of the Union, *enforce treaties,* suppress insurrections and repel invasions,' manifestly intending to include every purpose for which military force could properly be used. This clause was retained in this form until the Constitution was almost completed, and until after treaties had been made the supreme law of the land, by the second clause of the first section of article six. Then, upon the motion of Gouverneur Morris, the words 'enforce treaties' were stricken out, as being superfluous, since *treaties* were to be *laws,* which was agreed to '*nem. con.,*' to use the quaint words of the record. This bit of history plainly shows that the Convention expressly intended the word 'laws' to be construed to include 'treaties,' in this clause in particular, and that it was unanimously intended that the organized militia should be used to enforce treaties. This, of course, cannot be done by staying at home.

"Professor Ordroneaux's argument breaks down in the second place where he contends that as the militia are intended to repel invasions, *therefore* they must remain in this country. This conclusion by no means follows that premise. The defender always places himself between the thing defended and the aggressor. Military men, the men 'skilled in the art' of defence, say that if the militia cannot go beyond our borders it is disqualified for our defence. To repel invasion successfully, the invader must be met beyond our lines, not after the invasion is already completed; and when he is overcome he must be fol-

lowed beyond them and demolished. The Professor's unstated major premise is one of military strategy, in which he does not pretend to be an expert. It is that 'to defend our borders we should stay this side of them,' whereas the best way is usually to go beyond them. With the mistake in his major premise the Professor's conclusion falls, and with it goes the argument of all who have maintained the doctrine that the National Guard in the service of the United States cannot be constitutionally and legally used beyond our borders."

The *fourth* article relates to the new volunteer bill in Canada, previously referred to in *Our Contemporaries*:

"Even Canada is providing for war. A bill which is to be put before Parliament for the purpose of providing for an army of two hundred thousand men has been drafted and no doubt will go through without a hitch.

"The idea is to take such steps, by means of central depots and training schools, as to have always forty-six thousand volunteers on hand. This number can be easily increased in time of war, by calling out country reserves to the number of one hundred thousand. In addition to this, there is to be a nucleus for a second line of defence of another one hundred thousand men. This nucleus is to consist of an additional field officer for each regiment of infantry, for instance; and for each company a captain, a subaltern, a surgeon, a corporal and two men, who are to keep track of the available men in their districts and are to raise the second line of defence as soon as the first one hundred thousand has started for the front.

"Lord Dundonald, the present British General commanding the Canadian militia, seems to have got along much better with the local authorities than most of his predecessors, and it is said that many of the new militia departures are due to his suggestions.

"The matter of appointing militia officers will be entirely changed. In the past this used to go a good deal by favor, but the latest orders issued say that no man can be appointed to a higher rank than that of provisional lieutenant unless he has the qualifications prescribed for the rank he seeks to attain."

The *fifth* is a proposed modification of one of the important elements of administration, namely, the location of the troops of a division, department or other large district, in such a way as to enable the officer in command to determine quickly where his troops are at any moment, and to obtain promptly all the information needed at headquarters in regard to each locality or unit. This is accomplished by means of the *card system* applied to a map of the country. The

latter is on a comparatively large scale, the cards being inserted in slits in the map, these slits being cut near the stations, towns, etc., to which the cards apply. Of course, this card system is useful in war as well as in peace, in the bureau office as well as in the field.

The *sixth* is a very full account of the discussions in Parliament on the naval budget for 1904-5, and a clear presentation of the developments in the British navy in the past ten years.

The *seventh* is a similar but briefer paper on the U. S. Naval Budget for 1904-5.

The *eighth* article is of some interest to us and our Army, and is worthy of consideration:

"The remarks which we made last week as to the necessity of maintaining a large garrison in South Africa receive ample confirmation from every subsequent report. It was inevitable that after the war a large body of troops should be maintained in the country, and, although it has been possible to reduce the number, everything goes to show that there must be a permanent garrison of respectable strength. The attitude of the Boers is not that of perfect submission. In their acknowledgment of our power there is always the reservation that something may arise to reduce it.

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"This being so, it becomes very important to consider the situation of the forces in South Africa, and there is no denying that service in the colonies has become very unpopular. So much is this the case that the prospect of serving in that country acts unfavorably upon recruiting at home, and the situation is becoming so grave that it must become a subject of consideration with the Government whether somewhat greater dependence cannot be placed upon local forces. Service in South Africa presents a very marked contrast to what we observe in India, where there is general contentment, owing to the fact that the pay is comparatively high, and that the comfort of the troops is a matter of careful consideration. Leave for officers is on a generous scale, and they can procure opportunities for sport and necessary change, which add a great deal to the satisfaction which they derive from the military career. It is particularly unfortunate that military service in South Africa should be regarded with disfavor, and it becomes very important first to inquire into the causes of this dissatisfaction, and then to attempt to discover the remedy.

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"There can be no doubt that the primary cause of discontent was the retention of the troops for a long period without explanation or relief. Moreover, the conditions of life have been peculiarly hard, and have not been distinguished from those of actual campaigning.

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"But the greatest grievance of all, especially in the ranks, has been the insufficient pay, while at the same time the cost of living is excessively high. The man is unable to indulge in those little luxuries to which he has been accustomed at home, and, although beer and tobacco may not be all he requires, yet serious consideration must be given to the provision of such things. It is impossible to expect the British soldier to be content when he finds that his pay is considerably less than the wage of the average Kaffir, while the white civilian is regarded almost as a millionaire.

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"The comforts and tastes of officers and men must be considered; there must be leave upon a generous scale; there must be pay adequate to meet the conditions of the country; if the purchasing power of money cannot be increased, its amount must be increased; there must be variety, change, and brightness imported into the life of the soldier; and generally there must be a resolute attempt to do away with all those causes which lead to the present discontent. Thus only can the welfare of South Africa be assured."

The *ninth* is a carefully considered scheme of naval organization, which is simple and effective, and is worthy of study by all interested.

The *tenth*, a prize essay, is another able article on the same general subject.

The *eleventh* discusses the proposed *two year* term of service.

The next four articles relate to British army and navy organization questions, which also have some interest for us.

MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

1. The Training of Japanese Naval Officers.—*Marine Rundschau, April.*
2. Esprit de Corps.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, June.
3. Training of Cadets for the Army.—*Same.*
4. College Detail Work.—*Same.*
5. Uniform Drill Regulations in the Army and Navy.—*Same.*
6. The Kaiser Maneuvers, 1903.—*Same.*

7. Army Teams in National Trophy Match.—*Jour. Cav.*, April.
8. Instruction of Non-commissioned Officers.—*Same.*
9. Maneuver Reports.—*Same.*
10. Company Target Records.—*Same.*
11. French Army Maneuvers, 1903.—*Bulletin No.* 1.
12. Lessons of the French War: Cavalry on the Battlefield.—*Same.*
13. Army Education.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, April 16.
14. Professional Study in the Army.—*Same.*
15. The Cyclist Maneuvers at Aldershot.—*Same*, April 9.
16. A Plea for a Higher Physical, Moral and Intellectual Standard of the Personnel of the Navy.—*Nav. Inst.*, March.
17. The Fleet and Its Personnel.—*Same.*
18. The Military Education of Officers.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, April.

The *first* of these articles is a brief outline of the course of study and the system of training of the Japanese naval officer, a lecture delivered by Captain Sato of the Japanese Navy before the Royal United Service Institution.

The *second* is an excellent article, by Captain J. P. Jervey, Corps of Engineers—the Silver Medal Prize Essay.

The *third* is a discussion (quoting many authorities) of the scope and character of the instruction best suited to the Military Academy. It is by one of the Academy's ablest graduates, E. S. Holden, now librarian there.

The *fourth* is a plea for the proper recognition of the graduate of military colleges:

"A matter which should be taken up and carefully considered by the War Department is the devising a plan for the proper utilization, in future wars, of the military graduates of educational institutions where army officers are detailed as professors of military science and tactics. The enactment by Congress of the law permitting the detail of army officers at the various schools and colleges throughout the country, thus scattering broadcast the seeds of military knowledge, was an exceedingly wise proceeding and should be prolific in the results aimed at, viz., the fitting of a large number of the youth of the country for commissions in our future volunteer armies; but this wise enactment has been largely discounted, if not nullified, by the failure to make any provision whatever for properly utilizing this crop of embryo officers after it is harvested.

"The value of this adjunct to the military personnel of the nation does not seem to have been fully realized.

"The young men at these institutions, brought early in life under the influence of regular army instruction, *i. e.*, instruction conducted by a regular army officer, securing in the four years at school or college more and better military training than the most apt national guardsman in twice the time, these young men with a regular army standard of discipline, unbiased by the loose methods often prevailing in militia organizations, should prove the ideal volunteer officer of our future armies.

"Yet what provision is made for the utilization of this fine officer material? Practically none.

"The Government at considerable expense of time and money has established and maintained this excellent system of what is almost universal military instruction, and then stopped short. Having carefully reared the flower it has failed to pluck it, has allowed it to wither on the stem.

"During the Spanish War, the military graduates of these institutions, instead of securing the commissions which they should have had in the volunteer regiments, were often actually rejected because of their very qualifications. Their standard was too high for the picnic soldiers.

"Strong political influence was required to secure the most subordinate positions for these well-qualified candidates for commissions."

The *thirteenth* is a very readable article on army education:

"Lord Kitchener's recent army order embodying the conclusions he has formed of the general preparedness of the army in India, and containing a serious warning against its becoming a mutual admiration society, appearing at the same time as the report of the Moseley Commission, is particularly interesting in its comparison with the latter. Both, judged on broad lines, run in parallel courses and draw similar conclusions—insisting on the importance of individuality and of encouraging and developing initiative and originality, traits and characteristics hitherto thoroughly stamped out and discouraged by our system of military training.

"The British public is now waking up to the fact that we must keep pace with the times. America and Germany, having benefited by our experiences, will be going ahead of us in everything if we do not remodel our system of education to suit future requirements; fortunately this is being realized and proper attention being paid to it. It is probable that the remodelling will not have much effect for some little time on the training of the classes from which our army officers

are drawn, as the military colleges have largely the moulding of these, but this is not the case with the rank and file.

"Those who join the service in future without education must make up their minds to remain in the ranks or attain their genera. education elsewhere.

"With a little careful management army training can be made attractive and popular, provided that every effort is exercised to avoid dull monotony. The individual must be attended to and advanced as he becomes properly acquainted with his subject, and not kept back to the pace of the slowest of a batch. Consideration must also be paid to his powers of endurance and inadvisability of making him attend school after military training of a fatiguing nature; after a long field day he might hardly be in the frame of mind to benefit by school instruction, and attendance at school might even be worse than useless. Hitherto this is a point that has not been fairly considered in the interest of the individual soldier, and compulsory school attendance has done a great deal towards rendering soldiering unpopular, and so been detrimental to recruiting."

The *fourteenth* is on a closely related subject:

"It has long been accepted as an axiom that a regiment, or an army, is what its officers make it, and its officers are what their professional education makes them. But what professional education do our army officers get? Those who know the army best will reply that it is altogether insufficient, that it is in a marked degree inferior to that given in our navy, and in many respects it is far below the standard accepted in some foreign armies. How many, or how few, of our officers have risen to rank and fame by the sole means of consistent and persistent study of their profession, and by the intelligent application of that study to their daily practical work?

"It is the system that is to blame for all this, not the officers. To begin with, the boys who come in through competition are not always of the proper social standard, nor are they often of the best quality in other respects, whilst the number of those who join for the sole purpose of becoming 'gentlemen' is steadily increasing. And it is men of the latter class who must be held responsible for the great increase of expenses, which is due to the fact that they have more money and less grit than had the sons of poor gentlemen who formerly filled the commissioned ranks; and, furthermore, they are independent of the service, and are quite wanting in the inherited military instincts and traditions which are so essential to one who intends to become a professional soldier.

"Our naval officers are admitted to be the best in the world, and there is no valid reason why those in the army should not be equally good, if they were only brought up in the same way. Theoretically, we are a peaceable nation, but some portion of our forces seems to be nearly always engaged in war. Our standing army is a very small one, and, therefore, it is essential that every officer in it should be as thoroughly efficient as it is possible to make him; should be, in fact, a professional soldier and an earnest student of his profession. Unfortunately that is far from being the case now."

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

1. The Eastern War.—*Marine Rundschau,* April, May; *Mar. Rund., Beih.* 6-8; *A. and N. Gaz.,* April 9, May 6; *Mil. Mail,* April 8, May 5; *Rev. du Cerc. Mil.,* April 9, May 6; *Jour. Cav.,* April; *Jour. M. S. I.,* May-June; *Bulletin No.* 1; *Jour. R. U. S. I.,* April.

2. The Sea as a Theatre of Operations and as a Battlefield.—*Mar. Rund.,* April.

3. Sea Routes and Overland Routes: Their Relation to the Far East.—*Mar. Rund.,* April.

4. Grierson's Raid.—*Jour. Cav.,* April.

5. General Young's Campaign in Northern Luzon.—*Same.*

6. Five Years a Dragoon.—*Same.*

7. The Wanderings of Aguinaldo.—*Jour. M. S. I.,* May-June.

8. Journal of Major André.—*Same.*

9. A Japanese Forecast.—*Same.*

10. Russo-Japanese War Notes.—*Same.*

11. The Fighting in Thibet.—*Mil. Mail,* April 8; *Rev. du Cercle Mil.,* April 23; *A. and N. Gaz.,* April 9.

12. Cable Cutting.—*Nav. Inst.,* March.

13. The Moveable Base.—*Same.*

14. The Lesson of Port Arthur.—*A. and N. Gaz.,* April 23.

15. Transport and Supply.—*Same.*

16. Blockades.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.,* April.

17 Campaigns Against India from the West.—*Same.*

18. Railways in Modern Warfare.—*Same.*

The articles on the war in the Far East will be utilized in preparing our paper on the strategy and tactics of that great struggle now going on. We quote, however, from an interesting article in the *Army and Navy Gazette,* a few paragraphs, which appear to be of more than usual scope:

"The military operations of the war in the Far East are now

reaching an extremely interesting stage, although the difficulties presented by the terrible state of the roads will for some time impede the rapid movement of troops. The course of events will be of exceeding interest to soldiers throughout the world, because, in strategic circumstances of much complexity, the armies of two great powers, each possessing high military qualities, and provided with all the advantages and resources which the competence of far-seeing statesmen and soldiers could provide, are moving to a conflict which is to change the face of affairs in that part of the world, and to leave no nation unaffected by its result. It is certain that the historian of the future will look upon this war as comparable in magnitude and importance to many of the greatest conflicts of the past. There is high strategic interest in the situation as affected by the influence of the sea. It was too readily assumed that the Russian fleet at Port Arthur had ceased to be a potential force, but it is still, as we write, 'in being,' and its existence is likely to influence greatly the opening stages of the campaign. That the fleet has been reduced to an attitude mainly defensive has brought about the present situation, the inability of the Russians to command the sea having made it impossible for them to retain their hold upon Korea. There were many who expected that Ping Yang would be the great battle ground, but those who saw further, and among them General Kuropatkin, knew well that for the Russians to attempt operations upon a large scale in that region, even if successful at the outset, would probably imply disaster later on. The Japanese, based upon the sea, would be able to land troops at Chinampo, and, as the ice melted, further west to the mouth of the Yalu and Ta-tung-kau, whereby they would be enabled to cut the communications of an army operating in Korea, and perhaps to destroy it.

"Certainly not the least interesting feature of the operations will be the manner in which the troops are handled in action, and the British Army will wait with a good deal of curiosity to see how the lessons of South Africa influence the tactics of the generals and troop leaders. The Japanese are keen soldiers, but it is not certain that they have completely realized what must result from the introduction of smokeless powder and long-range arms of great precision. That the new ideas have penetrated the Russian military schools or been adopted by the Russian generals seems improbable. Major Baron von Tettau, in an extremely interesting lecture delivered before the Military Society of Berlin last November, gave his impressions of the troops in the Kieff district, which for fourteen years had been under the command of General Dragomiroff, whose tactical ideas have had a very large influence upon the training of the Russian Army. The

Baron witnessed the operations of the greater part of the infantry and artillery of five army corps, and of four and a half divisions of cavalry, all probably the cream of the Russian forces. The infantry attack was of that bodily offensive type advocated by Dragomiroff: 'Shoot slowly, but well, and be ready with the bayonet.' There was evidence of a strong spirit of the offensive, and the firing line, firing little and making a few short pauses, rushed forward to the bayonet attack, leaving its supports far behind, and the reserves in masses much in the rear. Similarly, the cavalry had been taught to depend upon the *arme blanche,* and to follow their leaders in 'silent' exercises, without words of command, charging down upon the enemy at the gallop. It is easy to conceive that such tactics might bring about disaster.

"Another matter of extreme interest will be the influence exerted by the qualities of officers. It is well known that the Japanese officer is trained upon a very remarkable system, entering, much as youths do who are intended for the navy, while yet a boy of from thirteen to fifteen. His training begins at a military preparatory school, extending over three years, after which he goes to the central preparatory school at Tokio for a twenty-one months' course. The discipline is very severe, and the work practically continuous from morning till night. This is followed by a period of six months in the ranks with a regiment, after which the youth joins the Officers' School, and specializes, going through a very severe course, which includes a great deal of study, and much drill, riding and gymnastics. We should judge that the officers so trained must be of high efficiency."

The *second* and *third* articles are interesting studies of immense importance, and are well worth careful study by us.

The *fourteenth* is a good picture of the war and an excellent summary of some of its lessons:

"We are witnessing in the Far East developments as interesting in their strategical and tactical bearing as the world has ever beheld. Certainly not since 1854-1855 have we had an opportunity of observing the progress of combined naval and military operations so important as those which have for their object the capture of Port Arthur. Within the half-century which has elapsed since the fall of Sebastopol profound changes have passed over naval material, while the means at the soldier's disposal are far more efficient than they then were. Yet there is a real analogy, little affected by these changes, between the situation of Sebastopol and that of Port Arthur, which will not escape students of strategy and military history.

"It was sea power that enabled the troops to besiege the Crimean stronghold, but it was land power that enforced its fall, and that fall resulted, not only in the destruction of a fortress, but in the fall of a prestige, and also in the annihilation of a fleet. It is true that in 1854 the Russians themselves sank their ships across the harbor mouth, in order to prevent the ingress of hostile vessels—which is unnecessary at Port Arthur—but it was the fall of the place that consummated the naval holocaust. There is still room for speculation as to the fate of the Russian fleet, caught in a fatal entanglement at Port Arthur, and great victories achieved by General Kuropatkin might yet change the complexion of affairs. Can that fortress hold out until growing strength on land and naval reinforcements from Europe avail to avert its fate? It were, perhaps, unwise to predict, but the possibility is increasing to a probability that the whole naval power of Russia in that region will be broken up and destroyed. Will it be the hard lot of Admiral Skrydloff to have himself to blow up the ships of that fleet which he is called upon to command?

"If the course of events assumes this probable development, we shall witness a repetition of what occurred at Sebastopol in 1854. The destruction of the Russian fleet will be brought about by the action of the Japanese Army. Naval power cannot alone reduce Port Arthur. To bring about the capture or surrender of the place an army is required as well. The fortress must be isolated from its communications, and it must be carried by assault, reduced by the regular methods of siege, or starved out by the slow process of famine.

"The salient fact upon which we desire to insist is that, great as have been the successes of the Japanese, the final result of the war will depend upon their ability to defeat the Russians with their forces in the field. No mine can destroy the headquarters of General Kuropatkin; no force can advance at eighteen knots to cut him off; no army can retreat with the same rapidity and disappear without leaving a trace, to reappear again when the occasion may arise; no supply column can move over hundreds of miles at sixteen miles an hour. If Port Arthur is to fall, with all that that tremendous event would imply, though the fleet may open the way, the army will be required to achieve the result. If the Russian fleet is destroyed, the Japanese Army will complete and enforce the result. It will not be the first time that military forces have achieved like success.

"The sea is the means of approach, but only the military forces can strike the decisive blow; and by extraordinary skill in their combinations, by the finest qualities of their troops, and by endurance that will test them to the core, alone can the Japanese attain the

objects they have in view. There is a lesson in all this for us. In Japan the command of the sea is regarded only as a means to an end; there are those among us who have regarded it as an end in itself.

"Let it be recognized that we require a sufficient army also, an army efficient and ready, provided with everything that it can require, and let it be the earnest study of statesmen, as of naval and military officers, to investigate untiringly all those matters which concern the strategic co-operation in every possible future way of the naval and military forces."

The *fifteenth* is also of some general interest:

"One of the more important changes to be introduced under the War Office reconstitution scheme is the separation of the duties of transport from those of supply, which are henceforth to be under separate directors in the quartermaster general's branch. This arrangement, which has caused some discussion, is being made an order to bring the constitution of the War Office into line with the organization of the armies employed in the field, in which, say the Triumvirate, 'there should be a director of transport and remounts, and a director of supply.' They see no necessary compatibility between the two functions, and their argument appears to be unassailable, although there are certainly those of high competence who have insisted that the two duties, though distinct, are so intimately related that they cannot in practice be worked apart from one another."

The *sixteenth* is a gold medal prize essay of particular interest to the navy and the coast artillery; it is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject of *blockades* and the naval tactics connected therewith.

ARTILLERY AND FORTIFICATION.

1. Artillery Fire vs. Bullet Fire.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, April 9.
2. Cavalry Machine Guns.—*Jour. Cav.*, April.
3. The Future Armament of the German Army.—*Bulletin, No.* 1.
4. The New British Field Gun.—*Same.*
5. The Hyposcope (illustrated).—*Same.*
6. New Swiss Artillery Material.—*Same.*
7. The Army Debate.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, April 16.
8. Notes on Ballistic Tables.—*Nav. Inst.*, March.
9. The New Artillery Material of Holland.—*R. du Cerc. Mil.*, April 23.

"A naval officer present at the battle of Chemulpo, whose experiences have been published, seems to have been impressed with the

effect on the personnel of the Japanese shrapnel fire, and, when describing the state of the Variag after the fight, said, 'All the men in her fighting tops were either killed or wounded by shrapnel bursting over the ship.' At first sight, when one considers that at sea 'bullet fire' is considered of secondary importance as compared with 'shell fire'—by which I mean to distinguish 'shrapnel' from 'exploding' and 'detonating' shell fire—this would seem to be a plea in favor of the employment of shrapnel on land. This, however, cannot be considered an argument of any value, as I propose to endeavor to show.

"While hitherto 'time shrapnel' has been, and is now, regarded as the most efficient man-killing artillery projectile on land, its best effects are undoubtedly to be seen at sea in a naval duel, since, when the range is once found, the changes are uniform, and in the event of a faster ship chasing a slower one, the range can be changed at will or kept constant. The target cannot select an irregular course, appear and disappear at short intervals, or disperse and concentrate at will. In fact, the conditions that presented themselves for the employment of time shrapnel to the Japanese at Chemulpo were as favorable as a battalion in quarter column in the open at medium range would present to a battery in action on land, than which no more ideal target could be met with. The Chemulpo fight, unfortunately, cannot afford any valuable lessons in fire tactics, owing to the very unequal nature of the contest at the outset. So far as the Variag was concerned, she was set on fire by the effect of shell fire from several ships which she engaged single-handed (and she only a protected cruiser of 6,500 tons), was finished off by an armored one of 9,750 tons displacement.

"We are now coming to a time when we shall have to decide between a large bore, and consequently heavy gun, throwing a bullet-filled envelope, and a small bore, quick-firing, light gun, throwing high explosive shell, and, with other considerations, mobility and modifications in fire tactics must be thrown into the scale. Timely arrival on the field, and good practice when there, must not be dissociated, and examples taken from naval fights, where the conditions are so very different, afford little assistance to the solution of the problem."

The *seventh* article relates to the British field gun:

"The very important question of the new field gun was also discussed, and here we confess to feeling certain misgivings. A vast outlay for military purposes is now imposed upon the country, and it is of extreme importance that every penny should be spent well.

"The gun is at least equal, and in the opinion of many good judges superior, to the latest gun now being made for Continental armies. It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the position of the gun question in Germany, where the artillery experts are men of high competence in all that concerns ordnance matters. They know very well what are the qualities of the much-lauded French field gun, and they recognize that better things are possible. The Erhardt gun was found unsatisfactory, but the Artillery Committee reported with perfect satisfaction upon the performances of the new Krupp model. Yet the Germans are not satisfied, and extreme caution is shown in their deliberate study of the question. The Krupp gun may be excellent, but it has not been definitely adopted, and a new pattern, known as the 'compromise gun,' is now under trial. If, then, our new field gun possesses all the qualities that its admirers attribute to it, who shall say that when the German gun is manufactured it will not possess greater advantages."

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The change in the Secretaryship of the Navy Department, which went into effect on the first of the month, came at a time when various policies which have been in process of formulation during Secretary Moody's term were about to be fully developed. It is probable that they will be at least delayed until the new Secretary becomes familiar with the details of the Department. While in some respects it is an advantage to have a change in the head of the Navy Department once in an Administration, the process of breaking in a new man is not a matter of days, but of months. Naval conditions are constantly changing, a fact which accounts for the considerable number of new propositions which are offered for the approval of a Secretary, and it often happens that before an innovation can be adopted or tried another change has brought about the necessity for a modification. Naval conditions in all probability never more than approximate general satisfaction, but frequent changes in the secretariat undoubtedly make for an uncertainty as to departmental policies.

Two more of the officers who have been on duty at the Department in Washington have been detailed to good commands—Captain Barnett, of the General Board, who has been one of the chief sponsors of the General Staff plan, goes to the Kentucky as commanding officer, and Lieutenant-Commander Alexander Sharp, who has been in charge of the bureau of the enlisted personnel, is to have the Chattanooga.

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Secretary Taft of the War Department is much away from Washington at the present time filling engagements for addresses which are urged upon him in considerable numbers. A very large amount of the detail work and some of the matters of general policy which were formerly administered by the Secretary have been taken charge of by the General Staff organization, and the Secretary has more time at his disposal than his predecessors. Secretary Taft is a forcible and entertaining speaker and will probably figure prominently in the coming campaign. It was though that his absence in the Philippines would have put him

out of touch with Continental affairs, but this appears not to be the fact, and he is coming up rapidly in strength and promises to be eventually the strong man of the Cabinet. Those who have met him speak highly of his personality, and there is already talk about Washington of Taft as a Presidential possibility when leap year comes around again.

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The unanimous voice of official circles in favor of the promotion of Assistant Secretary Darling to be Secretary of the Navy must be a source of much gratification to that gentleman. He has, during the absences of Secretary Moody, been the guiding spirit of the Department in many important matters and has achieved unusual success in a difficult position. As administrator of the details of the Marine Corps, the navy yard work and the civilian personnel under the Department he has had probably the most vexatious part of the work to do, and his patience and tact have brought many delicate situations to a successful outcome.

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The situation as to the trials of submarine boats is a rather complex one and it is possible that the subject may give the incoming Secretary of the Navy some difficulty. There seems to be some trouble in getting the makers of rival types together for competitive trial. Last fall the Lake Company was anxious for a trial, but the delays in getting a final reply from the Holland Company as to whether they would put in a boat and in arranging a date for the inspecting board kept the matter along until too late to do anything, and it was assumed that the Lake people would be ready in the early summer to go on with a test. When the time came, however, for some reason not explicitly stated, the Lake boat was not ready, and there has been a rumor that she has been sold to Japan. The people interested will not admit the truth of the statement, but it is said that they are at work on another boat, and they give no idea when the Protector may be ready for trial. The story went that the Protector was safely hoisted on board a tramp steamer, that some employes of the Lake company were offered large bonuses to go abroad and that the Japanese have actually got the boat. It has been held that a torpedo boat which can be taken on board another vessel is on the same par as other munitions of war which may be sold by citizens of a neutral country without infraction of the neutrality proclamation, and the only risk involved is that

of possible capture as contraband of war.

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The laws and regulations relating to neutrality have been the subject of considerable comment, and diplomatic action, though delayed, is still expected. The questions of mines in the open sea, of the status of wireless telegraphy and of war correspondents are still open and at any day an event in the war may bring the consideration of either to be a vital question. The declaration of coal as contraband of war carries with it a consideration of the status of coaling ports. Under the practice of the Civil War, which constitutes the last series of illuminating incidents on this point of international law, it was held that a belligerent in a neutral port could have only so much coal as would carry her either to a home port or to the nearest other neutral port. But is was held that there should be a bona fide intention to proceed to some definite point and out of the jurisdiction of the neutral power affording the accommodation, that the belligerent ought not remain in adjacent waters and subsequently apply for a further supply of coal, and that it should not seek another port of the same power under similar conditions within the limits of the same voyage unless very considerable distances intervened between such ports. Under this contention of the United States, there were numerous complaints that neutral powers were affording coal supplies to Confederate armed vessels, and the effect of the diplomatic representations made considerable difficulty for the Confederates in securing enough coal to enable their cruisers to keep the sea. There were counter-complaints that vessels of the United States received accommodations similar to those against which the United States inveighed when afforded to Confederates, but the representations of the superior power on the sea naturally secured the greater weight. The particular discussion of this point is as to its effect on the cruise of the Russian Baltic fleet to Asiatic waters. It has been held that two successive ports belonging to the same neutral power ought not provide coaling accommodations. It is difficult, however, to see how, in case of a bona fide continuous voyage such as is contemplated, the accommodation could be refused by a neutral power without serious offence to Russia, or how a Japanese protest could be effective in the case suggested.

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Incidents attending the target practice of the Illinois in Long Island Sound in June indicate

that it may be necessary to either restrict target practice to the annual winter maneuvers which are held in Southern waters, where comparatively smooth water may be had with a freedom from interference by passing craft, or else hold the summer target practice at a greater distance at sea, with the consequent additional delays and inconveniences. Complaint has been made that the target practice of the Illinois interfered with the business of the fishermen along the coast, and Captain Bradford rejoined that, if the fishermen would control their curiosity and keep away from the ship and out of the line of fire, the practice would be materially shortened so that the ships could get through in much less time than is the fact when the gunners have to wait for some fishing vessel to get out of the way. The difficulty in rigging a target in a considerable seaway with the nature of the test imposed should the target have enough motion to be frequently obscured by wave motion, makes a moderately smooth sea essential for successful practice, and this means rather close proximity to a coast line. It is possible that a device in the way of a seagoing target may be developed for the relief of the shore fisheries.

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An allotment has been made by the board of ordnance and fortification of the army for the purchase of ammunition for the test of the 6-inch wire-wound gun, the design of General Crozier, and which is to have an exhaustive test this summer. An allotment has also been made for the purchase of a range-finder with a horizontal base which is to be tested in comparison with the vertical base range-finder at Fort Monroe.

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An experiment made at Indian Head on the temperature of the chamber of a gun immediately after firing a series of five shots does not add materially to the strength of the theory of heated gases as an explanation of the ordnance accidents in the Navy. It was shown after the series of five rapidly fired shots that the temperature had only risen 6 degrees C., and that the maximum was not more than 84 degrees F. Lieut. R. W. McNeely, U. S. N., states positively in an article in the *Scientific American* that, by carrying a pressure of half an inch in the turret on the "closed stokehold" plan and by directing a stream of compressed air on the breech of the gun, danger was absolutely eliminated in the Kentucky and that shot were frequently fired at intervals of thirty seconds.

The progress of construction indicates the adoption of a turret with a closed base to eliminate danger to the magazines, an experimental model of such a turret having already been built. It is contemplated in connection with such a closed turret to have stringent regulations as to the opening and closing of communicating hatches.

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It is a perhaps not unnatural but at the same time rather depressing fact that relatives of the men who were killed by the explosion on the Missouri continue to make demands for indemnity, sometimes in terms that indicate that they are influenced entirely by the money consideration. There is, of course, no way in which such indemnity can be recovered. The risk of life is one that is included in the terms of enlistment in the Army or Navy, and no member of the personnel has the right to consider that his life is other than subject to the chances of the service. It was, however, well put in the letters sent by the Navy Department to those who had distinguished themselves in the Missouri affair, that frequently the boldest is the safest way, and that there is no more probable way of incurring personal injury and loss of life than in hesitating to take prompt and bold action.

Among the promotions made by the retirement of Rear-Admiral Read is that of Commander George M. Stoney, formerly commanding officer of the Dolphin. Commander Stoney has been ill during the winter with what at one time was feared to be a permanent disability. His health has materially improved, and the fact that he was able to pass the physical examination for promotion disposes of the fears of his friends as to his entire recovery.

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Current stories of the month affecting the foreign policy of the United States were that the Philippines were to be ceded to Japan for a monetary consideration and that the presence of the fleet of the United States in Tangier was with a view of territorial occupation.

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It has always been an open secret that the order of the Administration that officers of the Army on duty at the War Department at Washington should wear their uniforms while at work has been unpopular with the officers and there has been an undercurrent of protest which is becoming apparent with the hope that the new Secretary may make a change in the requirement. The recent order giving an option as to the uniform to be worn

during the summer has given opportunity for an expression of opinion, and it is practically unanimous, apparently, against the rule. Outside of the added cost of wearing uniform over civilian dress, there is the element of conspicuousness, in a distaste to which American officers and those of the British service show a marked contrast to those of the Continental service.

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Capt. F. N. McClure, quartermaster, Fifth Cavalry, has made a report on the new army uniform in which the results of a recent march are given with approval of the entire uniform with the exception that he notes that the thread used seems to be poor, as rips were frequent. He says that dust shakes from the blouses freely and they are left apparently as fresh as new. Grease spots fade out and entirely disappear in a few days. The quality of invisibility is said by him to be considerable. A number of troop horses were seen a mile or so away. They at first appeared to be traveling loose, but a more careful scrutiny proved that they carried riders. The new army overcoat is especially commended.

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The National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice in the United States has formulated an elaborate scheme for the promotion of interest in rifle practice which includes the expenditure of a million dollars a year for five years. The plan includes the issue of suitable arms for rifle practice to schools which provide ranges and for a provision under which governmental arms may be purchased by individuals and rifle associations. Provision is also made for issue of ammunition to those qualifying as marksmen and for an elaborate series of badges and medals. It is urged that Canada has set on foot a similar scheme, which will, it is believed, develop half a million qualified marksmen. The necessity to meet which the new plan has been developed is quite apparent in the United States. The settlement of the country and the disappearance of game has eliminated the old-time source of training in marksmanship and the interest in the militia organizations does not bear its proper proportion to the growth of population. The result is the fact of a majority population to which a modern rifle is as strange a weapon and article of use as the crossbow or sling. In fact there are probably learned pundits in the art of war who would not know what to do with a Krag if it was handed to them. Target practice, even for the organized militia, is not easily administered.

In the rapid growth of cities land becomes populated or in the vicinity of population and the rifle ranges are bit by bit pushed into less accessible locations and into decreasing use. With a more general interest in rifle practice there could be more elaborate arrangements than the simple tract of unimproved land with the more or less rude target arrangement at the further side, and the time may come when the crack of the rifle will be sweet music in the ears of competing hundreds, rather than a nerve-torturing nuisance which, with its suggestively whistling bullet, is to be exiled to the most remote corner of the municipality.

* * *

The torpedo boats of the Navy are coming into demand for use in connection with power launch races, which have come to be the current aquatic sport. The flotilla of the coast squadron will attend the regatta of the Eastern Yacht Club in July, and the Truxton did duty at the ocean steam yacht race of the New York Yacht Club on June 18. The development of the high-powered launch is regarded as of great value to the Navy. Experiments in the use of high powers in small boats which could be carried on only by the expenditure of much time and money by the Navy are quickly carried out when the matter has become one of commercial interest. The search for higher power from less weight is never-ending, and the automobile and the power launch have carried the matter far within a comparatively few months.

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The report of the board on the use of liquid fuel for making steam is summed up in the statement that the mechanical features of the use of oil for fuel have been solved and that it is practicable to use it economically with devices which are described generally in the board's report. There is, however, the drawback that the available supply of oil fuel is only about three per cent. of the total use of combustibles, and the conclusion must be drawn that it can only be economically used in competition with coal under special circumstances which give to the oil especial commercial advantages. For naval use the problem of carrying a sufficient quantity is a question of naval construction that has not yet been solved. The full report of the board, which is probably one of the most important steam engineering undertakings in the history of the use of steam, is to be published in full by the Navy Department. The edition will necessarily be limited, but it will be possible for

technical men to take advantage of the twenty-eight months of most thorough and painstaking work of the board.

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The work of the Panama Canal Commission is attracting a number of the clerical and administrative force of the War and Navy Departments. Rear Admiral Kenny, retired, formerly Paymaster General of the Navy, has been appointed the treasurer of the Commission and he has taken with him N. N. Faucett, formerly chief clerk of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts, to be his principal assistant. Several of the clercial force of the War Department have also secured or are to secure places under the Commission, which apparently is able to command the pick of clerical assistance.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

Messrs. McCammon & Hayden, attorneys for Paymaster H. E. Biscoe, U. S. Navy, have filed an appeal from the sentence of general court-martial in the case of that officer. The grounds of the appeal addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, are: "1. It was impossible for the accused to secure a fair and impartial trial because of the prejudice of the convening and reviewing authority (Rear Admiral R. D. Evans, U. S. Navy). 2. The findings and sentence are contrary to the evidence and contrary to law. 3. The sentence imposed is excessive." Reference is made to Rear Admiral Evans' comment on the findings of a court-martial of which Paymaster Biscoe was a member, that officer having been severely criticised by the reviewing authority. It is admitted by counsel that Admiral Evans was permitted to signify his disapproval of any proceeding of the court, "but to indulge in such a vicious and libelous denunciation of the court as a whole and of Mr. Biscoe and two other members by name," add the attorneys, "was a most reprehensible act, demonstrating bitter personal malice and entire lack of judicial discretion." The publication of the court-martial order was, it is held, in effect the administering of punishment in the form of a public reprimand imposed without trial or conviction and contrary to the letter and spirit of the 24th article for the government of the navy; that the charges made by Admiral Evans against Biscoe were without a shadow of foundation or the slightest justification; that it could not be expected that an honorable and self-respecting man should endure quietly such outrageous abuse published broadcast by his superior officer; that the protest of Biscoe prejudiced Admiral Evans against him and had an influence with the court which eventually tried Mr. Biscoe, resulting in findings which are now the subject of appeal. In the review made by counsel of the facts connected with Biscoe's trial the attorneys say: "We shall show that Admiral Evans acted in the capacities of informant, grand jury, nominator of the petit jury and appellate court, and that his bitter prejudice against Biscoe, openly expressed and published, was bound to influence and control the members of any court composed of his (Evans') subordinates, trained from boyhood in lines of subordination."

It is further alleged that Admiral Evans had determined to bring Biscoe to trial before he received the proceedings of the court of inquiry "and probably had the charges and specifications in readiness." Requests for the postponement of the trial in order that two officers then engaged in target practice might appear as counsel and for a copy of the proceedings of the court of inquiry in Biscoe's case were refused. It is held that a trivial occurrence was magnified by Admiral Evans into the basis of a charge of

wilful and malicious falsehood, the attorneys adding:

We submit that it is preposterous to prefer the charge at all, but to follow this by a denunciation of the court because it failed to convict Mr. Biscoe of the charge was a patent exhibition of malice and prejudice against the accused.

The account of Mr. Biscoe's trial disclosed by the record reminds us of the sad tale of the mouse, related in "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" (p. 37):

"Fury said to the mouse,
That he met in the house,
'Let us both go to law:
I will prosecute you.—
Come, I'll take no denial;
We must have a fair trial:
For really this morning I've nothing to do.'
Said the mouse to the cur,
'Such a trial, dear sir,
With no jury or judge, would be wasting our breath.'
'I'll be judge, I'll be jury,'
Said cunning old Fury:
'I'll try the whole cause, and condemn you to death.'"

The criticisms here made of the conduct of Admiral Evans are not intended as an attack upon that officer who is on trial. They are made for the sole purpose of showing, and they do show, that his prejudice and bias against Mr. Biscoe were all sufficient to and did cause a miscarriage of justice and deprived the latter of the fair trial to which he was entitled. We submit that on this ground the sentence of the court should be vacated.

The appeal quotes from the evidence to show that the findings and sentence of the court in Biscoe's case were contrary to the evidence and contrary to law. It is pointed out that the sentence in his case would be equivalent to the loss of about 150 numbers in the line of the navy; that it would delay Biscoe's promotion to the grade of pay inspector until 1922 and might prevent him from becoming a pay director. It is also pointed out that the reduction would place him below Paymaster E. W. Bonnaffon, who was his junior and who was a member of the court which tried and sentenced him. The attorneys say in conclusion:

"In consideration of Mr. Biscoe's fine record, in consideration of the fact that he was brought to trial and tried under circumstances which made the administration of justice impossible, and in consideration of the pettiness of his fault, if indeed he were guilty of any fault, we respectfully request that the Secretary set aside the sentence and order that he be restored to the position in his grade which he occupied when brought to trial."—*Army and Navy Register*, June 11, 1904.

McCammon & Hayden, attorneys for Paymaster Biscoe, have filed with the Navy Department a brief in his behalf on appeal from the sentence of the court-martial in his case. The grounds of this appeal are as follows: "1. It was impossible for the accused to secure a fair and impartial trial because of the prejudice of the convening and reviewing authorities. 2. The findings and sentence are contrary to the evidence and contrary to law. 3. The sentence imposed is excessive." Each of these points is argued at length. Speaking of the members of the court-martial in the case, the brief says: "Every one of them knew that he must either fulfil the wishes of the commander-in-chief, whether right or wrong, or else submit to a torrent of abuse, such as that poured out by Admiral Evans upon Biscoe and his associates of the Nicholson court. Each

one of them knew that because of the exalted position occupied by Admiral Evans, he would have to endure meekly any abuse that Admiral Evans might be pleased to utter and publish. Each one of them read the court-martial order in the case of Paymaster John W. Morse, which was published by Admiral Evans while Biscoe's trial was in progress, and knew from the violent expressions therein contained that the commander-in-chief could be appeased by nothing but the imposition of a heavy sentence on Biscoe. * * * Admiral Evans's disagreement with the finding and verdict of the court on the fourth charge (falsehood), shows the persistence of his hostility toward Mr. Biscoe, and shows that his vindictive spirit was only half satisfied by the sentence imposed. * * * We shall find convincing proof, not that the accused was of the charge, guilty, but that Rear Admiral Evans was unfit to discharge the duties of convening and reviewing authority and being swayed and governed by his personal likes and dislikes, seemed incapable of giving the slightest heed to the evidence or the merits of the case."—*Army and Navy Journal,* June 11, 1904.

"DO THEY KNOW?"

Do they know? At the turn to the straight
Where the favorites fail
And every atom of weight
Is telling its tale;
As some grim old stayer, hard-pressed,
Runs true to his breed
And with head just in front of the rest
Fights on in the lead;
When the jockeys are out with the whips
With a furlong to go;
And the backers grow white to the lips—
Do you think *they* don't know?

Do they know? As they come back to weigh
In a whirlwind of cheers
Though the spurs have left marks of the fray,
Though the sweat on the ears
Gathers cold and they sob with distress
As they roll up the track.
They know just as well their success
As the man on their back.
As they walk through a dense human lane
That sways to and fro
And cheers them again and again,
Do you think *they* don't know?"

—*London Sporting Times.*

JAPANESE LYRIC.

My little bird,
My bird born in my Mother's tears,
She flies, stretching her wings so,
And from under her wings she drops my Mother's message:
"Come home, Beloved!"

Running out from my Mother's bosom,
My little river,
She suddenly stopped her song,
And looking up to the sun,
She in her ripples flashed my Mother's message:
"Come home, Beloved!"

My roses,
My little roses grow in my Mother's breath,
They are sad to-day,
Casting their faces down,
In their petals I read my Mother's message:
"Come home, Beloved!"

—[*Yone Noguchi in National Magazine.*

FROM THE SILVER MEDAL ESSAY.

ESPRIT DE CORPS.

BY CAPT. JAMES POSTELL JERVEY, U. S. A.

"OUR regulations should be broad and general in character, and a compliance with the spirit rather than with the letter required. A too rigid insistence on adherence to the letter of regulations suppresses initiative and intelligence, gives an excuse for avoiding or shifting responsibility, destroys esprit de Corps, obstructs development of character, and converts officers into administrative automatons." — *Published in Journal of the Military Service Institution.* May—June No. 1904, 2d Paragraph, p. 408.

THE FLAG OF OUR COUNTRY.

(An address delivered before the Surfmen's Association.)

"Stand by the flag! though death-shots round it rattle,
And underneath its waving folds have met,
In all the dread array of sanguine battle,
The quivering lance and glittering bayonet.
Stand by the flag! all doubt and treason scorning,
Believe, with courage firm and faith sublime,
That it will float until the eternal morning
Pales in its glories all the lights of time."

At the last annual meeting of the Surfmen's Association you were happily favored in having that accomplished gentleman and veteran, Major Piper, our efficient and courteous assistant general superintendent, to deliver an address, the theme being "The Life-Saving Service of the United States," in which you were told in an ever changing kaleidoscope of stirring and vivid incidents the daring, the pathetic, the suffering, and tragic phases so familiarly and closely interwoven in your web of life and duties as a national surfman and life-saver along the desolate, grim and storm-lashed stretches of coastline encircling our vast country.

The illustrations thus presented for your attention appealed closely to the finer and more sensitive emotions slumbering in your hearts, which you found responding, involuntarily, to the inspiration of that silver-tongued orator, stirring the sensibilities and awakening sympathetic feelings as he described vividly scenes ranging from grave to gay, with incidents of exciting and thrilling import, to sombre and heart rending tragedies involving wreck and disaster, mid wild, surging seas and ice clad shores.

To attempt a further elaboration of that subject, on my part, could only impress you as a hideous distortion, a caricature on the original which, like a gem of the old masters, stands peerless and alone in its beauty and perfection. I shall, therefore, invite your attention to *"The Flag of Our Country,"* under whose protecting folds we serve, in whose defense and honor we should be willing to dedicate our best efforts and lives, and, while living, should thank God that we enjoy the proud privilege of claiming each star and stripe as a portion of our birthright and heritage as American citizens.

In many instances the surfmen of the life-saving service have been recruited from the ranks of fishermen, a class who are necessarily familiar with the sea in all its changing moods and phases. It may prove of

interest if I briefly sketch an outline pertaining to a class of men who have attained distinction, and always maintained their integrity and honor amongst their fellow man.

The occupation of fishermen is practically the same in every age and land. The men who follow it, whether along the shore or in the deep sea, always command a tender interest as reminding us vividly of Christ's chosen companions and apostles; "they were fishers," washing and mending their nets, casting them into the sea, breaking them as they hauled them in inclosing a multitude of fishes. The Lord Christ himself stood on the shore and watched the fishermen, took passage with them on their fishing craft, and, on one occasion, directing them where to cast their hooks and where to let down their nets. By miracle He rescued them when they were in jeopardy from boisterous winds and raging waters; He made them fishers of men. To fishermen at their toil He graciously showed Himself after He was risen from the dead, blessing their haul and eating fish with them on the beach when they landed.

Fishermen fought the battles of their country in remote ages. Four hundred years before the Christian era Plutarch relates that in an engagement between the Syracusans and Athenians, "not only the men from the ships, but the very boys from the fishing boats, challenged the Athenians to come out."

The founders of Venice and the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam were fishermen. Fishermen were the pioneers of British and French civilization in America. France was directly indebted to her fishermen for the immense domain which she acquired in this hemisphere. Long before England had a home in America a law was passed to correct abuses on our fishing grounds. Through all the wars and disputes between France and England touching their respective possessions in America; through the war of the Revolution, and in the negotiations at the close of the War of 1812, the fisheries occupied a prominent place, and were often the hinge on which turned questions of vast importance. Entire communities believed that no way to wealth was so sure and so rapid as adventures for herring and codfish; and that men of the highest rank set their hopes and fortunes on the cast of the net and line.

In 1750 the clerk of the company of fishmongers of London, addressing Frederick, Prince of Wales, made the remarkable statement that "This company is famous for having had near three score lord-mayors of the city of London, besides many of the most considerable merchants and eminent citizens of it." It appears from another source that the fishmongers' company is one of the oldest in the realm, and that six of the lord-mayors spoken of were appointed in the space of twenty-four years.

The Romans, like the Egyptians, carried the art of rearing fish to great perfection, and almost every rich citizen had his fishpond; and Cato, in complaining of his country, said, "It was a hard matter to save Rome from ruin, when a fish was sold for more than an ox."

Some of the most eminent warriors and statesmen were extravagantly fond of fishing. Marc Anthony was one of these, and Plutarch relates the following fish yarn—one of the oldest on record. "He was fishing one day with Cleopatra and had ill success, which, in the presence of his mistress, he looked upon as a disgrace. He therefore ordered one of his assistants to dive, and put on his hook such as had been before. This

scheme he put in practice three or four times, and Cleopatra perceived it. She affected, however, to be surprised at his success, expressing her wonder to the people about her, and the day following invited them to see fresh proof of it. The vessel was crowded with people, and as soon as Anthony had let down his line, she ordered one of her divers immediately to put a salt fish on his hook. When Anthony found he had caught his fish, he drew up his line, and this occasioned no small mirth among the spectators. 'Go, general,' said Cleopatra, 'leave fishing to us petty princes of Pharos and Canopas, *your* game is cities, kingdoms and provinces.' "

The fisherman's rank is humble, but sometimes he inscribes his name on the page of history. Benkels, who invented the process of preserving the fish, and who, according to the sneer "caused the Dutchmen's bodies to be built of pickled herrings," was a benefactor to his race, and the emperor, Charles the Fifth, accompanied by his sister, Margaret of Hungary, visited his grave and ordered a magnificent monument to be erected to his memory.

Massanillo, the young fisherman of Naples, led his countrymen in their revolt against the Spanish rule, and rose to supreme power more rapidly than mortal had ever done before him; but, shot down at last without trial and like a dog, was dragged by the rabble, set on by the nobles, through the ditches of the city.

In American annals Phipps and Pepperell rose to the highest rank to which colonial subjects ever attained, and were envied and slandered in consequence of the honors bestowed upon them.

A Spanish fisherman, known as Jep-del-Estango, joined the party of Don Carlos as a simple volunteer; but, promoted step by step, was finally appointed to the command of an army of eighty thousand men. So, too, the Count de Morello, whose father was of the same humble origin, became, by the force of his talents and the circumstances of the Civil War, the second general in the Carlist army. The fisherman is loyal to duty. "Jesus of Nazareth reigned in the fishing boat from which He taught." The faithless one who betrayed Him was not among those who had cast their nets in the sea of Gallilee; he who took the thirty pieces of silver was neither Andrew, the first chosen one, nor Peter, his brother, nor Thomas, nor James nor that disciple who, ever present with his beloved Master, has come down to us as the one whom Jesus loved. The same fidelity is found in profane history. Caius Marius, as he fled from the court of Hiempsel of Numidia, uttered the prophetic words: "Go, say to the Roman governor that thou hast seen the exile Marius, sitting on the ruins of Carthage," and, embarking in a fishing boat, was borne beyond the reach of his enemies and pursuers. The illustrious Pompey was overthrown on the plains of Pharsalia, sheltered in the hut of a fisherman the night which followed his ruin. He set sail on the morrow to meet his wife, Cornelia, and to perish.

The beautiful Mary of Scotland suffered a decisive defeat from her rebel lords, adopted the resolution of throwing herself on the protection of Elizabeth of England, she crossed the Frith of Solway in a fishing boat, and was safe from her own subjects; but the act was fatal to herself, and gave a new and strange coloring to the subsequent part of Elizabeth's life and reign. The battle of Worcester was lost to the second Charles, and he fled for his life, and who was more true to him in his hour of need than

the fisherman of Tattersal, who, as he bore the fallen monarch from the shores of England, exclaimed, "By the grace of God, I will venture my life and all for him and set him safe in France, if I can." So, too, the battle of Culloden sealed the fate of Prince Charles Edward, the Pretender, and he also fled. Thirty thousand pounds was the price which tempted men to betray him, but he sought the huts and boats of the fishermen who had been faithful to his dynasty, and eluded the vigilance of his enemies. We will glance at the patrioism and public services of American fishermen. In colonial days they were ever among the foremost to enter the ships and armies furnished by the colonists to aid England in her struggles with France, and in every strife in French America. They lie buried in every battle ground in Canada and Nova Scotia; and their remains were committed to every sea, as the records bear witness.

In the war of the Revolution fishermen were driven from their employment, finding occupations in the army, and as seamen on board the public and private armed ships commissioned by Congress. In the meanwhile their taut vessels were stripped of gear and canvas, while the hulls rotted and chafed at the wharves or on the bleak beaches, and their families, deprived of their usual support and protection, were reduced to want and untold suffering.

The people of Plymouth, Mass., depended almost entirely for subsistence upon the seventy-five vessels which they employed in the cod fishery; and though the difficulties with the mother country, if war ensued, threatened them with ruin, they espoused the Whig cause with enthusiasm.

When the tidings of the blood shed at Lexington reached them, sixty of these vessels were in their harbor. The fishermen supplying themselves with arms, marched to meet the loyal troops, and by the time they arrived at Marshfield their number had been increased to nearly one hundred men. The people of Salem and Beverly were like zealots. From the opening to the close of the contest they were extensively engaged fitting out and manning privateers; and, in a single season, despatched to sea, to prey upon British commerce, fifty-two vessels, which mounted about seven hundred and fifty guns, and carried crews of about four thousand men.

At the Revolutionary era Gloucester was a place of inconsiderable note; yet sixty-five men for the Continental army at Cambridge were enlisted there in four days, and two companies of Gloucester fishermen shared in the glories of Bunker Hill. Upon the ocean they were even more numerous, and thirty married men belonging to that town perished in the wreck of a single privateer. During the war of the Revolution over 200,000 tons of British shipping were captured and destroyed by the vessels fitted out at Boston, Salem, Marblehead, Newburyport, Portsmouth and elsewhere along the New England coast, and the seamen manning them were largely drawn from the staunch and patriotic ranks of the fishermen. Marine insurance rapidly rose as high as 50 per cent., and the mercantile interest became at last so clamorous as to render the war unpopular, and to embarrass the ministry in their measures to continue it.

The services of the people of Marblehead, Mass., are entitled to special notice for the record they achieved. When, in 1774, the port of Boston was shut by act of Parliament, they tendered to their suffering brethren the use of their wharves and storehouses free. The first actual avowal

of offensive hostilities against England is found in an act passed by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in November, 1775. It was framed by Eldridge Gerry, a merchant of Marblehead, whose business depended on the fisheries. It authorized captures upon the sea. With "its preamble, it was printed in the *London Magazine* as a political curiosity," and John Adams calls it "one of the most important documents in the history of the Revolution."

The fishermen of the town gained an enviable reputation for themselves during the war, and John Selman and Nicholas Broughton were the first commanders appointed by Washington after he assumed command.

Another commander of merit was Mugford, who took a powder ship early in the war and perished in the enterprise. And still another is Samuel Tucker, who is said to have captured more British guns and seamen than Paul Jones or any other captain in the service of the thirteen States.

"Paul Jones first gained the rudiments of seamanship in a fishing boat, and as soon as he was strong enough to grasp the tiller or haul a line he was striving to make a livelihood on the waters of the Solway. His father was also fish warden for an influential family in Scotland. In the summer of 1759 a ship owner was at Arbigland, Scotland, looking for sailors to man one of his ships about to sail for the Chesapeake. Late in the afternoon one day the attention of the villagers was attracted to a small fishing yawl beating up against a stiff northeast squall to gain the shelter of the small creek that formed the boat harbor of the hamlet. The ship owner did not think he could weather it. As the little boat neared the landing place it was seen that her crew consisted of a boy and a man. The boy was steering and hauling the sheets and commanding; the man simply trimming the boat by sitting on the weather rail. Among those watching the boat was old John Paul. He did not seem alarmed. 'That is my boy John conning the boat,' he said. 'He will fetch her in. This isn't much of a squall for him.' Little John Paul was introduced by his father to the ship owner, who congratulated him on his seamanship and added that if his father would let him go he would ship him as master's apprentice in a fine new vessel just fitting out for a voyage to Virginia and the West Indies. John Paul yielded and little John Paul went to White Haven, duly bound shipmaster's apprentice, and fully destined for the ocean. Such was the sea birth and such the Neptune's christening of the founder of a new sea power—the Father of the American Navy."

In 1783 three lads were put on board a brig at Quebec, to be sent prisoners to England. On the passage they gained possession of the vessel, carrying her to Marblehead, their native town. The same year three other young fishermen, all minors, prisoners in the British armed ship Lively, conceived the plan of capturing her, and inducing ten others (prisoners) to join them, were successful. The prize was safely carried into Havana and sold for a large sum.

For services in the field, Marblehead raised a large regiment. It has been remarked of these "fishermen soldiers" that, inured to fatigue and hardship, they were not reduced to sickness or camp diseases during the war. This regiment composed a part of the force under Washington in his retreat through New Jersey, and in the crisis of the patriotic cause. The American army, composed of regulars and militia, hardly 3,000 in number, almost destitute of tents and utensils

for cooking, badly armed, nearly naked, in instances, barefooted, dispirited by defeats and losses, worn down by sufferings and privations, were pursued in November and December to the northerly bank of the Delaware by the well appointed army of the enemy, flushed with success and eager to achieve a last decisive victory.

For a moment the destruction of Washington, either from the waters in front or the royal troops pressing close upon his rear, seemed a foregone conclusion. The heroic daring of the men who, perhaps, saved Washington, and with him their country, is nowhere related in history, but General Knox, Washington's chief of artillery, has rendered justice to the men. It is recorded that "a little later Shee's and Magaw's Pennsylvania regiments came over with Col. Glover's regiment of Marblehead fishermen, trimly dressed in navy blue and wearing sailor's jackets. These new arrivals were greeted with a shout of welcome as they swung forward to their position."

When Washington's resolve to retreat had been taken, Glover's regiment of fishermen were detailed all day in collecting every available boat and barge that could be discovered.

After the peace, and while General Knox was a member of the legislature of Massachusetts, an application was made by the citizens of Marblehead for the charter of a bank. The petition was opposed and General Knox arose to defend the measure. "I am surprised," he said, "that Marblehead should ask so small a privilege as that of banking, and that there should be opposition to it. Sir, I wish the members of this body knew the people of Marblehead as well as I do. I could wish that they had stood on the banks of the Delaware river in 1777, in that bitter night when the commander-in-chief had drawn up his little army to cross it, and had seen the powerful current bearing onward the floating masses of ice which threatened destruction to whosoever should venture upon its bosom. I wish that, when this occurrence threatened to defeat the enterprise, they could have heard General Washington demand, *"Who will lead us on?"* and seen the men of Marblehead, and Marblehead alone, stand forward to lead the army along the perilous path to unfading glories and honors in the achievements of Trenton. There, sir, went the fishermen of Marblehead, alike at home upon land or water, all alike ardent, patriotic and unflinching whenever they unfurled the flag of the country. It was fortunate that such a body of troops were available, for without such a command as Glover had the passage would have been absolutely impossible. It required skillful oarsmen and men long used to handling the tiller to contend successfully with wind and tide to quickly avail themselves of a lead in the ice field, and to carry men, field artillery, heavy ordnance, provisions, horses and camp equippage in safety across the stormy tide, jammed with huge masses of heavy, unwieldly ice—Washington never forgot the service rendered by Glover and his men during that anxious and trying night in one of the most critical situations of the Revolutionary struggle."

Nelson, on his return to England, after the attack on Copenhagen, visited the wounded in the hospital, and standing opposite to a bed on which lay a sailor who had lost his arm, he looked at his own empty sleeve and exclaimed, "Well, Jack, you and I are spoiled for fishermen!" How many men of Marblehead, Beverly, Salem, Newburyport, Plymouth and of the towns on the two capes of

Massachusetts, of Portsmouth, the Isle of Shoals, and towns and islands of Maine, who served in the War of 1812, returned home with an "empty sleeve!" There is little doubt that without the material furnished from the ranks of the fishermen, there could hardly have been a frigate manned, or one captured, from the beginning of that war to its end. Fishermen composed a large part of the crew of "Old Ironsides" in her earliest notable victories over English frigates, and the number had not greatly diminished when that celebrated ship under Charles Stewart won her last battle in wresting two cruisers from the flag of England.

Such, my friends, is a slight description of the record achieved by the humble dwellers by the sea, whose deeds and achievements have always reflected credit upon those following their calling. To have them embodied as surfmen in the ranks of the life-saving corps will tend to add additional lustre to the service, and furnish in the hour of need an element that will continue to maintain the high standard of excellence already chronicled, and, whether on battleship or cruiser, torpedo craft or gunboat, the honor and glory of our flag will always be safe in their keeping.

Carlisle has stated that in a nation's banners he sees "the divine idea of duty, of heroic daring; in some instances of freedom of right"; and he might have added that history records no greater deeds of daring and devotion than has been exhibited afloat and ashore by those entrusted with the sacred charge of guarding and preserving from the enemy the national symbol of their country.

Representations of standards have been found on the oldest bas-reliefs of Egypt. Sacred rites were performed to them, and they were regarded with a degree of awe which lent a peculiar significance to the words of Solomon, "terrible as an army with banners." It is related that the standard of Mohammed was held in such sacred awe that it was death to any individual who dared to look upon it. It was carried in procession at one time, when several hundred Christians who ignorantly gazed upon it were massacred by the Turkish populace.

Fidelity and love for the flag have always been predominant characteristics with our soldiers and sailors, stimulating their patriotism and love for liberty and their country, of which the flag is the inspiriting emblem. Tattered, rent by shot, stained with blood and the sombre hues of the battle cloud's sulphurous pall, it represents to its defenders a majesty and sacredness that neither the carnage and horrors of the battlefield, nor grip of death can daunt nor lessen. Fought for by the patriots of the Revolution, bedewed by the blood of the founders of our glorious Union, honored and elevated by our ancestors, it is a hallowed emblem and symbol of the liberty we so much love. Peace has planted its roses beneath it, and war, if it must be, shall reap its grim harvest to protect its integrity and purity.

The flags preceding the adoption of the Stars and Stripes were varied in color and design, and can but briefly be alluded to. It is not positively known what manner of flag, if any, was used at the battle of Bunker Hill; certainly none were captured from them by the British. Trumbull, in his celebrated painting of the battle, now in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington, has represented a red flag having a white canton and red cross and a pine tree. But this cannot be accepted as authoritative.

In September, 1775, Arnold made

his famous expedition through Maine to Canada, and raised the continental flag over his tent—but nothing is known of the color or device adopted by him. The six schooners first commissioned by Washington and the first vessels commissioned by the United Colonies sailed under the pine tree flag.

Commodore Samuel Tucker in a letter states: "The first cruise I made was in January, 1776, in the schooner Franklin, of seventy tons, equipped by order of General Washington, and I had to purchase the small arms necessary to encounter the enemy with money from my own pocket, or go without; and my wife made the banner I fought under, the field of which was white, and the union green, made therein in the figure of a pine tree, made of cloth of her own purchasing, at her own expense."

The first legislation of Congress on the subject of a Federal navy was in October, 1775, and after that, national cruisers were equipped and sent to sea on a three months' cruise; but it does not appear that provision was made for a national ensign, and the colors of the State sailed from were probably used. Benjamin Franklin, Mr. Lynch and Mr. Harrison were appointed to consider the subject of originating a common national flag, and assembled at the camp at Cambridge. The result of their deliberations was the retention of the king's colors or union jack, representing the still recognized sovereignty of England, but coupled to thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, emblematic of the union of the thirteen colonies against its tyranny and oppression, in place of the loyal red ensign. This flag was hoisted for the first time on the 2nd of January, 1776, over the camp at Cambridge. The rattlesnake flag was probably the design of the flag hoisted by Jones over the Alfred; but neither date or character of the banner is now known.

On June 14, 1777, Congress passed the following resolution: "Resolved, that the flag of the Thirteen United States of American be Thirteen Stripes, Alternate Red and White; that the Union be Thirteen Stars in a Blue field, Representing a New Constellation."

"Resolved, That Captain John Paul Jones be appointed to command the ship Ranger."

Thus did Congress place upon record two important and what were destined to be historic legislative acts, widely different in nature and effect, without thought or reference to the importance of their combined action, or the bearing the unusual combination might have in history in the distant future. With a stroke of the pen, as it were, a new and beautiful banner —symbolic of liberty and independence, the chosen emblem of a young and sturdy element—had been added to the nations of the earth; and with that portentous fact was linked the glorious name of Paul Jones, the founder of the American navy. The distinction and significance attached to the unusual combination appealed vividly to the chivalrous and glowing imagination of the Scotch sailor: "That flag and I are twins," he said, "born the same hour, from the same womb of destiny. We can not be parted in life nor in death. As long as we shall float we shall float together. If we must sink, we shall go down as one!"

Let us glance for a moment over the wonderful career of one of the loftiest characters ever associated with the history of the flag and the achievements of the navy.

"Traitor, if you will, was Monsieur John Paul Jones, afterward Knight of His Most Christian Majesty's Order of Merit—but a braver traitor

never wore a sword." Thackeray wrote the sentence quoted with a trembling hand, and they were almost the last words traced by that eminent authority. They reflect the surprising misconception of Paul Jones which lurked in the mind of one of the justest men that ever existed. Paul Jones could proudly assert to the American Congress at the close of the war: "I have never borne arms under any but the American flag, nor have I ever borne or acted under any commission but that of the Congress of America." Soldiers were treated from the beginning as prisoners of war, until Paul Jones forced an exchange of prisoners upon equal terms. American sailors were formally declared to be "traitors, pirates and felons."

In the Revolution he was engaged in twenty-three battles and encounters by sea; made seven descents in Britain and her colonies; took of her navy two ships of equal, and two of far superior force, many store ships and others; constrained her to fortify her ports, suffer the Irish volunteers, desist from her cruel burnings in America, and exchange as prisoners of war the American citizens taken on the ocean, and cast into prison in England as traitors, pirates and felons.

In his perilous situation in Holland his conduct drew the Dutch into the war, and eventually abridged the Revolution. He received from Louis XVI. the Order of Military Merit and a gold sword. Congress bestowed on him the following honors: The thanks of the United States, April 14, 1781; election as first officer of the navy, June 26, 1781; a gold medal, October 16, 1787. This last distinction was granted to only six officers: First, General Washington; second, General Gates; third, General Wayne; fourth, General Morgan; fifth, General Greene.

As first lieutenant of the Alfred, Commodore Hopkins' flagship, he hoisted for the first time the original flag of the Revolution—the rattlesnake flag. In a letter to Robert Morris, the great financier of the war for Independence, Paul Jones stated: "It was my fortune, as the senior of the first lieutenants, to hoist, myself, the flag of America (I chose to do it with my own hands), the first time it was displayed. Though this was but a light circumstance, yet I feel for its honor more than I think I should have felt had it not so happened." He always spelled rank with a capital, and wrote it, "Rank which opens the door to Glory."

He was appointed to command the sloop of war Ranger, which had just been launched at Portsmouth, N. H. The young ladies of Portsmouth banded together, contributed pieces from their best silk gowns, for the purpose of making a flag for Paul Jones, who was to hoist it on July 4th, 1777, and he considered it his personal property, or perhaps the property of the young ladies who made it and intrusted it to his keeping. On relinquishing the command of the Ranger in 1778, he kept this flag with him, and used it at l'Orient when he "broke his pennant" to commission the old Richard. It was made by a "quilting party," in accordance with specifications which Jones furnished. The thirteen white stars in the "New Constellation" were cut from the bride's dress in which Helen Seavey had been wedded in May, 1777, to a young officer of the New Hampshire line. This was the first ensign of the new born Republic that floated afloft in European waters. It was the first to be saluted by the guns of a European naval power, but far beyond that, and beyond anything, it was the first and the last flag that ever went down or ever will go down flying on the ship that con-

quered and captured the ship that sunk her.

The first salute to the Stars and Stripes from a foreign naval power occurred as follows: Paul Jones on the Ranger left Nantes for l'Orient, having been thoroughly overhauled and refitted, and on the thirteenth of February arrived in Brest Roads in the presence of the Grand French fleet, commanded by the Count d'Orvillieres. The division of the fleet which Jones first spoke was commanded by Rear Admiral La Motte Piquet, and, wishing to be sure of his ground, Jones sent a boat to that officer with a polite note informing him that the Ranger flew the new American flag which had never yet been saluted by the guns of any foreign naval power, and asking whether a salute, if official, would be returned. In response he was informed that the salute due to the senior officer of a republican naval force on the station would be given him, that is, four guns less than for the representative of a royal navy, the basis being that established for the then Republic of the Netherlands. The next day the Ranger was underway with the gun's crew at quarters, running between the majestic vessels of His Most Christian Majesty of France, while her battery, at regular intervals, boomed forth a salute of thirteen guns. The smoke cloud drifted to leeward, and a sudden spurt of flame leaped from the formidable side of the French flagship, while nine heavy reports reverberated across the white crested waters of the bay, arousing echoes from the undulating hills about Carnac and the angular proportions of the druid Mount of Saint Michael. A wild hurrah went up involuntarily from the deck of the Ranger; Paul Jones raised his laced chapeau. "We hardly know what this day means, gentlemen. I believe we are at the christening of the greatest nation that ever was born into the world. The day shall come when America, republic though she may be, will salute no foreign flag without receiving gun for gun." This prophetic opinion of Paul Jones has long since been realized, and the salutes from America's war vessels are acknowledged, gun for gun, in all quarters of the globe.

Perhaps you would like to hear of the manner in which Paul Jones disposed of the Stars and Stripes presented to him by the fair maidens of Portsmouth, and which had been destined to be the recipient of the first salute tendered the new born banner. It was the evening of September 23, 1779, and Paul Jones, on the Bonne Homme Richard, and the Serapis, under the command of Captain Richard Pearson, had met on that moonlight eve and fought to the finish off Flamboro' Head the fiercest engagement known to naval annals. The details of that renowned battle are too familiar to bear repeating here, but the ultimate fate of that fair silken banner had best be told in Jones' own words: "No one was now left aboard the Richard but our dead to them I gave the good old ship for their coffin, and in her they found a sublime sepulchre. She rolled heavily in the long swell, her gundeck awash to the portsills, settled slowly by the head, and sank peacefully in about forty fathoms. The ensign gaff, shot away in the action, had been fished and put in place soon after firing ceased, and our torn and tattered flag was left flying when we abandoned her. As she plunged down by the head at the last, her taffrail momentarily rose in the air, so the very last vestige mortal eyes ever saw of the Bonne Homme Richard was the defiant waving of her unconquered and unstricken flag as she went down. And, as I

had given them the good old ship for their sepulchre, I now bequeathed to my immortal dead the flag they had so desperately defended for their winding sheet."

When Paul Jones returned to this country in the Ariel, February, 1781, he found Miss Langdon (one of the ladies who had assisted in making the flag) a guest of the Ross family, whose house was always his home when in Philadelphia. By way of apology, he explained to Miss Langdon that his most ardent desire had been to bring that flag home to America, with all its glories, and give it back untarnished into the fair hands that had given it to him nearly four years before. "But, Miss Mary," he said, "I couldn't bear to strip it from the poor old ship in her last agony, nor could I deny to my dead on her decks, who had given their lives to keep it flying, the glory of taking it with them." "You did exactly right, Commodore," exclaimed Miss Langdon, "that flag is just where we all wish it to be—flying at the bottom of the sea over the only ship that ever sunk in victory. If you had taken it from her and brought it back to us we would hate you."

The fact remains that the memory, unflinching courage and inestimable services of the great sailor have never been recognized nor preserved throughout the length and breadth of the great republic by so much as a tablet or headstone. A frail, insignificant torpedo boat alone bears the name of the founder of the American navy, while the proudest and stateliest battleship in the power of this great country to produce should alone be awarded that distinction in letters of gold emblazoned on the forward turrets, and beneath, the immortal words of the great commander, "I have not yet begun to fight." A battleship bearing that proud name would never be lacking a crew, for your true sailor is never found wanting in patriotic sentiment, or fighting qualities that have given such lustre and prestige to our navy.

But in New York State, through distorted convictions of misplaced sympathy, a marble shaft has been raised in commemoration of the deserved fate and death of that accomplished British officer and spy, Major Andre. Though an avowed enemy of the struggling patriots, striving to burst asunder the bonds binding them to the king of England, this servant of England's royalty would have dealt the liberties of this country a staggering blow, and it has remained for a distinguished son of this favored land to mark the spot where the spy met his fate with carved and polished marble, while Paul Jones and numerous other unflinching patriots fill unknown and uncared for graves. Thank God! such evidences of misplaced duty are as rare as they are offensive in the judgment of patriotic and thinking citizens of this republic.

The first military incident connected with the new flag occurred on the 2nd of August, 1777, when Lieutenants Bird and Brant invested Fort Stanwix, then commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort, afterward known as Fort Schuyler, the site of the present city of Rome, N. Y. The garrison was without a flag when the enemy appeared, but their patriotism and ingenuity soon supplied one in conformity to the pattern just adopted by the Continental Congress. Shirts were cut up to form the white stripes, bits of scarlet cloth were joined for the red, and the blue ground for the stars was composed of a cloth cloak belonging to Captain Abraham Swartout. Before sunset this curious mosaic standard, as precious to the beleaguered garrison

as the most beautifully wrought flag of silk and needlework, was floating over the bastions. The siege was raised on the 23d of August, but it is not known what became of the improvised flag.

Artists frequently make a slip in the accuracy of their details, and two instances can be cited in connection with historical paintings: Lentze, in his "Washington crossing the Delaware," December 25th, 1776, conspicuously displays the American flag with the blue field and union of white stars, although the flag had no existence before the 14th of June, 1777, and was not published until September, 1777. Yet this inaccurate historical event was selected to embellish the face of the fifty dollar notes of the national banks. In Powell's "Battle of Lake Erie," at the capitol, the flag in Perry's boat has only thirteen stripes and thirteen stars, although fifteen of each had been the legal number for twenty years, or since 1794.

Beyond a doubt, the thirteen stars and thirteen stripes were unfurled at the battle of Brandywine, September 11th, 1777, eight days after the official promulgation of them at Philadelphia, and at Germantown, on the 4th of October following; they witnessed the operations against and the surrender of Burgoyne after the battle of Saratoga, October 17, 1777, and the sight of this new constellation helped to cheer the patriots of the army amid their sufferings around the camp fires at Valley Forge the ensuing winter. They floated aloft triumphantly at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, September 19th, 1781; witnessed the evacuation of New York, November 25th, 1783; and shared in all the rejoicings of the latter days of the Revolution.

On the 28th of January, 1778, the Stars and Stripes for the first time waved over a foreign fortress. About eleven o'clock the night previous the American sloop of war Providence landed twenty-five of her crew on the island of New Providence. They were joined by about twenty Americans escaped from British prison ships, and who were waiting an opportunity to return home. This small body of men took possession of Fort Nassau with the cannon, ammunition and 300 stand of small arms, hoisting the Stars and Stripes.

The next interesting incident connected with the new born banner occurred on the 7th of March, 1778, when the Continental ship Randolph, 32, Captain Nicholas Biddle, was blown up in an engagement with the Yarmouth, 64, Captain Vincent. The two ships were in close action, and the surgeon was engaged in examining Captain Biddle's wounds when the Randolph blew up, many fragments striking the Yarmouth. Among other things an American ensign rolled up was blown in upon the forecastle of the English ship. The flag was not singed or discolored in its perilous flight. Paul Jones, in alluding to the incident years afterwards, said: "Poor, brave Nick Biddle, he was one of the kind of naval captains that the God of battles makes. He died in a hopeless struggle with a foe double his own strength—half of his hapless ship going down, and the other half going up by explosion of his magazine!"

The independence of the United States of America having been recognized by Great Britain, the Stars and Stripes became henceforward the recognized symbol of a new nation. Many incidents of interest are connected with its military, naval, civil and commercial progress, to which no allusion can be made here. I will merely state that the first salute accorded to the

flag by a British man-of-war occurred in Boston. On Monday, May 2, 1791, H. B. M. ship Alligator, 28, commander, Isaac Coffin, from Halifax, arrived, and on passing the Castle saluted the Stars and Stripes with thirteen guns, which was immediately returned by the fortress.

Although we are comparatively a new nation, our Stars and Stripes may to-day claim antiquity among national flags. They are older than the present flag of Great Britain, established in 1801; than the present flag of Spain, established in 1785; than the French tri-color, decreed in 1794; than the existing flag of Portugal, established in 1830; than the flag of the empire of Germany, which represents the sovereignty of fourteen distinct flags and states, established in 1870; than the Italian tri-color, established in 1848; the Swedish-Norwegian ensign; the recent flags of old empires of China and Japan; or the flags of all the South American States, which have very generally been modelled from "Our Flag." It may not be generally known that the red and white crossed flag of Denmark is the oldest existing national color, having been in use since 1219. The republics of Cuba and Panama are the youngest countries to throw their national colors to the breeze. It is claimed for the Stars and Stripes (and no flags except the British and French can controvert the assertion) that it has participated in more battles and witnessed more victories on land and sea than any flag in the world, and something over a million lives have been sacrificed in defense of that flag and the principles it represents.

I am reminded of an amusing incident which came under my observation some years ago, and which I will relate at this point. In a party of gentlemen assembled at a club, were an American and an Englishman who became engaged in a friendly chaffing of each other's nationality. Presently the Britisher, who imagined he was getting the better of the discussion, complacently remarked: "I say, old man, you can't imagine what your flag reminds me of!" The American was serious. "Well," he returned, "what is it?" "Why, it looks to me like a deuced big gridiron, don't you know." The American smiled faintly as he stroked his mustache, and then replied: "That's all right, Johnny, that't all right. But do you know what your flag reminds me of?" "Can't imagine," said the other, with the air of one who is bored by a silly question. "Well, it reminds me of a darned big red beefsteak that we can fry to the queen's taste on our gridiron." The Englishman did not continue the contest.

Early in 1794, in consequence of the admission of Vermont and Kentucky into the Union, an act was passed increasing the stars and stripes on our flag from thirteen to fifteen, but not to take effect until May, 1795. The same Congress, on the 27th of March, 1794, authorized the building of the frigate Constitution and five other frigates, the commencement of a new navy. The new flag floated over her and all our vessels of war throughout the war of 1812-1814.

The frigate Essex, Captain Edwin Preble, was the first United States vessel of war to carry the flag around the Cape of Good Hope in 1880; and was also distinguished by bearing the Stars and Stripes around Cape Horn, under Commodore Porter, in 1813. The cruise of this renowned vessel, under the intrepid Porter, furnished one of the most remarkable chapters in our naval history. The Stars and Stripes were first displayed in a Chinese port in 1784, on the merchant ship Empress. When the

thirteen stars and stripes first appeared at Canton much curiosity was excited among the people. Everybody went to see the Fawkee-chewn, or flower-flagship. This name at once established itself in the language, and America was known as Faw-kee-koch-yin-flower-flag-countrymen — a more complimentary designation than that of red-headed barbarian, the name first bestowed on the Dutch. The flag was first seen in Japanese waters in 1797. In 1800 the Stars and Stripes was first displayed before the crescent under the walls of Constantinople by the frigate George Washington, Captain William Bainbridge. When the nationality of the frigate was reported to the authorities they returned answer that the government had never heard of the United States of America. On its being explained that the frigate came from the New World discovered by Columbus, a bunch of flowers and a lamp were sent on board—the one as a welcome, the other as a token.

Captain Bainbridge passed the forts and castles of the Bosphorous by a strategem. As his ship approached the castles he shortened sail, and made the usual preparations for anchoring. When nearly abreast the anchorage he gave a salute, which was instantly returned from the shore. Under cover of the friendly smoke, sail was made, and before the Turks had recovered from their surprise at so unusual an occurrence, the ship was beyond their batteries pursuing her way to Constantinople.

At an entertainment subsequently given by Captain Bainbridge to the minister of the Sublime Porte, decanters of water were placed upon the table (the Mussulman not drinking wine) from the four quarters of the globe—some of the casks filled in America and Africa being still full—and the frigate then anchored between the shores of Europe and Asia. This incident, as unique as pleasing, attracted so much attention in the diplomatic circle of Constantinople that the lady of the British ambassador borrowed the four decanters to grace her own table at an entertainment the following day.

On the 27th of April, 1805, Lieutenant O'Bonnan of the Marines and Mr. Mann hauled down the Tripolitan colors displayed over the fortress of Derne and hoisted the flag of fifteen stars and stripes in its place, the first American flag planted upon a fortress of the Old World. Thus the flag of our country slowly but surely made itself known to the distant corners of the earth.

The War of 1812 brought our flag into prominence, not only upon the sea, but throughout the civilized world; and when the British frigate Guerriere succumbed to the gallantry and superior gunnery of the Constitution's crew, under the skillful maneuvers of Hull, the prestige of England's superiority upon the sea was ruthlessly shattered as the battle smoke drifted to leeward, revealing the royal frigate rolling and plunging in the trough of the sea, a sheer hulk, under the guns of the American frigate.

It is a well authenticated fact that previous to the declaration of war it was determined at a Cabinet council that our vessels of war should be placed in ordinary, it being thought unwise to jeopardize our few frigates and sloops of war in a contest with the gigantic navy of the enemy. Captains Bainbridge and Stewart, who were in Washington the day after war was declared, wrote a joint and emphatic letter against such a course, which had such an effect that our vessels were permitted to cruise, with the result that one of the most inspiriting chapters of our history was

added to the achievements won by the prowess of the American sailor. Victory after victory followed the efforts and daring of the little navy, affording hope and restoring confidence in the public mind when defeat and despair o'ershadowed our forces upon the land.

When the frigate United States and her prize the Macedonian arrived at New London the gallant Decatur sent his report and the colors of the British frigate to Washington by Lieutenant Hamilton, a son of the Secretary of the Navy. With them he arrived on the evening of the 8th of December while a ball given to the officers of the navy was in progress. Stewart and Hall were present, also the Secretary of the Navy, and Hamilton was received with acclamation. The ballroom had been decorated with trophies of our recent naval victories and a desire was expressed that the colors of the Macedonian should be added to those of the Constitution and Albert. After the usual congratulations on this, the third naval victory gained in a few months over the enemy, Secretary Hamilton said to Captain Stewart, "We are indebted to Bainbridge and yourself for these flags and victories. Had it not been for your strong remonstrance, not a vessel of war belonging to the government would have left its anchorage."

It was another triumph to be placed to the credit of American sailors, who had faith in their ability to contend for the mastery of the seas with the acknowledged Mistress of Ocean's domain, and under the fifteen stars and stripes many an illustrious name was inscribed high on the nation's roll of honor ere peace was declared.

The admission of the States of Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana and Indiana made some changes in the flag desirable, and a committee was appointed. Captain S. C. Reid, then in Washington, and famous in his defense of the privateer General Armstrong in Fayal Roads, was asked to make a design for the flag, which would represent the increase of the States without destroying its distinctive features. Captain Reid recommended reducing the stripes to thirteen to represent the original States, and the stars to be increased to the number of all the States, formed into one great star whose brilliancy should represent the Union, and thus symbolize in the flag the origin and progress of the country, and its motto "E Pluribus Unum." He also proposed there should be the addition of a star for each new State admitted.

The law which agreed to Captain Reid's suggestion and the report of the committees was enacted as follows:

"An Act to Establish the Flag of the United States:

"Section 1. Be it enacted, &c., that from and after the fourth day of July next, the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white, that the union have twenty stars, white in a blue field.

"Section 2. *And be it further enacted,* That on the admission of every new State into the Union, one star be added to the union of the flag, and that such addition shall take place on the fourth of July next succeeding such admission.

"Approved April 4, 1818."

This form of the flag remains the recognized official emblem of the United States of America. With a view of increasing the respect and love for our flag at home and abroad, the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and other patriotic societies several years ago originated the plan of dedicating a special day in its honor, and the re-

sult was the selection of June 14 as the establishment of Flag Day.

The achievements of the flag in the Mexican War, resulting in the planting of the Stars and Stripes in triumph over the halls of the Montezumas, afforded many instances of gallantry and devotion, reflecting renewed luster from the laurels gathered, and the steady advance of the flag over the burning plains of Mexico. We will pause to relate an anecdote relating upon the war—and is the answer of Commodore Stockton, United States Navy, to the Mexican governor of California: "If you march upon this town," (Los Angeles), threatened the high official, "you will find it the grave of your men."

"Tell the governor," said Stockton to the officer bearing the message, "to have the bells ready to toll in the morning. I shall be there at that time." And he was.

The devotion of soldiers and sailors to their flag is proverbial. Carrying a standard or banner on the battlefield has always been considered a post of honor, and many a life has been expended in defence of the colors. It is a remarkable fact that in Napoleon's retreat from Moscow when nine-tenths of his army of nearly half a million men were destroyed or captured, but few flags were taken. The surviving soldiers tore the colors from the flagstaffs and carried them wrapped about their bodies.

To attempt a description of events connected with the Stars and Stripes from the fall of Sumter to the final surrender of Appomattox, would require columns to record the thrilling deeds achieved by American soldiers and sailors, both North and South, in that stupendous struggle. The world probably never beheld more desperate fighting or brilliant exhibitions of personal bravery than were recorded under the several banners of the opposing forces. History has preserved and recorded on its pages the patriotism, devotion and patient suffering endured by all classes alike during those years of fierce battle for the mastery and triumph of principles so tenaciously adhered to. The nation has mourned its illustrious dead with the martyred President lying at rest in the midst of the nation's greatness, with prayers and fond remembrances renewed each succeeding year, when loving tokens of fresh and fragrant blossoms are tenderly strewn over the last resting places of those who fought for the blue or gray—cementing their faith with their life-blood, that in the end the flag of our country might continue to float over an undivided people, and fulfill its destiny in representing the most favored and powerful country on earth, without one Star or Stripe sullied or dimmed through treachery or dishonor. The prophetic words uttered by Abraham Lincoln in the closing sentence of his first address to the people as President of the United States: "The mystic chord of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as they surely will be, by the better angels of our nature," have indeed been realized throughout the length and breadth of our country.

A few brief allusions only will be given bearing upon that sad and stormy period.

Late in March, 1861, President Lincoln determined to dispatch a force to the relief of Fort Sumter, the United States revenue cutter Harriet Lane, Captain John Faunce commanding, forming one of the squadron. On April 8, 1861, at 10 o'clock

A. M. the Lane passed the Battery, New York, bound on her stirring mission. The pilot boats off Charleston bar had been on the lookout for Federal vessels, and with the first appearance of the revenue cutter, fully equipped for active duty, the news was promptly reported to Confederate headquarters ashore. The Lane was the first vessel of the squadron to arrive off the bar, and her presence undoubtedly precipitated action on the part of the besieging force. At half-past four o'clock on the morning of April 12, 1861, the first Confederate gun of the great Civil War boomed sullenly forth from the battery on James Island, the shell exploding within the works of Fort Sumter.

In the meanwhile, in accordance with orders from the Secretary of the Navy, the Harriet Lane had steamed to her station, ten miles east of the lighthouse. The vessels of the expedition arrived during the night, and as daylight began to dawn the Harriet Lane steamed cautiously through the low-lying bank of mist in the direction of the bar. A steamer was reported with no ensign set looming up somber and indistinct through the obscurity, and at twenty minutes past eleven A. M. the crew of the Lane went to quarters with the Stars and Stripes floating above them. The bow gun was cleared away, Lieutenant D. D. Tompkins in charge of the division and a thirty-two pound shot ricochetted across the bows of the strange steamer, a grim and significant warning to heave to and render an account of herself. The American ensign was at once displayed from her main peak. She proved to be the steamer Nashville, Captain Murray, with passengers and freight from New York, bound to Charleston, and she was allowed to proceed.

The shot fired from the thirty-two pounder of the Harriet Lane was the first gun fired from on board a United States vessel in the great Rebellion.

To Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, a gray-haired old man who committed suicide at the close of the war, unable to survive the defeat of his cause, belongs the infamous honor of firing the first shot against the flag of our country in the Civil War. He hastened to Morris Island when hostilities were near, was assigned to duty in the Palmetto Guard, and asked the privilege of firing the first gun on Sumter. It was granted, and he has acquired an unenviable fame. It may interest those curious in regard to coincidences that the first conflict of the Civil War in the streets of Baltimore, April 19, 1861, was on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington and Concord.

Amid the horrors of the Libby Prison, the loyal soldiers there confined in filth, negligence and destitution determined to have a celebration of their country's independence among themselves. But as they looked they found themselves without a flag; and a celebration of their county's independence without a flag seemed impossible. After a while one man said, "I have a red shirt," and another, "I have a white shirt," and another, "I have a blue blouse," and producing the articles a flag was patched up amid the enthusiasm of the half starved prisoners.

Hon. J. F. H. Clairborne, ex-governor of Mississippi, was the author of the following: "When the Civil War broke out I was residing on a cotton plantation in Mississippi, near the mouth of Pearl River. I had sent my wife and daughter away, my son was in the Confederate Army. When New Orleans was occupied by the national forces a regiment was quartered about twelve miles from my

plantation. Soon after two companies in command of a major visited the house, the officer stating that information had been received that I kept a rebel flag in my house, and I had hoisted it since the fall of New Orleans. Of course, and truly, I denied the charge. He said that his duty required him to make a search. I ordered my servants to conduct two of his subalterns over the house. No flag was found. I then said: "Now, major, you have failed to find the flag, but I confess I have one." And he and his comrades looked very grave. I then ordered a servant to bring a certain trunk. It was old and weather-beaten, marked in brass tacks F. L. C., U. S. A. On opening it there were the emblems and insignia of a Royal Arch Mason, a pair of epaulettes, a sash, a bundle of commissions and a faded, moth-eaten flag—the genuine Stars and Stripes. General Clairborne, my father, had been ensign, lieutenant, captain and adjutant of the first regiment of the United States in General Anthony Wayne's army, and this was the old flag of that regiment."

An anecdote of the flag in relation to an international episode may prove of interest. It occurred in 1870, on board the United States flagship Franklin, anchored in the harbor of Malaga, Spain, in company with a large British ironclad. Captain C. Rodgers commanded the Franklin, and I will call the ironclad's commander Captain Dunn. When one man-of-war in a harbor celebrates a national holiday it is customary for all other waships in the same harbor to celebrate it also. Consequently, early in the morning of May 24 the Franklin was prepared to dress ship in honor of Queen Victoria's birthday, and at daybreak the quartermasters were watching the British ship, ready to follow her movements.

Presently a puff of smoke belched out from the Briton's starboard bow, and supposing it to be the first gun of the national salute, the executive officer of the Franklin cracked off twenty-one guns from her nine-inch main deck battery, and broke all his flags in yardarm and rainbow dress, but when the salute was over and the smoke was lazily drifting away, it was seen that the British vessel was not dressed and had not fired a salute.

A few minutes later a gig came alongside the Franklin, and an English lieutenant came on board with this message:

"Captain Dunn present his compliments to Captain Rodgers, and begs leave to inform him that if he had known that this was an American anniversary he would have been ready to salute and dress ship. And as it is, he will do so at eight o'clock."

Captain Rodgers on receiving this message, saw that Captain Dunn had forgotten that May 24 was the Queen's birthday, and he so worded his reply as to save Captain Dunn's feelings as much as possible.

"Present my compliments to Captain Dunn," he said, "and tell him that if I had known that he did not intend to dress ship and salute for Her Majesty's birthday until eight o'clock, I would have delayed my own salute until that hour. Your morning gun was taken for the first gun of your salute and the Franklin went ahead without you."

By eight o'clock the British ship banged away twenty-one times and the Franklin did likewise. But didn't the other British captains in the Mediterranean roast poor Dunn when they learned that he had to be reminded of the Queen's birthday by an American."

When the engagement between the Kearsarge and Alabama took place

off Cherbourg, France, a singular coincidence occurred which is not generally known. Early in the encounter a shot from the Kearsarge carried away the spanker-gaff of the Alabama, which caused that vessel's ensign to come down from its lofty perch by the run and the incident was hailed by the sailors of the Kearsarge as a favorable omen. It also happened that during the fight the national colors were stopped at the main-peak of the Kearsarge, to be displayed if the ensign was carried away, and as an emblem of victory in the event of a successful issue of the contest. A shot from the broadside of the Alabama passed high over the Federal cruiser, striking and carrying away the halliards of the colors at the main-peak, at the same time pulling sufficiently hard to break the stop and thus unfurl the Stars and Stripes at the moment when Captain Semmes struck his ensign in token of surrender.

The circumstances under which the Stars Spangled Banner was written are of special interest and should be familiar to all who live under the flag.

On Saturday, September 10, 1814, a British fleet appeared in the Chesapeake, and that evening about seven thousand troops under command of General Ross were landed at North Point, twelve miles from the city. They were defeated, General Ross was killed, after which the invading force retired to their vessels.

On the morning of Tuesday, September 15, the fleet under Admirals Cockburn and Cochrane began an attack on Fort McHenry, lasting twenty-four hours, which the admiral had boasted he should carry in a few hours. That evening the British admiral sent two bomb vessels with barges and about fifteen hundred men to pass the fort, and moving up the Patapsco assail McHenry in the rear. Major Armistead commanded at McHenry, and, supported by the guns of Fort Carrington and City battery, poured in a galling fire, sinking and disabling many of the barges, driving back the assulting force amid the cries of the wounded and drowning men.

Previous to the engagement, Francis Scott Key, a lawyer of Frederick County, Maryland, accompanied by a friend, had gone aboard the cartel ship Minden to effect the release of a number of prisoners. This being accomplished, Key and his friend were not allowed to return lest the intended attack on Baltimore should be disclosed. They were transferred to the frigate Surprise, remaining on board until the Patapsco was reached. Admiral Cochrane then shifted his flag to the frigate, that he might be able to move further up river and superintend in person the attack by water on the fort; and Mr. Key and friend were placed on their own craft, with a guard of soldiers and marines to prevent them from landing.

From the deck of their vessel they witnessed the bombardment, remaining anxious spectators of the scene all night. From fifteen to eighteen hundred shells fell within the works, and Key, a man of fine sensibility, watched every shell from the moment it was fired until it fell, listening with breathless interest to hear if an explosion followed. In painful suspense Key and his friend paced the deck, awaiting the return of early dawn, with glasses leveled on the fort, which structure was enveloped in a whirling, writhing cloud of smoke, occasionally riven asunder by vivid spurts of flame as the roar of McHenry's guns mingled with the deeper thunder of the British ordnance. A momentary glimpse of the rugged parapet, with here and there

a gleam of steel flashing through rifts of the sombre mantle, was occasionally afforded by the light of rockets and bursting shells; but at no time was their straining vision greeted by a flicker of the Stars and Stripes, hid in that impenetrable pall of gloom which had settled down and around the fort, only to be dispersed by the dawn of day. And through the anxious hours suspense and doubt prevailed in the hearts of the anxious watchers, wondering whether the first blush of dawn would disclose the Stars and Stripes or the Cross of St. George floating above the bastions of the fort.

The bombardment suddenly ceased just before morning, and Key saw that "Our flag was still there," and as the day advanced, discovered from the movement of boats between the shore and fleet, that the troop had suffered severely. He was informed later that the attack on Baltimore had failed, and that he would be permitted to proceed at will as soon as the troops were on board.

The inspiration came to Key in the fervor of the moment, when he saw the enemy hastily retreating to their ships, using the back of a letter which he happened to have in his pocket; and for some of the lines as he proceeded he was obliged to rely altogether upon his memory; finishing it on the deck of the cartel boat, while returning to the city, writing it out as it now stands, at the hotel, on the night he reached Baltimore.

Daniel Webster, in the following eloquent lines pays a beautiful and graceful tribute to the flag and mightiness of England: "The power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe, with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum beats, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

Together with that powerful kingdom we can boast with equal truth that there is always sunshine on some part of our vast possession. When it is 6 P. M. on Attoo Island, Alaska, it is 9.36 A. M. of the day following at Eastport, Maine. If we locate the center of the United States, calculating it as midway between longitude 67 degrees of Eastport and longitude of Attoo, it will be found on the 126th degree of longitude about 280 miles west of San Francisco, in the Pacific Ocean.

Gilded by the first blush of light, as the sun flashes its glowing rim above the horizon, the flag of our country in the Far East greets the coming of the new born day amid the strange and picturesque foliage and verdure of our new possessions; and during its mighty course through the heavens, as it finally sinks to rest, in the west, the rustling folds of our flag are tinged and shaded with fleeting shafts of soft and amber radiance, as the stately banner droops slowly and majestically from its lofty height, with the last wavering waves of blended colors lingering lovingly and caressingly upon the national emblem. And tremulous shadows from amid the sturdy oaks and pines of the mighty West, steal gently forth to meet the genial rays of the great luminary, whose light and warmth flashes across the pulsing sea in one broad quivering belt of subdued radiance, that forever lends its luster to our flag in one unbroken halo of glory. The Stars added to the first constellation proclaim to the world its progress and proud history, its mighty influence, and its matchless career.

With the brethren of the coast 'tis no unusual episode to witness the flag, not only of the United States,

but of all maritime nations, displayed half-mast, an eloquent appeal for help, with its tattered remnants streaming and snapping 'neath the influence of furious blasts, outriders and harbingers of the rapidly advancing tempest. The hapless craft with rent and dismantled canvas and rigging, drifts helplessly to leeward, where the alert, aroused breakers their white flashing crests threateningly upreared, are leaping, boiling and surging, athwart treacherous shoals, bellowing impatiently for their prey. They reveal amid their detonating and devilish revels, fleeting glimpses of rocky surfaces and fang-shaped columns, their cruel, fiendish proportions but half revealed amid the whirling, seething depressions as sea after sea, in endless, charging lines, rush onward from the far-reaching ocean. Distant mutterings of sullen and portentous thunder rumbles and mutters afar seaward, combining with deep, menacing roars from the culminating waters. The appearance of the sky is black and forbidding, the mercury sinking low in the glass as threatening frowns of the storm fiend sweep o'er the dull, leaden-hued seas. A spurt of flame from the endangered craft flashes ominously against the black pall rapidly enshrouding the ship, followed by a faint but distinct boom of a gun mingling with the crash of warring elements.

'Tis a signal that appeals to the heart of every member of the brethren of the surf, irresistible and thrilling as throb of drum and notes of bugle from the field of battle; a call for help sent shoreward on the wings of the tempest, as it sweeps the angry waters. One glance at that frightful vortex proves sufficient to blanch the cheek of the boldest seaman, a cauldron of grinding, churning seas, roaring and booming in full cry, mid jets of spume and clouds of weird and ghastly hue, sharply silhouetted against that Cimmerian blackness, gloomy and threatening as hell itself, in the frightful sheen of lightning leaping from the murky, cavernous depths of the tempest's heart.

'Tis the scene of action, the area of danger upon ocean's domain, assigned to the life-saving service as their battle sphere in the grim grapple for supremacy of the sea, waged in the noble interests of humanity and preservation of life, accentuated by deeds of devotion and self-sacrifice, winning for these dauntless warriors of the surf world-wide fame and admiration. The struggle, directed by skill, cool courage and training, is waged sturdily by men having confidence in their leader, in the stability of their boat, the righteousness of their mission, and faith in the protection and aid of their God.

Brethren of the surf have none of the inspiring and exciting accompaniments attending and entering into fierce and sanguinary naval engagements. Both surroundings and accessories are lacking to stir the blood and excite the spirit of daring and intrepidity. They are strangers to all the pomp and panoply which goes far to hide and mask the horrors of grim visaged war.

Silent and unattended, mid darkness and desolation enveloping the storm-swept beach, groping their way for the successful launching of lifeboat and appliances, mid blinding flashes of vivid lightning and spiteful rushes of the gale, with naught but hollow roar of breakers thundering incessantly, ringing their uncanny reverberations on the wings of furious blasts, the surfmen undertake their hazardous task, influenced by a type of courage second to none in point of purity, dignity and sub-

limity. Worthy to be perpetuated in the loftiest niches of national honor and valor, side by side with those whose fame and mighty deeds have been entwined and interwoven with the brightest pages of the nation's history and progress, proudly enshrined in the hearts of a patriotic and grateful people.

Well and faithfully have these storm scarred warriors of the surf and sea fought the good fight, patiently and nobly have suffered and endured, that others might live; and in the countless triumphs they have achieved, wresting the despairing, when hope had died within their shrinking hearts, from the hungry and remorseless power of old ocean, many hearthstones, both at home and abroad, the humble fisherman and dwellers by the sea, as well as the wealthy and influential, have offered up their prayers in gratitude to God, in many tongues, for blessings upon America's matchless surfmen, the flag of our country under which they serve winning and wearing laurels won in that higher and more ennobling path of duty, "Where peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

H. D. SMITH,
Captain Revenue Cutter Service.

BEYOND THE HILLS.

(From the Chicago Tribune.)

"I can hear the drums as the army comes
From beyond the hills," he said.
And he leaned and smiled like a happy child
As he shook his snowy head.
And he clutched his cane while the far refrain
Came in murmurs to his ears,
But they whispered low: "He has dreamed it so,
And it is no drum he hears."

"I can hear the fife as it leaps with life,
And the drums roll madly, too,"
Was the old man's sigh as with kindling eye
He would hum the war songs through.
"It is Jimmy Shea—that is how he'd play
When the road was hard and long;
And it's Billy's drum that is calling, 'Come!'
As it keeps time with the song."

And his fingers slim beat a tattoo grim
On the stout arm of the chair,
While his lips grew stern and his eyes would burn
With the fire that once was there.
"Oh, the bugle call, and the drums and all!"
He would say, "Their music fills
All the night and day; I can hear them play
In the march beyond the hills."

"I can hear the drums, and the army comes
From beyond the hills," he said.
With his eyes aglow he saluted slow
And he touched his snowy head.
Then his eyes were closed as if he but dozed,
And his day of days had dawned;
For the low drum beat had allured his feet
To the hills—and far beyond.

WILLIAM HENRY MOODY.

A SKETCH OF AN EXCEPTIONAL CAREER.

To HAVE occupied two Cabinet offices is a distinction sufficiently rare to focus much attention on the individual so honored, but to have achieved this distinction in a public life that covers but little more than a decade is exceptional, while it is almost unexampled that a man of strong personality should have passed through successive promotions in Congress and in administrative work apparently without having made an enemy, certainly without a public dissenting voice as to the wisdom of such promotions, and absolutely without the hint of other than absolute fairness, integrity and devotion to the public service.

Half way in his fifty-first year, the sometime Secretary of the Navy, now the Attorney General, may easily anticipate twenty years of active life. How far a career which has reached its present altitude may go presents a speculation which at least warrants some careful examination of the man and his life so far. The main facts in his biography have been but recently told. He was born in Byfield, Massachusetts, a hamlet which has for years been out of the way of travel and the activity of the world. In the early days of Massachusetts, from the fact of its being near one of the great highroads it participated largely in that racy life of the fishing-farming-manufacturing-trading commonwealth. The Moodys were a part and parcel of the English stock that had founded and that created the atmosphere of that commonwealth. The original William Moody came with the party which settled at Ipswich and whose members and descendants settled the towns about the mouth of the Merrimac, the Whittier country, whose people thought clearly and coolly, yet still with much of imagination and of poetry cast in a religious form. Secretary Moody's father was a farmer and for a portion of his life acted as lessee or manager for the considerable estates which exist in different parts of Essex County, the homesteads of old, and in many cases rich families. On this account the family lived within the limits of several towns in Essex County, each one now claiming a portion of the proprietary interest in the present most distinguished son of the county.

Secretary Moody's family was in comfortable circumstances and he had no more than a healthful portion of work and farm discipline for his younger years. That he once administered a dairy route and kept the milkman's early hours he regards as a banked-up capital to be drawn upon should he feel like an extra nap in these later years, but he was called on for none of the early privations which adorn many biographies and which fastened life-long curses in the way of ill health and warped mentalities on those who succeeded in spite of them.

His father was able to give him ample schooling under good circumstances at Phillips Academy, at Andover, at Harvard College and at the Harvard Law School. On graduating from the latter he studied law in the office of Richard Henry Dana, the author of "Two Years Before the Mast," and later began the practice of law in Haverhill. He made a success of law practice, after the usual term of waiting, and his firm had at the time of his entrance on public life one of the largest practices among the younger practitioners of the Essex bar, would have been by far the largest within a few years but for the events which called him to public life. The natural tendency of the lawyer to take part in politics led him actively into the work of the Republican party in Haverhill. With some other of the young men of the city he rehabilitated the party organization and within a few years made the Haverhill end of the county the successful rival of the former controlling interests situated at the county seats.

The district attorneyship of Essex County has always been considered most desirable. It has uniformly been held by men of conspicuous ability, and has been the stepping stone not so much to political honors as to honors in the legal profession. Secretary Moody's ambitions were wholly in the line of his profession. To be district attorney, attorney general of the State and to complete a life of legal activity on the bench had seemed to him to be the height of praiseworthy ambition. He had made himself, on the basis of especially good legal talents, a lawyer of exceptional promise and could aspire to all the honors of his profession.

But while as a prosecutor and public attorney he added to his fame as a lawyer, it happened that he was also called to the attention of the general public by interest excited in several cases which he handled. In a neighboring city there were instances of municipal corruption which were fearlessly and at the same time fairly conducted. An intricate murder case and fearless handling of the ruck of prosecutions for illegal liquor selling, which form the bulk of the work of the Massachusetts courts, added to the general impression.

The illness of the Attorney General of the State made the present Attorney General a national figure for the first time. He was detailed to assist in the prosecution of the famous Borden case because of the fact, and his work attracted the attention of many great lawyers who followed the procedure in that celebrated cause with interest.

The sum total of the impression made was manifested in his nomination to succeed General William Cogswell, who had been for several successive terms the representative of the Essex district in Congress. The political organization, the work as district attorney, the reputation as a brilliant and brainy young man combined to defeat older aspirants for the place in Congress, which he could have held indefinitely and to which his former constituency would to-day gladly return him.

Attorney General Moody's reputation in Congress was that of an able, growing man on whom absolute dependence could be placed. His marked fairness of mental attitude was not a weakness in debate, but rather an element of strength, since while he recognized and conceded the strong points of the opposition argument, he was equipped with a conviction of superior strength worked out in full consideration of both sides. His position as one of the working members of the committee on appropriations and as the debating second of the chairman of the committee took the time which might have been given to general legislation and to debate which is a factor in political movements, and his strength with the House was very much greater, proportionately, than his national reputation. The general recognition of his ability as a legislator and the unanimous expression of personal friendliness and good will which found expression on his appointment as Secretary of the Navy has hardly been equalled in the House of Representatives, in which small jealousies are rife, and friction is almost inevitable in the many divisions and shades of interests.

Mr. Moody took the position of Secretary of the Navy on May 1, 1902. The fourteen months in which he has occupied that position have been, for times of peace, momentous ones. The Navy has occupied a position second only to that which it occupied during the Spanish War, and the growth of its prestige has been marked. There have been difficult and delicate questions, but it is difficult to say in looking over the history of over two years where a mistake has been made where tact and discretion have been lacking.

In that time there have been the troubles in which Venezuela, Colombia and San Domingo have been concerned and in which the

navy has played most important parts. The impression has been made and strengthened that the navy forms an adequate and satisfactory means to meet crises that are beyond the resources of ordinary diplomatic methods, and that its function in this respect has been fully established as a necessity of national life.

Secretary Moody's most conspicuous service to the Navy has, however, been his work in bringing the Navy and its needs in closer touch with Congress. According to the superiority of the legislative branch in establishing the general terms of naval policy, he has by a frank exposition of the real needs and aims of the Navy brought Congress into a close touch and a fuller realization of those needs, with the result that Congress has been liberal in provision and sympathetic with the efforts for the improvement of the efficiency of the service. It is doubtful if any other man could have secured the considerable additions in ships or the authorization of outlying naval stations on his mere statement of opinion alone. He has dealt fairly not only with the individual members of Congress in their relations with the Department, but with Congress as a whole he has been absolutely honest and fair. He has regarded himself as administrator of congressional directions and policies and has not sought in the slightest degree to evade any dictum of legislation. The resulting benefit on sea and ashore to the naval establishment can scarcely be overestimated, and the Department has been given a status which may be regarded as the apex of the rehabilitation of the Navy.

For the internal administration of the Navy, Secretary Moody has held himself to a responsibility which examined every detail with care. The effect of any decision which affects the Navy is not simple. These decisions forming a code of law are far reaching in their influence. None has passed from Secretary Moody's hands without his careful personal thought and investigation or without the hearing and consideration of those who represented the different interests affected. Conscious that the civilian is to an extent hampered in his consideration of military matters, he has also held firmly in mind the principle that in the United States the civilian interest is and must be paramount, and that military matters must pass the review and submit to the criterion of the civilian. Earnestly seeking military advice, he has not given it absolute adherence, but has revised and modified in the light of a trained intelligence in the weighing of evidence. He has earnestly insisted on the maintenance of the efficiency of the Navy at as near a war footing as may be and has been constant in his investigation of the conditions attaching to the personnel and of means for

the improvement of that condition. It was largely due to his representations that measures were taken for the increase of the number of officers through a doubled quota of appointment of midshipmen, and his care for the welfare of enlisted men has added materially to the attractiveness of the service.

In the development of fleet formations and in the improvement of the target practice, the past two years have been almost epochal in the United States Navy. Both of these ends have been earnestly supported by Secretary Moody, whose co-operation with the military branch of the Navy Department in matters affecting the efficiency of the fleet in being has made it possible to do an amount and quality of work whose benefit is now being realized, while the expense of a rapidly growing and actively administered Navy has been closely watched and carefully restricted. The effect of the administration just closed is best demonstrated by the feeling that its usefulness was only at the stage of inception and that nothing is to be more earnestly desired than that it could have continued to a completion of the results already indicated.

Although Secretary Moody has been a good legislator and a good administrator, he is, above all, a good lawyer. A western attorney with whom he had some business a short time ago said, "Why, that man hadn't ought to be playing with boats. He's too good a lawyer." He throws himself into legal work with absorption and with the zest which goes with a congenial occupation. With the exception of the term of his service as Secretary of the Navy he has never been divorced from active practice, and since he has been in the Cabinet he has taken a lively interest in the legal questions that have confronted the administration.

The personality of Attorney General Moody is one which will carry its possessor far not only in the matter of a career, but in longevity and continued health. He comes of a long-lived and sturdy race and is easily entitled in looks to a discount of a decade from his term of years. He has a tremendous amount of personal magnetism, a winning smile and cordial manner and instantly finds his way to easy relations with a caller. Although he has a repugnance to public speaking, he is one of the few public speakers of the present day who can truly be said to be orators. He has a resonant and flexible speaking voice, has the artistic temperament which feels and so puts effectively the current sentiment and thinks while on his feet, easily, clearly and coherently. Shunning importunities for public speaking rather than seeking opportunities, his talents as an orator, his ability

to sway audiences have not come to general public notice. Those, however, who have heard him on an adequate occasion, such, for example as the annual dinner of the Lincoln Club of New York this year, place him second to none in effective oratory.

It is not at all probable that after so successful a career and after the display of marked talents for public life, the announced intention to retire permanently to private life and the practice of law will be the fact. While there may be a temporary cessation of the public duties in which Mr. Moody has won honor and perhaps a right to spend some years in private pursuits, there is more than a possibility that he will close his life in constructive legislation, bringing to the position of United States Senator from Massachusetts distinguished ability and added lustre.

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AUGUST, 1904.

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

THIRD PAPER.

THE OPERATIONS (CONTINUED).

THE operations, up to February 23d, have been passed in review, but many details were wanting to complete the picture. Nevertheless, the outline presented was sufficiently clear, at least for the general reader: Japan with her fleet keeping the Russian fleet in port by repeated attacks on the latter, thus covering her own landing operations, and with her army concentrating her forces in Northern Corea; Russia holding her navy on the defensive till her strategic deployment should be complete, concentrating her troops behind the Yalu.

Both powers were striving to complete their strategic deployments as far to the front as was possible, with reasonable safety, and for this purpose the advantages of Northern Corea were fully appreciated by both, and thither their efforts were directed.

Japan continued her *offensive* tactics at sea and on land, while Russia continued to play a waiting game.

On February 16th, Viceroy Admiral Alexieff changed his headquarters from Port Arthur to Mukden, an important point on the railroad near the Manchurian border.

On the same day Admiral Makaroff, who had been appointed to supersede Admiral Stark in command of the Russian main fleet, left Kronstadt for Port Arthur.

General Kuropatkin was appointed to the chief command of the Russian army in the Far East, but did not leave St. Petersburg until about the middle of March.

Admiral Alexieff, as viceroy, was expected to retain chief command, but his authority over Admiral Makaroff and General Kuropatkin was to have been merely nominal.

FOURTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(Night of February 23-24.)

The fourth attack on Port Arthur was made with a view to closing the narrow channel of the harbor by sinking ships in it, thus bottling up the Russian ships that happened to be in the inner harbor at the time, and at the same time preventing those lying outside in the roads from going inside and completing or renewing their equipment or having any needed repairs made.

At 2:45 A. M., in the early morning of February 24th, before daybreak, eight Japanese torpedo boats escorted five steamers, charged with combustibles and explosives, towards the harbor entrance.

The five steamers chartered for the purpose of blocking the entrance passed along the south of Cape Lao-ti-shan. The Tenshin Maru led the way, but steered too much to the left.

The advance of the Japanese was promptly discovered by the Retvisan (lying in the harbor entrance) and the coast forts, and the steamers were taken under heavy fire.

When the Tenshin Maru reached a point about three miles southwest of the harbor entrance, she was struck by a shell and ran ashore on the rocks near the lighthouse on the Tiger Peninsula. The other steamers then changed their course to the northeast. The Russian searchlights and artillery fire caused great difficulties to their movements. The steering apparatus of the Bushu Maru was struck by a shell, and as she became unmanageable, she grounded close to the Tenshin Maru, blew up, and sank. The Buyo Maru was also sunk by the Russian fire before she reached the entrance, near Solataja-Gora.

The Hokoku Maru and the Jansen Maru then rushed toward the harbor entrance, the former dropping close to the Retvisan, and the latter a little to the east of her. The fuses were ignited and the officers and crews took to the boats. The latter were compelled to skirt the coast to avoid the Russian searchlights and artillery fire, and were borne about in a rough sea till three o'clock in the afternoon, when they were picked up by the main fleet.

Firing was continued at the torpedo boats until it was full dawn. The torpedo boats retired on the main fleet out at sea.

The escorting destroyers and torpedo boats were all unharmed.

Three Russian cruisers (the Novik, Bayan and Askold) pursued the torpedo boats, but the Bayan and Askold were recalled to reconnoiter and clear the channel of any torpedoes the Japanese might have planted, while the Novik proceeded to bring the destroyer, which is sent as a scout boat to reconnoiter in Pigeon Bay every night, back to Port Arthur.

This effort of the Japanese was in full accord with their spirit of initiative and aggressiveness, but in this case their labor was in vain, principally on account of the position of the Retvisan, whose fire was most effective. The harbor entrance, however, is about 590 feet wide, and consequently very difficult to close effectively, requiring very large vessels.

During the day, February 24th, the Japanese fleet, composed of seventeen warships and twelve torpedo boats, remained beyond range of the guns at Port Arthur. The Novik was pursued by two of the Japanese cruisers, while the others remained far in rear.

FIFTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(Night of February 24-25.)

During the night of February 24-25, the Japanese made another attempt against the Russian fleet, and had stationed destroyers in front of the roads at Port Arthur, in the direction of Pigeon Bay and before Dalny. Meanwhile two Russian flotillas of torpedo boats were sent out from Port Arthur to reconnoiter, or make a night attack if opportunity afforded, and these, in going out, met the Japanese scouts (torpedo boats) stationed there, but the latter retired before them. The Russians did not find any ships of the Japanese fleet during the night, and returned to Port Arthur in the morning.

During the night, after the moon had set, the Japanese torpedo boats watching Port Arthur approached closer to the entrance, and made several attacks on the Retvisan; they were fired on by the shore batteries and by the guns of the Retvisan, and two were reported destroyed.

This demonstration against Port Arthur, Dalny and Pigeon Bay was in the nature of a scouting attack. The Japanese believed the harbor entrance closed, as it was so reported to Admiral Togo by those who took part in the attack of February 23-24.

The most striking point in this attack was the fact that the scouting system of the Russians was so exceedingly inefficient, but this was the case on a number of other occasions as well; indeed, there appears

to have been no concerted action in following up and keeping in touch with the Japanese cruisers after an attack at any time in the early part of the war.

SIXTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(February 25th.)

About 9 A. M., February 25th, the Japanese squadron, consisting of 6 battleships, 6 large and 4 small cruisers, 2 despatch boats and 8 torpedo boats, appeared on the horizon before Port Arthur, coming from the direction of Dalny. The Russian cruisers Bayan, Askold and Novik took up their anchors in order to protect the Russian torpedo boats, which were just then returning from their night's reconnoissance.

The entire Japanese squadron advanced, and fired on the Russian cruisers from 10:50 A. M. to 11:25 A. M., at about 8,700 yards range. The Russian ships retired to the inner harbor, leaving the defense to the forts, while the Japanese continued the engagement. The light cruisers were detached, while the rest of the Japanese ships in a broad front bombarded the works and the inner harbor. Most of the shots fell short. In a short time the squadron turned about.

Meanwhile, the light cruisers had proceeded to Pigeon Bay. The two Russian torpedo boats, which had been stationed there as scouts, had not been withdrawn to Port Arthur in time. One of them succeeded in getting through along the shore, however, but the other (the Vnushitelni) was cut off and ran ashore. The Japanese cruisers fired at it for about twenty minutes, and destroyed it.

The Russians, taking the firing in Pigeon Bay to indicate an attempt at landing, immediately sent troops in that direction. As these arrived on the scene the Japanese ships were steaming out. The Russians then stationed some field artillery permanently on the shore in Pigeon Bay for its better protection.

On the following day the Japanese squadron remained in the vicinity of Port Arthur, but did not attack. At night it observed the harbor entrance, and then retired.

The Russians sent out cruisers and torpedo boats daily, to reconnoiter for 60 miles out, but nothing was discovered regarding the movements of the Japanese fleet.

The comparative inactivity of the Russian battleships at Port Arthur and of the Russian cruiser squadron at Vladivostok during all this early period of the war is quite incomprehensible. With a proper scouting system the position of the Japanese squadron could have

been determined, and there should have been many opportunities when the Russian ships could have interfered with the landing operations going on at Chemulpo or Gensan on such a large scale.

On the other hand, the Japanese, in the latter part of February, appeared to have lost much of their original energy, and accomplished but little against the Russians. The sea supremacy which the Japanese won so early in the war entirely altered the strategical conditions of the campaign, however, enabling them to move their troops wherever climatic and local conditions rendered it desirable or possible to disembark them, and this state of affairs materially influenced the distribution of the Russian forces, and prevented the latter from advancing in force beyond the Yalu.

But the comparative inaction of the Japanese fleet in the latter part of February was of immense advantage to Russia, giving her time to make repairs in the fleet, and to complete her strategic deployment on land.

The indications were that the Japanese fleet, about February 15th, had taken up a position in the strait of Corea, with Fusan as the principal naval base of operations. Fusan was connected by telegraph with Chemulpo by way of Seoul, and via Tsushima and Sassebo with the network of telegraph lines in Japan. The squadron commander in that position could therefore quickly receive information of any attempts against the coast of Japan, as well as reports from his outposts between Chemulpo and Shantung, and at the same time would be able to prevent the union of the two separated Russian squadrons, and would cover the transport route from Shimonoseki to Fusan or Masampo.

Meanwhile, however, the Japanese changed the principal landing place to Chemulpo, and transported those already landed in Fusan directly by sea to that point, thus gaining a great step in advance. These transports, in view of the proximity of the Port Arthur squadron, necessarily required the protection of the Japanese main squadron.

The main body of the Japanese fleet was stationed in the Straits of Corea, while Admiral Kamimura was detached to hunt up, and if possible, defeat, the Vladivostok cruiser squadron. A line of outposts was formed of small cruisers of the First Squadron and of that of Admiral Uriu, extending from Shantung to Corea, connecting with Chemulpo, to report promptly any advance of the Russian fleet from the Gulf of Pechili. Finally, the torpedo boats, based on Chemulpo, or the Elliot Isles, and supported by a few cruisers, were directed to make constant attacks on Port Arthur, in order to keep closer touch

with the Russian Squadron, to annoy the latter, and to produce such destruction as may be possible.

On the return of Admiral Kamimura, after the failure of his mission, the latter took charge of the Straits of Corea, while the main battleship squadron convoyed the transports to Chemulpo.

About February 25th the Russians began to consider the possibility of the Japanese effecting a landing in the vicinity of Port Arthur, and made preparations to prevent it.

After February 25th the main body of the Japanese First Squadron left the Yellow Sea, and probably went to Japan for coal and repairs. A secondary base was established for the cruisers and torpedo boats at Thornton Haven on the Island of Haiyuntan (which had belonged to Russia, but was abandoned by her on February 23d); this port is about 90 nautical miles from Port Arthur, and about 100 from Chinampo, at the mouth of the Taitong River.

OPERATIONS ON LAND.

(February 23-March 1.)

The movements on land continued in the same spirit as in the beginning, and along the same lines. The decision of Admiral Alexieff to transfer his base from Port Arthur to Mukden was due to the fact that Japan had acquired command of the sea, and any Russian advance beyond the Yalu, or even beyond Liaoyang, could be flanked by the Japanese from the sea. The Russians had first decided to concentrate at Liaoyang for operations across the Yalu, but the early successes of the Japanese decided them to concentrate further to the rear.

The road between Liaoyang and the Yalu is very poor, and the distance, owing to the character of the country and the climate, amounts to about ten marches.

The Japanese made their base at Seoul, as soon as they decided on Chemulpo as the main landing place. From Seoul to the Yalu is twenty-one marches, from Fusan or Masampo to Seoul is sixteen marches, and from Gensan to Seoul ten marches. To effect their concentration the Japanese had to secure the passages of the Tatong River, ten marches beyond Seoul.

The Russian main column advanced on the main road via Wiju toward Antong. On February 27th a subdivision of Cossacks came upon some Japanese cavalry between Anju and Ping Yang, and after defeating the latter advanced to within 700 yards of Ping Yang,

where on the 28th it was fired on by Japanese infantry and driven back.

Another Russian column advanced along the eastern part of northern Corea, with patrols out in front, toward Gensan.

These arrangements were made to meet the early Japanese advance from Gensan, Fusan and Masampo; but when the Japanese changed their landing place to Chemulpo this flanking column would have been exposed to a turning or flank attack from the sea, and was consequently held back. In the same way, any advance of the main column beyond Ping Yang, or even beyond Liao-yang, would have been similarly threatened.

By the end of February, or beginning of March, the Japanese had occupied Ping Yang with a force of about 6,000 troops, of whom 200 belong to the cavalry, and in the vicinity of Seoul and Ping Yang about 30,000 men had been concentrated.

About this time the Japanese landing place was changed from Chemulpo to Chinampo, whence the troops had a shorter march to Ping Yang.

At Sieng-chin on the east coast, half way between Gensan and Vladivostok, some 2,500 Japanese were disembarked and started on February 19th for Moasan on the upper Yalu River.

The Russians could not advance in force beyond Liao-yang, without exposing themselves to flank attack from the sea; the Japanese, for example, could have landed in the vicinity of Yakushan and threatened the Russian communications on the road, or, after the ice melted, they could have landed at Newchwang, on the other side of the Liaotung Promontory, advancing along the railroad toward Liao-Yang.

The Japanese, therefore, continued their aggressive advance into Northern Corea, and took advantage of their command of the sea to continually advance their base of operations and their principal landing place nearer to the theatre of operations, to facilitate and hasten that advance. The Russians, on the other hand, found themselves compelled to effect their concentration farther to the rear, at Harbin, and to leave Port Arthur exposed to attack from the land side, at the same time keeping the cavalry scouts well advanced beyond the Yalu.

ATTACK ON VLADIVOSTOK.

(March 6th.)

The Japanese, after receiving the report that the Russian cruiser squadron had again left Vladivostok on February 29th, made a new

subdivision of the fleet into two squadrons, Admiral Kamimura, with a squadron composed of five large warships, two small cruisers and a number of torpedo boats, being sent to the Japan Sea, to look for the Russian cruiser squadron, while Admiral Togo, with the rest of the ships (fourteen in number), again advanced against Port Arthur.

The strength of the Japanese fleet allowed of this subdivision, since each part would still be superior to the corresponding Russian squadron. The Japanese had evidently decided to conduct the operations on land simultaneously from both sides of Northern Corea, for which purpose the command of the sea in the Japan Sea was essential, hence the Russian cruiser squadron in that theatre had to be destroyed, or at least put out of action.

Admiral Kamimura started out on his mission about March 3d or 4th, and steamed directly for Vladivostok, in order to make sure that the Russian cruiser squadron had really left that port. On the morning of the 6th, a little before 9 A. M., he arrived at Askold Island on the eastern shore of Ussuri Bay, about 25 nautical miles southeast of Vladivostok, and sent his torpedo boats into the bays ordinarily used as outer anchorages by the Russian ships. Leaving the two light cruisers off Askold Island as outposts, he took the main squadron into Ussuri Bay, east of Muravief Peninsula (on which Vladivostok is situated), keeping close to the northern shore. When he reached a position beyond the sector of fire of most of the coast guns, he approached to within 9,100 yards range and opened fire with his heavy and medium caliber guns on the harbor.

Firing was opened at 1:25 P. M., and the bombardment continued until 2:15 P. M., about 200 shots being fired. The Russian batteries did not reply.

The Japanese ships withdrew for the night, but returned on the morning of the 7th, scouting American and Steroku Bays, reconnoitering once more the possible anchorages, and advancing up to the eastern entrance to the inner harbor. Admiral Kamimura then went to Possiet Bay, which was also carefully reconnoitered, after which he withdrew southward.

SEVENTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(March 10th.)

Admiral Makaroff arrived at Port Arthur on March 8th, and hoisted his pennant on the cruiser Askold. On the same day the Retvisan, which had been lying aground in the harbor entrance since February 9th, was floated and taken into the inner harbor.

Admiral Togo made his attack on Port Arthur on March 10th.

The Japanese destroyers were formed into two divisions, both of which reached the outside of the harbor at about midnight of the 9th, and proceeded to reconnoiter. No Russian ships were discovered in the roads, but the searchlights of the coast forts picked up the destroyers, consequently one division retired to the cover of the hills of Cape Liautishan, but the other division, in spite of the heavy fire of the coast works, proceeded at dawn to lay special mechanical mines at different points in the roads.

At 2:50 A. M. the Russians sent out two divisions of destroyers, six boats in all, to attack the Japanese boats. They encountered the Japanese division, lying under cover of Cape Liautishan, at 4:30 A. M., and a hot action took place, lasting about twenty minutes, in the course of which three of the Japanese destroyers (the Asashio, Kasumi and Akatsuki) fought close up to the Russian destroyers, almost touching, and delivered a violent fire. The boats then separated, after some losses on each side. The Akatsuki's auxiliary steam pipe was destroyed, and other damages were sustained by the Japanese, but none of the destroyers of this division were put out of action.

Meanwhile, the other Japanese division completed its mine laying, and proceeded out to sea. In going out of the outer harbor, at about 7 A. M., this division encountered two of the Russian destroyers coming from the fight at Cape Liautishan, and making for the harbor, namely the Reshitelni and the Steregubshi. The Japanese boats attacked, the Steregubshi was destroyed and sank, but the Reshitelni escaped into the harbor.

The Russian cruisers Novik and Bayan, seeing the two destroyers in danger of being cut off, ran out to their assistance, but arrived too late. The Japanese cruisers then moved up to assist their destroyers, and the Novik and Bayan retired. This Japanese destroyer division sustained little damage.

Meanwhile, the Japanese main and cruiser squadrons moved in and arrived off Port Arthur at 8 A. M. The cruiser squadron moved up to the mouth of the harbor to support the torpedo boats, while the main squadron approached Cape Liautishan, and at 10 A. M. opened an indirect bombardment, lasting until 1:40 P. M. The detailed arrangements were as follows: A division of cruisers was sent to the Bay of Talienwan, another division, comprising the Takasago and the Chihaya, was despatched to the bays west of Liautung Peninsula, in order to look up any torpedo boats that might be in observation there, while a third cruiser division was stationed in front of the roads to observe the effect of fire on the town, and to

correct the laying of the guns. The battleships were then anchored west of Cape Liautishan, and fired from that position over the intervening land and hills indirectly at the town and the inner harbor. The range was about 13,000 yards, but the firing appeared to have had some effect on the batteries and the ships as well as on the town.

The Russian batteries replied at intervals, first while the Japanese ships were getting into position, and later on the Japanese cruisers.

At the end of the firing the Japanese fleet were assembled, and went out to sea.

The division of cruisers, which had been sent to Talienwan Bay, destroyed the Russian buildings on the Sanshan Islands.

On the following day, March 11th, the Russians sent out several cruisers to reconnoiter, but the Japanese fleet was not located by them.

OPERATIONS ON LAND.

(March 1-10.)

The Russians, as before stated, had originally decided to effect their concentration in the vicinity of Mukden and Liau-Yang, and to take up their first defensive position near the mouth of the Yulu River, at the same time advancing a column against the east coast of Corea, either with a view to protect their defensive line against a turning movement, or to attack in flank any Japanese column that might advance from that direction.

This was on the supposition that the Japanese line of advance would be from Seoul, via Ping-Yang, into southern Manchuria. All the known movements of the Japanese troops up to the end of February indicated this action on their part.

Early in March, however, the Russians held an entire army corps in Harbin (the point where the railroad branches to Vladivostok and Port Arthur), probably because the reports at that time pointed to a possible advance of the Japanese from Paksin Bay or Possiet Bay (on the north-eastern coast of Corea) into central Manchuria.

The Japanese continued to disembark troops on the west side of Corea, as well as on the east side. Fusan was used merely as a port on the line of communications. The railroad from Fusan to Seoul, which was still incomplete at the outbreak of the war, was completed, and utilized as the principal line of supply. From Seoul northward the Japanese Railroad Regiment constructed a field railroad to Ping-Yang.

The roads in Corea were very bad, but the command of the sea

enabled the Japanese, with the aid of their transports, to gain ground rapidly to the front. The western column, by transportation over sea to Hai-ju and Chemulpo, was advanced to Ping-Yang, and the landing of the 2,500 men at Plaksin Bay was probably the preparatory step to advance the eastern column from Gensan to Pukchin on the Chestakoff harbor, or even farther north.

The cavalry of both armies came in contact with each other both in the western and the eastern theatre of operations:

On March 7th the Russian scouts met a mounted Japanese patrol on the Cheng-Cheng River, which runs parallel to the Yalu, about sixty miles south of it, and empties into the Corea Bay, after passing by Anju. At Pakchen (twenty miles west of Anju) two other patrols came in contact, on the 18th.

The Japanese thus anticipated the Russians at Ping-Yang and readily obtained possession of that point. Ping-Yang is rather an important town in northern Corea, but is, in addition, an important strategic point, commanding as it does the main road from Seoul to the Yalu. The distance from Ping-Yang to the Yalu is about 120 miles, and the road is very poor and even difficult. Advance along this road would therefore necessarily be very slow.

For this reason, the Japanese took possession of Anju, and the line of the Cheng-Cheng River, and fortified their position, so as to be able to hold it long enough to enable them to complete their advance in other portions of the theatre of operations.

The further plans of the Japanese, from various indications, appeared to involve a landing in force in rear of Port Arthur, with a view to cutting its communications, and then besieging that place by sea and land. Its fall would involve the loss of the whole Russian fleet concentrated there. The attacking force could have been landed at Dalny or Pi-tsze-wo (on the coast west of the Elliot Islands) on the south side of the Peninsula, or at Port Adams or Kin-chan on the north, for operations directly against the place. But the most effective landing place would have been Newchwang, since it would at the same time threaten the Russian position at Mukden or Liao-Yang.

Another plan was indicated by the bombardment of Vladivostok, which suggested a grave concern on the part of the Japanese regarding the Russian cruiser squadron. The most effective movement of the Japanese army would have been an advance from Possiet Bay by way of Him-chun and Ninguta to the railroad line running from Vladivostok to Harbin, with a view to advancing on the latter place. The distance is about 300 miles, and the country mountainous and

wooded, and therefore difficult, but strategically this would have been the quickest way to strike Russia at a vital point, and rapidity was essential in view of the continually increasing strength of the Russian forces in Manchuria. But such a movement on the part of Japan required her to have command of the sea in that region, hence her concern regarding the Vladivostok squadron.

Towards the middle of March the Russians began withdrawing their outposts that had crossed the Yalu, and took up their defensive line on that river, effecting their main concentration in the vicinity of Harbin.

(*To be Continued.*)

CELEBRATED FIGUREHEADS OF HISTORICAL SHIPS.

And there's many a story that could be told
Of the fine figureheads that were chiselled of old.
On the dreary sands they crumble to-day
From Terra del Fuego to Baffin's Bay.
But the art is gone, for the warship of steel
Is a barren stretch the length of her keel;
From her tier of guns to the water line red,
With never a sign of a figurehead.

THE placing of figureheads under the bowsprits of ships, together with the carvings and decorating of bows and sterns, is a custom of the greatest antiquity. A bas-relief at Thebes, commemorative of a victory gained by the Egyptians over the Indians about 1400 B. C., represents each Egyptian vessel with a ram projecting from its bow in the form of a lion's head. The Chinese junk, whose shapeless mass has floated down the stream of time for over thirty centuries, probably without a change, invariably has its bows ornamented with eyes.

Until the seventeenth century it was the custom to place at the extremity of the prow a sculptured figure, which served to distinguish vessels of different nationalities. The Venetians adopted a bust of one of their great men, the Spaniards a lion, the English the figure of the reigning monarch, either on horseback or riding a lion. On the sterns of the Venetian, Portuguese and Spanish ships the carved image of some saint or hero was placed in much the same manner as a spread-eagle was at one time the favorite emblem on the stern of an American ship.

Admiral Nelson's famous flagship Victory, like our own glorious frigate Constitution, had four figureheads at different periods of her famous career, and it was the third, a shield with a crown over and supported by a sailor on the starboard and a marine on the port side, which she carried at the battle of Trafalgar; during the engagement the figurehead was struck by a shot which carried away the legs of the marine and arm of the sailor, and it is a singular coincidence of the battle that most of the men who had lost legs were marines, and those who lost arms sailors.

The frigate Shannon, commanded by Capitain P. B. V. Broke, had a colossal bust of a woman, painted white, for a figurehead, ornamented with a necklace of gilded roundlets. After the action the Shannon was but little in active service, and in 1859 she was broken up. Her figurehead, surmounted by a star taken from the Chesapeake's stern, now ornaments a glazed arcade at Broke Hall, and some of her timbers have been constructed into an elegant and lofty pair of gates leading to the grounds. These relics were presented to Sir P. V. B. Broke's surviving son by the British Ministry. In 1848 Sir William Symonds ordered a colossal bust of Broke to be carved and affixed to the head of the frigate Chesapeake, then building. The Chesapeake had no figurehead, but a carved billet-head, gilded, and five gilded stars on the stern.

The English frigate Macedonian, captured by Decatur in the frigate United States, had for a figurehead a finely carved bust of Minerva, six feet in length, which is preserved among a collection of figureheads at the Naval Academy. It was French workmanship, the vessel having been captured by the English from that nation. The bust was much worn and defaced when taken in 1812, and it is not likely that the relic is over a century old. When the Macedonian was taken to England the figure of the British Lion was carved to replace the French figurehead, but before it could be placed in position she was captured, and the carved lion was found in the cabin of the Macedonian.

The keel of the American, 74, laid in 1776, was the first vessel of her class ever constructed for the service, and the figurehead was both elaborate and finely executed. The head was a female figure, crowned with laurel, the right arm raised, with fore finger pointing to heaven. On the left arm was a buckler with a blue ground and thirteen stars. The legs and feet were covered here and there with wreaths of smoke, representing the dangers and difficulties of war. On the stern, under the windows of the great cabin, apapeared two figures in bas-relief, representing Tyranny and Oppression, bound and biting the ground, with the cap of Liberty on a pole above their heads. On the back part of the starboard quarter gallery was a large figure of Neptune, and on the port gallery a large figure of Mars. Over the windows of the great cabin was a large medallion, on which was a figure representing Wisdom, surrounded by danger, with the bird of Athens over her head. The command of this fine ship-of-war was to have been given to Paul Jones; but owing to the loss of the Magnifique, a 74-gun ship, belonging to the French, Congress decided to present France their solitaray ship of the line.

She was captured by the English in the action of June 1, 1794, added to the royal navy and renamed L'Impetreux.

The model of the frigate United States and the decorations of her hull exceeded anything of the kind that had ever been produced at that time in the United States. The figurehead, which was carved by William Rush, represented the genius of America, wearing a crest, adorned with a constellation. Her hair escaped in loose, wavy tresses and rested upon her breast. A portrait of Washington was suspended from a chain encircling her neck, and her waist was bound with a civic band. In her right hand she held a spear and belt of wampum, the emblems of peace and war. In her left hand was suspended the Constitution of the Union. Above was a tablet on which rested three books, representing the three branches of the government, and the scales of Justice. On the base of this tablet were carved the eagle and nationaal escutcheon and the attributes of commerce, arts and sciences. This was subsequently exchanged for a billet-head and scrollwork.

The frigate Constitution during her career had four figureheads. The first was a full-length figure of Hercules with a club poised over the right shoulder. The fate of this carving was strikingly in keeping with the fame of the frigate and a warrior's career. The figure was ruined by a cannon shot before Tripoli, August 29, 1804. The second was a figure of Neptune bearing his trident, and was in place in 1812, remaining but a short time, however, a billet and scroll replacing it. This was followed by a likeness of General Jackson, representing the President in the Hermitage scene, holding a scroll in his hand with the motto, "The Union, it must be preserved."

During the prevalence of a storm on the night of July 3, 1834, a man by the name of Dewey gained the bows of the vessel, cutting the head from the figure. The mutilation created a sensation throughout the country, and the frigate sailed from Boston for New York with canvas enveloping the figure, painted with seven stripes and stars, having a political significance, bearing on the attitude of Massachusetts during the War of 1812. The figurehead of Jackson remained for years in position, being finally replaced with an eagle, forming the fourth and in all probability the last ornament of the kind that will ever adorn the bows of the old frigate.

During John Adams' administration his bust was placed upon the corvette bearing his name, and also adorned the bow of the frigate President when commanded by Decatur and captured by an English squadron. The old relic has been carefully nurtured by the

British naval authorities, thousands of pounds sterling have been expended on repairing and renewing the old craft. She has been kept in commission as a receiving hulk, and for over a quarter of a century has been lying at her present berth near the East India Docks, most of the time resting in the mud, a venerable relic of British naval prowess in her war with the United States in 1812.

During Monroe's administration the bust of Washington was placed upon the seventy-four bearing his name. This relic has been preserved, and has a place in the Naval Institute Hall. The bust of Franklin was carved for the seventy-four bearing his name, representing the philosopher as bare-headed with long flowing hair. It is now at the Naval Academy. The line-of-battle ship Columbus carried the bust of the great discoverer, said to be a copy of the statue preserved in the cathedral at Havana. The old hulk met her fate at the destruction of Norfolk Navy Yard in 1861, but after the war the figurehead was recovered and sent to the Naval Academy. The North Carolina, a vessel of the same class, carried an image of Sir Walter Raleigh; and the Cyane, frigate, built at Boston, in 1837, had the bust of Stewart, in commemoration of the gallant moonlight encounter off Maderia. During the administration of John Quincy Adams the head of De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York, was placed on the New York, 74,; and the bust of Captain John Smith was carved for the frigate Potomac, with his coat-of-arms for a stern ornament.

The line-of-battle ship Delaware, launched in 1820, had the figurehead of a Delaware Indian chief, ornamented with scalp lock and four eagle feathers. A quiver filled with arrows projected above the right shoulder, while scalping knife, tomahawk and pipe were secured in place by a broad belt. Poised on the bow of the majestic eighty-gun ship, the stolid Indian had witnessed many stirring scenes in various portions of the globe, and, in keeping with his dignity, had never sailed except beneath the broad pennant of a Commodore. The old craft was broken up in 1867, and the figurehead found a resting place in the grounds of the Navy Academy, mounted on a brick pedestal eight feet high, the entire structure being fully twelve feet above the ground. The midshipmen came to view the grim figure with mingled sentiments of awe and respect, not entirely free, perhaps, from a dash of superstitious dread, being impressed that with "Chief Delaware," or "Two by Five God," rested the verdict of monthly averages. As the cadets passed on the way to the ordeal caps were doffed with deference and ceremony.

The line-of-battle ship Ohio, launched in 1820, had for a figurehead a noteworthy and artistic figure of Hercules. It was of majestic proportions, in keeping with the noble vessel on whose bow it remained poised for over sixty years. The sloop-of-war St. Louis, launched in 1828 and still in existence, bears on her bow the effigy of St. Louis. At Portsmouth, N. H., is the billet-head of the frigate Wyoming; and at the Charlestown Navy Yard is the finely carved eagle that once ornamented the bow of the frigate Niagara, acknowledged to have been the handsomest vessel of her time afloat.

The figurehead of the celebrated privateer Armstrong occupies a prominent place at the last-mentioned naval station, forming one of the most interesting relics of naval lore in possession of the government. It is a thrilling reminder of a desperate conflict, fought in the face of overwhelming odds, and in every phase of the fierce engagement the American sailor bore himself with such conspicuous bravery that a prominent London periodical pronounced it "the essence of heroism."

Captain Reid resolved to scuttle his vessel, determined that she should never fall into the hands of the English Commodore as a prize. Then it was that the Armstrong's crew, seeing their vessel doomed, declared that the "Old General" (meaning the figurehead) should not perish in sight of the enemy. Hastily manning a boat, with a supply of axes, the sailors, in the face of a furious fire, pulled under the bow, cutting away the figurehead, which was conveyed on shore amid the enthusiastic cheers of the survivors of the fight. The cherished relic escaped the notice of the Englishmen, and after their departure the Governor of Fayal had the image placed over the gates of the town, where it was universally known as "El Santo Americana." For many years thereafter the islanders in passing under the battle-scarred carving never failed to cross themselves as they hurried beneath it. It was finally removed and brought to the United States, finding an appropriate resting place within the confines of the Charlestown Navy Yard. The long Tom which performed such effective service through the anxious hours of the night battle is worthy of special mention. It originally belonged to the French line-of-battle ship Hoche, eighty-four guns, captured by Sir John B. Warren, and was bought in England, with the rest of her main battery of forty-two pounders sold to the United States government. After serving on an American privateer chartered by Hayti during that republic's war with France, it lay for several years in South street, New York City, and was finally mounted on a pivot when the Armstrong was

fitting out for her memorable cruise. Through the efforts of the Secretary of State the gun was recovered and brought to the United States, with a view of placing it in Lafayette Square, opposite the White House. James Jeffery Roche wrote a ballard on the "Fight of the Armstrong Privateer," the opening verse of which ran as follows:

> Tell the story to your sons of the gallant days of yore,
> When the brig of seven guns fought the fleet of seven score.
> From the set of sun till morn, through the long September night,
> Ninety men against two thousand and the ninety won the fight
> In the harbor of Fayal, the Azore.

The renowned Kearsarge, Hartford, Farragut's old battleship, Brooklyn and other celebrated vessels carried fiddle-heads, and the greater portion of men-of-war built during the struggle lacked that adornment. There was but little time or inclination to indulge in unnecessary ornamentation during those stirring and stormy days.

The Confederate cruisers of note carried fiddle-heads, with but little attempt for display. They were none of them afloat for dress parade, and attended strictly to the business calling them into existence.

Figureheads were discarded with the bowsprits of the wooden warships of the old navy. The builders of modern men-of-war have made but slight efforts to decorate either bow or stern of the grim fighting machines, which would scarcely relieve the rigid and formidable appearance of the huge floating batteries. A number of United States cruisers carry a shield draped with the national colors, but the execution or effect has never awakened criticism or aroused enthusiasm in connection with the modern navy.

A radical departure from stereotyped lines has been inaugurated with the cruiser Cincinnati, which has been decorated with an elaborate figurehead and stern piece. The bow piece is a winged representation of Victory, draped in flowing garments, holding above her head an eagle about to take flight. The trailing ornaments have a cartouche bearing in relief the seal of the Navy Department. Springing from the cartouche are ornamented foliage scrolls, and springing out of the foliage is a train of dolphins. The stern piece is a huge cartouche bearing in the centre the name of the vessel. The crest of the cartouche supports an eagle with spread wings standing on an American shield. In the lower part of the design, balancing the spot made by the shield, is the head of Medusa. A similar figurehead and

stern piece has been placed on the Olympia. The design differs from that of the Cincinnati in that the cartouche bearing the seal of the Navy Department has been replaced by the seal of the United States as the feature of a huge scroll ornament. The ornaments of Dewey's flagship are made from bronze, in which there is metal carried by the ship while at Manila. At that time the Olympia bore no figurehead. On the bow she carried the national shield in red, white and blue with gilded scrollwork.

The schooner yacht Meteor, built for Kaiser William, carries a figurehead designed by an American artist, George R. Barse, Jr., N. A. It is in the form of an eagle's head.

A great change has occurred since Nelson, in an earnest mood, objected to the large amounts spent in designing and decorating the elaborate figureheads and ornamental work that then adorned warships. There is a severe plainness, a grim and business-like air pervading all the modern fighting machines which if touched up with a judicious amount of ornamentation would add much to the general appearance of the huge floating fortresses. It would also revive the love and stimulate the sentiments of the "men behind the guns," who in the old days placed the honor of the flag first and the preservation of the figurehead second in importance.

H. D. Smith,
Captain Revenue Cutter Service.

DISCIPLINE—READINESS.

WEST POINT jokes, as all should understand, are natives of an exiguous territory—an institution for the education of the young who, in respect of their small share in the advantages of foreign travel, differ not at all from the home-keeping youth alluded to by Valentine of Verona. The world at large is not supplied with the facts essential to the elucidation of these little attempts, and for this reason an opportunity like this to apologize for apparent trifles does not seem one that would be best used by leaving the apology unsaid.

In the early fifties all things were primitive in the city of Washington, its population at the time not exceeding eight thousand all told, with but one constable, at "The West End," but this one the terror of the boys.

There were two principal hand fire engines, the "Union" and the "Franklin," in this section of the city; and the boys of eight years and upward "ran with the engine;" the "Gumballs" with the "Union," the "Enders" with the "Franklin." Oh, ye mothers! the perils of football of the present day are as naught to the "brickbat contests" of our day.

A skirmish of this kind, in rear of the President's mansion, resulted in the death of a "Gumball," and this had a determining influence in making at least one more soldier. After following this hero to the grave, the writer remarked to his father, that he should like to be buried in that way—*i. e.*, with a brass band and with all the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war." "Well, in that case, my son," the father replied, "you will have to go to West Point."

This "is easier said than done" in a vast majority of cases, but through the agency of a family "hobby," a simple cane, one which had been presented to the grandfather of the boy, by the father of the President, Franklin Pierce, he was safely landed at West Point early in the month of June, 1857.

Reporting to the post adjutant, our candidate for military honors, together with two others of his class, were assigned a room in "D" Company division, cadet barracks, always vacated in those days by the "old cadets" in favor of the newcomers, the "plebes."

After taking possession of the empty room, they were soon after

directed by two *very courteous* young gentlemen to the angle of barracks, and to a room which was said to contain their furniture.

The greater portion of the morning was consumed in the transfer of this furniture, and just as the plebes were enjoying a breathing spell an officer, presumably of the tactical department, entered, and reproving them severely, directed the return and careful replacement of every article that had been removed from *his* room.

It is thought that, if the officer had in this case adopted the tactics of General Grant during the Civil War, the *real* offenders might have come to grief and the poor plebes have escaped from the undoing of the work they had done. As the story runs, several Northern soldiers were talking together one day just before the advance on Corinth. A tall, raw recruit stepped up to them with a bundle of soiled clothes in his hand.

"Do you know where I could get this washing done?" he asked.

Two of the group were practical jokers. A bright thought flashed into their heads, and, as the sequel shows, unfortunately found expression.

"Oh, yes, we know! Just go up there with your bundle," pointing to the headquarters of General Grant; "you will see a short, stout man"—describing the General—"who does washing. Take your bundle to him."

The recruit thanked them and walked off in the direction indicated.

He gained entrance to headquarters, and stood in the General's presence.

"What can I do for you?" said General Grant.

"I was directed here by a couple of soldiers. They told me that you did washing, and I have a bundle here."

General Grant probably enjoyed the situation, but his imperturbable face did not relax. He simply asked the question: "Could you identify those men again?"

"Yes, sir."

"Very well; you shall have the chance."

Turning to an orderly, he directed him to call a guard, go with the recruit to where the jokers were standing ready to enjoy his discomfiture, and let him identify them.

"Take the men to the guardhouse, give them this man's bundle of clothing, and make them wash it thoroughly. See that the work is well done."

The General was obeyed to the letter.

To add to the complexity of things on this first day in barracks,

just after evening "call to quarters" the sentinel tapped on the door of the plebes' room and called out "All right?" The reply not being satisfactory to him, he opened the door and inquired if any one had answered "All right?" "I did, sir." "Who is room orderly?" "He is, sir." "Why did he not answer?" "Because I did, sir." "Why did you answer?" "I don't know, sir." "Why do you not know?" "I forgot, sir." "Well, young man, don't ever forget again." "Now," said the sentinel, "I inquire, is it all right in this room?" "All right, sir," responded the room orderly. "What is all right?" "Everything is all right, sir." "Is everything all right?" "Yes, sir." "Is that basin all right?" "No, sir." "Is that pillow all right?" "No, sir," "Is that candle-box all right?" "No, sir." "Do you not know, young man," the sentinel said, "that the rules and articles of war require that you should be tried by court-martial and dismissed the service for trifling with a sentinel on post in this manner? In time of war the sentence would be death."

We have been asked if this "rubbing-it-in" on the plebes is usual at the Military Academy; and the party of inquiring mind remarks that, if so, it must have an amazingly good effect. We are confirmed by his observation in an idea previously entertained that *the chronicling of such episodes, "small beer" though they be,* is as well calculated as anything can be, to give a true idea of inside life at West Point.

On a later day, some weeks after the arrival of the "plebes," the Corps of Cadets marched into camp. At the supper hour the adjutant brought the battalion to attention in the mess hall and directed the *"first-class"* to call at the quartermaster's tent at 7 o'clock to receive its allowance of stationery, and the *"new cadets"* to call at 7:30 P. M. for their allowance.

The plebes had been well supplied with brooms, dustpans, washbasins, buckets, blankets, etc., but charges for these articles were always entered upon their passbooks. This time, and for the first time, something was to be had for nothing—*an allowance.*

All were on hand at the appointed hour, and besieged the quartermaster's tent in force.

There was evidently something "in the wind" which the "plebes" neither understood nor appreciated; the sentinels shouting vociferously "Corporal of the Guard, No. 6; Corporal of the Guard, No. 7; Corporal of the Guard, No. 8." The reason for this became manifest so soon as the sergeant of the guard appeared upon the ground accompanied by his patrol. "New cadets fall in!" was the command,

and away they were marched as prisoners of war, *but without their allowance of stationery.*

As this was "*the first night in camp,*" many had been treated shortly after "taps," to what might now be demonstrated the toboggan process and as the night advanced, in the stillness of the midnight hour, a tent here and there would be seen to sink slowly to the ground, the canvas walls enshrouding its occupants, who, like phantoms in white and pink, crawled out from under, as does the early worm.

An unusual curcumstance occurred some days after "the first day of plebes on guard."

It was seen from the sentry posts, that the cadet battalion, in returning from breakfast at the mess hall, was halted in the cavalry plain and countermarched. The maneuver was not understood, but later it appeared that this was done to bring the rear rank of the several companies into the front rank, and *vice versa.*

The first captain, head of his class, and one of the ablest scholars at the Academy, was nevertheless a most unpopular man. He had given an order to certain "first-class privates" to stop swinging arms, and as the order was not obeyed, he countermarched the battalion to throw these "high privates" in the rear rank.

As soon as the companies wheeled into line in the campground at the point where the battalion broke ranks, three cadets rushed at the first captain with swords snatched from the hands of first-class officers, and simultaneously attacked him, the captain defending himself but retreating as he did so to the guard tents, and calling "Turn out the guard; turn out the guard." As the captain was a skillful swordsman, he parried the thrusts of his antagonists and held them off until the commandant of cadets rushed in and quelled the disturbance.

No such mutiny as this had ever before, or has ever since, occurred at the Military Academy. The men engaged in the assault were, of course, dismissed by court-martial; but, under the then existing state of affairs, were soon after reinstated.

The plebe sentinels were so demoralized that they failed to "*Turn out the guard,*" as they should have done. Several of this number were promised trial by the court-martial convened to try the principal offenders, but, fortunately for the plebes, this threat was but a joke (something to laugh at when they were well "out of the woods").

Men of authority have said that "hazing cannot be effectually stamped out so long as human nature remains as it is." It is clear however that the present superintendent has accomplished more than

any of his predecessors in this matter, since the people of the country have been in entire accord with him, and more than all, he has been fully sustained by those high in authority.

Statutory provisions have in past years been enacted to check the practice of hazing at the Academy at Annapolis; but of this Park Benjamin, a graduate of that institution, and now a well known writer, says: "It essays to crush butterflies with the steam hammer. It virtually substitutes slaughter for spanking. It is of questionable constitutionality, because it apparently deprives the Executive of his reviewing power, or of his power of pardoning; and for this reason," he goes on to say, "President Cleveland literally evaded it, by refusing to dismiss cadets convicted under it, and restored them to duty after a short confinement."

For those who have been disposed to criticise the administration of the Military Academy at any time, we must say, with "Life," "that its standards are high; that to speak the truth is essential to comfort there; that there is no influence against religion, and that high character is as much appreciated there as at any institution in the country. The question may be asked, will any detraction heaped upon this institution incline prudent parents to keep their sons away? Not a bit!" Congressmen charged with the responsibility of the selection of candidates for the Academy generally prefer at the present day to open wide the door to all comers under the now quite general system of competitive examination, and presumably, weight should be, if it is not, given by the examining boards to the moral attributes of the youthful aspirants, so that the service in this way may be provided with a gentlemanly class of men—"gentlemen not so much as respects wealth and social pretension, but as regards that undeniable quality of manhood which is the basis of character.* The blood in a horse will show itself even though he is hitched to a butcher's cart; and it will reveal itself in a man, however lowly his estate."

"Modification of the rules of testimony at the Academy has effected a radical change of late years, since the cadet can now no longer constitute himself the judge of what question he will or will not answer, as was the case for so many past years."

"Nor can men under the rules of military discipline make for themselves regulations which they will or will not obey at pleasure."

Indeed, it has been said that the cadet defense for hazing, or "bracing" more particularly, is that when this is done away with, the military bearing of the cadet cannot be preserved.

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*Editor of the Army and Navy Journal.

The authorities of the Academy, on the other hand, contend that matters of this kind can well be provided for under the military system of the Academy, and for this reason "they have abolished the class organizations which as an *imperium in imperio* tended to prevent that unity of organization and that directness of responsibility which are essential to the very idea of military government." Even the older graduates of the Academy are brought into line, at this hour, and agree that the system can no longer be tolerated, though many practical jokes were in past years enjoyed by the victims, quite as much as by the perpetrators. In fact some have gone so far as to advocate a well ordered system of "hazing." By way of illustration let these remarks be applied to guard duty or the sentinel as viewed from a humorous as well as serious standpoint. The sentinel of course always takes himself seriously, and is rarely, if ever, in a joking mood. Probably for this reason more than any other, from the very perversity of human nature he is deviled—just as we devil the crab, because it is *our* fun and not the crab's.

On what line then should we (all of us, not even excepting the investigators and lawmakers themselves) expect the "hazing" of plebes of the Government academies to run, if not on the line of the sentinel's post. All of us, of course, respect the flag, the Nation's ensign. Then, why not the sentinel, the Nation's ward? And yet that we do not, cannot be denied.

It is all one, whether that sentinel clad in the uniform of the United States Army was shot down at the gate of deserted Moultrie or whether the ensign halyard was shot away from the staff at Sumter. In either case the insult was to the Nation itself, and in either event the word comes back and with no uncertain sound, "Hands off!"

Why should the sentinel at the "sally port" stop a free and independent citizen and inquire his business? "What business has he with my business?" says the citizen. "What's he here for anyhow? If he wants fighting why doesn't he go to the Philippines and get it? Here everything is peace and quiet—what's the use of a soldier anyhow if he isn't where there's fighting?"

Yes, this is the usual remark. But what is the real essence of this matter? Does not the civilian know he has no right whatever within the gate of a military post? He has parted with his right for a consideration—that, namely, of being protected in the enjoyment of his property by the military. In one instance it appeared that the property in question was a number of golf shoes and the sentinel's business to see that no member of the club slipped away with two pairs of

shoes, one pair on his feet and the other in his pocket, leaving a rival to go over the course in his stocking feet.*

All are not however ignorant of the uses and advantages of a sentinel. Even a verdant youth of but eight summers sometimes knows better than the man of larger experience. We (an officer and a youth) are passing a sentinel's post—down comes the musket with a rattling present; the salute is returned. "Uncle," the little fellow inquires, "doesn't that make you *feel very proud?*"

Numerous stories are told of poor mortals dressed up in soldier clothes and vested for the time being with authority to command kings and potentates should they trespass upon the sentinel's prerogatives, and here is a *true* story.

A son of Erin representing as he did, for *this* occasion, one of the aforesaid class, was serving as a member of the guard at an army post and for the first time. To all challenges the answer came promptly: "Friend," or "Friends with the countersign." All went smoothly and according to formula until a young couple happened along, quite unused to being addressed in this summary way. No answer to the challenge. Again, "Who goes there?" Still no answer. "Answer! answer!" yelled the sentinel—"Say something! Say friend or say foe, but for God's sake *say something!*"

But how far away from West Point are we wandering and nothing as yet relative to the details of the guard system at that post.

In the first place, there is issued each day a small triangular form of note, the "countersign" and "parole" for the night; usually the name of some battle as countersign conjoined with that of some hero of the day, as parole. The story as we have it comes down in regular sequence of years and shows how the ladies sometimes possess themselves of family secrets. Lieutenant Washington, a tactical officer serving at the Academy, "fair, fat, and forty-five," met a party of young ladies "on the old north stoop," who requested the Lieutenant to inform them concerning the "countersign" and "parole." A messenger was dispatched to camp grounds with a note for the officer of the guard, but he was intercepted and the note did not reach its destination; however, the usual form of reply was prepared and dispatched to Lieutenant Washington and passed, unread by him, to the young ladies who in silence but smilingly read—Countersign, "Fatted;" parole, "Calf."

Let us further consider the subject of guard duty as practiced at the Military Academy. "Boning† standing;" "Boning demerit;"

*The canteen is abolished, but "Golf" still holds sway in the Army.

†Striving for, or endeavoring to escape from a thing.

"Boning corporalcy" should be understood if they are not, but "boning colors" requires elucidation. The guard as "marched on" during the summer encampment consists of three reliefs of eight men each, two hours on, and four hours off, for each relief. The regular posts at the time of which we write were eight in number, with a color line consisting of stacked muskets and the colors of the battalion; this line being preserved from morning parade until near the time for evening parade, guarded by extra sentinels, three in number, posted alternately.

These privileged members of the guard had "boned colors," and their efforts were successful. Each day the three of the twenty-seven members of the privates of the guard were selected by the adjutant, for neat appearance and military bearing, after being subjected to a crucial test. The men selected for the color guard were simply required to walk post two or three hours, and after that, were treated as on general permit, and were excused from all duty.

Following the posting of the regular sentinels, orders and instructions of a purposely complicated character were given. How to receive "Grand Rounds;" how to receive a body of cavalry if friends, and how to receive them if enemies; which latter method consisted in fleeing from one's post, firing one's piece and calling out in retreat: "Turn out the guard! turn out the guard! body of the enemy's cavalry!" If one were a plebe and a steamboat arrived on his post, in like manner and in all seriousness the officers of the guard gave instructions as to how it should be received. If at night, the pilot would be required "to dismount from the pilothouse and advance with the countersign." If at some other hour a different method of receiving the craft was prescribed.

Now all this may seem superfluous, but as the great General Winfield Scott said before election (and it killed him politically): "Everything is done with a view to soup" ("A hasty plate of soup" is the way the Democrats had it); and these stories are told for a specific purpose, that of demonstrating that there is more business for the sentinel, more especially for the *plebe* sentinel, than the casual observer might suppose, and none of a plebe class can say, with any degree of truth after a summer camp spent in the manner described, that he has not seen active service.

If those of a very practical turn of mind should ask, How can a steamboat traverse a sentry post? the query can be answered in a few words. It is only a theoretical steamboat, a theoretical body of the enemy's cavalry, represented at one time by a new-fledged "yearling" just out of plebedom, and at another by a dignified cadet officer who desires to see if the sentinel can keep his wits about him and

remember his orders. Remember his orders! No sentinel in time of war, on the very picket line itself, has such a stack of orders to remember and none are ever advanced upon by such scarecrows and hobgoblins as are the (excuse us!), as *were* the plebe sentinels of our day. If gentlemen who take up arms for a brief period, in the service of their country, were put through a course of West Point guard duty for a single night, or better still, for a single week, when the "Grand Rounds" approaches, the order of things would never be reversed; in other words, the sentinel would not fire his piece first and challenge afterward; as many well remember was the case with "the three months men" of the early sixties, when officers "took their lives in their hands" in making the "Grand Rounds."

In fact, the following story might have been lost to the reader had it not been for certain omissions in our military system:

The late Hon. William D. Kelly, from Pennsylvania, a member of one of the Annual Boards of Visitors to the Academy, related *his* experience in the line of sentinel duty.

His story was told at a West Point alumni banquet. He "was not used to the military," as he expressed it, as he was seriously embarrassed in addressing military men on military subjects, and was free to confess that he had had but a brief service in the army. He well remembered, however, his first experience as sentinel. He had been "put on post" at General Reynolds' house near Gettysburg, with orders that if any one asked to see General Reynolds, he was to ascertain his name and business and then send an orderly to tell the General who the party was desiring to see him. Then (the instructions were explicit), if the General told the orderly to return and tell the sentinel that he would see the party, the sentinel could send the party in.

The first man who came along was Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, who asked to see General Reynolds. "Governor Curtin," replied the sentinel (Mr. Kelly, as he tells it), "you cannot see the General unless I send the orderly to tell the General you wish to see him; then if the General tells the orderly to tell me that you can see him, I'll let you in."

"Go ahead," says the Governor, "and send the orderly."

"Orderly," said I (Sentinel Kelly is speaking), "go and tell General Reynolds that Governor Curtin desires to see him."

"I have no orders to receive from a d—n private," replied the orderly.

"Governor Curtin, you cannot see the General," said the sentinel.

"Why not?" replied the Governor.

"The orderly won't go."

"But I must see him."

"Well, then, Governor, suppose you try *your* hand on the orderly."

The orderly was sent, and, as Mr. Kelly relates, General Reynolds came to the door, received the Governor, and after a few words they both looked at the sentinel; the General then addressed the officer of the day with this remark, "Take that d—n fool off that post!"

Here was a man who did not belong to the Regular Army. He was simply a member of the Pennsylvania Reserves, called out to repel invaders of his State; had been in service but one week, and yet, as he said, he saw more active service in that one tour of guard duty than in all the rest of his service put together.

A Russian soldier posted by the Neva side at the season of the annual river rising was rescued just in time—the icy water was up to his armpits.

It is not doubted that such incidents were common. There was in all probability no little boy Casabianca. But what does it matter. The number of souls that the story has fired shows that it is a true thing, fact or no.

One more recital and the poor sentinel may then, perhaps, be allowed to walk his post in peace. This can be vouched for. Passing the gate of the National Armory in Springfield, Mass., in a horse car with "no show of the military" about him sat an officer of that establishment. He could not fail to observe two occupants of the car who were engaged in loud and earnest conversation condemnatory of the introduction of soldiers at that place.* "Look there!" said one; "see that big fellow coming down the hill with another one bringing him along; watch and you will see him leave him and take another one away, and this thing is going on all the time—every few hours. Now I wanter know what's the use 'n it? Why can't those fellows cum by th'rsel's and go back by th'rsel's and save money and time in the business—*that's what I wanter know?*" These intelligent (?) citizens of the United States, it is apprehended, had assisted in enacting the law which required that the sentinel should be *"duly posted"* (and in the very manner objected to), so that he might be *empowered* to enforce the law. From which it appears that some persons may live a whole lifetime without comprehending the use of a sentinel; whereas, some other one, like the youth of eight summers or the honorable member from Pennsylvania, may find a solution for this question at the very threshold of his military career.

*The introduction of soldiers at the Armory was a very unpopular measure with the people as for many years that establishment had been under civil control with a civilian superintendent at its head.

In late readings upon military subjects the views and opinions of military men, based upon what may be called modern contests, are so much at variance with the ordinary or customary teachings* that they forcibly recall an interview had with a sentinel at one of our military posts just after the Civil War. The sentinel was an Italian; he had been several times wounded, and was maimed, but not to any extent disqualified for duty.

"I have been," he said, "five years in the army, *'Ma lavori militari no ho mai veduto.'* "

He had taken part in the great historical crisis of the age. He had seen victory and defeat, battle and sudden death, but *lavoro militare* forsooth he had never seen.

How many there are who have waded through the pages of history; have studied great campaigns, and have discussed the comparative merits of military leaders, and military systems, and yet have never seen it, never known it, or never understood it—*lavoro militare.*

Presumably what this man meant, was that he had been in battle, but it was not *done right.*

The rules were not followed. Europe was not taken as a model. There was victory but not victory brought about by faithfulness to precedent. There was defeat, but the performance was irregular. He had been wounded many times, it is true, but wounds have no business to be inflicted in such a way. I grant you, he seemed to say, a terrific struggle and results which guide the course of history. But the whole thing was a mere scramble. It was not military.

The man had eyes and saw not—ears and heard not. *"Multum reluctans"* he was struggling not to be dragged out of the dark ages into the light of the nineteenth century.

A man like that cannot take it in that a set of men of one temper is to be treated in one way, and another set of another temper quite differently.

Take two stories, neither of which is likely to be fact, but none the less on that account true.

The Czar Nicholas I. was stopped by a sentinel on post and made to wait until the corporal of the guard came. The sentinel next morning was sent for to the palace, rewarded, and promoted. He had obeyed orders.

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*"The Germans," says Sir Charles Dilke in an article on the Armies of the Powers in April number of "Munsey's Magazine," "are not a martial people. But their perfect *study and practice of things military* make them probably the most formidable fighting power of the world."

The King of Prussia, Frederic William II., was stopped by a sentinel on post and made to wait until the corporal of the guard came. The sentinel next morning was sent for to the palace, reprimanded, and punished. A Prussian soldier must know his king by sight.

The Russian soldier is a stolid peasant, a mere mass of matter, that has not two consecutive ideas. It is as much as ever if he can understand the literal meaning of an order and all he can do to obey it. If once motion be initiated, if he conceive the idea of unpunished disobedience in the slightest degree, the string will break, the beads be scattered all over the place, the whole army system be disintegrated.

The Prussian soldier was, fifty years ago, and is now to a much more marked extent, taken from a class of a wholly different temper. He is held responsible for mind and the use of it.

Now, when all this has been set before the Italian private's mind, the next thing is to have him understand (not so very difficult) and acknowledge (a different thing altogether) that the way in which the Slav was treated was quite right and the course pursued with the Teuton by no means wrong.

When one reports to a sentinel "duly posted" according to law and regulations, he reports to Congress.

The sentinel is the Senate and Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, not a callow cadet or a feather-brained recruit.

The soldier must, if he mean to keep his oath, take his life in his hand, as well in his sentry box and on his post as in the powder smoke and under the feet of the trooper's horse.

That story of the Roman sentry at the gate of Pompeii may not be as much a fact as a true thing, and another true thing is this: The sentinel, be he plebe, old cadet, Congressman, or even the President himself, will always be bedeviled.

General Alexander S. Webb, president of the College of the City of New York, himself a graduate of the U. S. Military Academy, has this to say of the early days:

"Hazing was not brutal then, but there was plenty of it—no one was hurt. Duty was understood by officers and cadets. You could not take offense at a man's doing his duty, and persecution was resisted."

The Hon. B. T. Clayton, a member of the Congressional Committee of Investigation of the Military Academy of late years, has

this to say in debate on the floor of the House of Representatives: "I cannot forget that from that Academy on the Northern side came Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas and McClellan, and on the Southern side, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson and the two Johnstons. These men probably had their boyish pranks; they had their hazings and their 'straights" like other boys." When war comes upon us, we here may add, as did the great War of the Rebellion, and *cavalry* leaders are sought for, the graduates of the Military Academy will in the future, as in the past, be ever ready for the contest.

Here are the names of a few of the cavalry brigade, division and corps commanders, irrespective of the sides on which they fought, during the Civil War: Earl Van Dorn, Marmaduke, Mackenzie, Jubal Early, Gregg, Buckner, Averill, "Harry" Wilson, "Jeb" Stuart (J. E. B.), "Joe" Wheeler, John Bulford, Alfred Pleasanton, "Fitz" Lee, "Charley" Fitzhugh, Fitzpatrick, Stoneman, Merritt, Custer, "Phil" Sheridan, "Bob" Williams, "Charley" Field and a host of others too numerous to mention; all sons of our Alma Mater. "Sad pickles though they may be, boys such as these make the best and bravest men."

"An old man of the village saw the boy Clive astride of a gargoyle far up and outside the church tower: 'Ah!' he muttered, shaking his head, 'That 'ere Bobby Clive, *he'll never come to no good.*'"

It has been the purpose of the writer here to give a clear insight into the *old time* cadet method of disciplining their fellow cadets, together with the views of the present authorities, the result of their system being most beneficial.

Discipline in the broadest sense of the word is now well maintained at the Military Academy. And where unruly individuals, many of whom have been on the verge of dismissal, could not be brought under the strict rules of discipline, the fault rested rather more in the character of the man, or boy, as he was given over to the authorities than to any defect in the system; in other words, the home training and hereditary instinct has far more to do with the character and conduct of boys than the school system, however perfect it may be.

We are not a military nation, in the general acceptance of the term, but it is gratifying to observe that it is now universally admitted that we must have some school, where the principles of obedience and discipline shall be enforced.

See what Major James Chester, U. S. A., a man who served as private, non-commissioned officer and in the commissioned grades, has to say on the subject now under discussion: "Military discipline is

peculiar, and therefore often misunderstood. It cannot be taught by preaching; it cannot be learned from books; it cannot be explained to the laity; its methods are repugnant to democracy; many of the people honestly believe that it should have for its foundation a majority vote; but the men who know it and have been trained in its methods, and have witnessed its operation, know better. They know that there can be but one commanding officer in an army, and that his orders must be obeyed. A government by discipline is akin to the discipline of the gods and therefore despotic." "There is no room in the line of battle for a town meeting," and he further says that "the discipline of peace should be the same as the discipline of war." "Town meeting methods are out of place at any time." "Discipline means efficiency; maintain it or disband the army."

Officers of all armies have admitted that the regulars who took the field at Santiago de Cuba were both physically and morally (these words go often hand in hand) superior to any troops in the world. This was due to the great precautions which were (before 1898) taken to enlist only the very best material for our service, and was done at a time when business was dull and applications for enlistments numerous. Further than this, the introduction of the gymnasium, with its athletic sports, advantages incident to the canteen system and the *esprit de corps* which existed throughout all the regiments of our regular army aided the officers materially. It is, of course, to be apprehended that the old standard cannot be revived for some years yet to come, as was evidenced in the ten years following the Civil War.

No man who is undisciplined can be classed as a soldier, be he regular or volunteer; and after all, why these distinctions, "regular" and "volunteer," as applied to the rank and file? Are not all soldiers in this country volunteers in the strict sense of the word? Does not the regular's term of enlistment expire after three years, and is he not free to quit the service or to re-enlist either in his own or in any other organization that he may prefer? And herein lies a serious menace. Old soldiers will not "take on again," should they not find the army up to the old standard, and although "an old soldier may have all the weaknesses of human nature, he has nevertheless thoroughly learned the lesson of obedience, and is worth a dozen recruits."

Thomas Carlyle says that "the courage that enables a man to stand up and be shot at has not been denied to any man or woman," and as proof of this he goes on to say:

"Do not recruiting sergeants drive through the streets of manu-

facturing towns and collect ragged losels enough, every one of whom, if dressed up in red and trained a little, will receive fire cheerfully for the small sum of one shilling per diem and have the soul blown out of him at last with perfect propriety?

"Sergeant What's-His-Name literally licks these losels into shape by a course of training compared to which that of the undergraduate is easy and even short."

Major Chester, U. S. A., further tells us that the power of discipline is difficult to explain—"that no man faces deadly peril without fear. The soldier entering on his first battle, and I believe entering upon every battle, feels this instinct strong upon him. He thinks he is the only man in the company who feels that way, and he is in mortal terror that he will be found out. And so he suppresses the instinct and will do anything, however daring or even reckless, at command."

We all know something about "fear," and our best endeavors are to get along with as little of it as we can. We have pretty fair ideas on the subject of heat; all of us have more or less of that, but it is only when we arrive at "absolute zero" that we are satisfied it's all frozen out and then we call this freeze-out, cold.

But "absolute zero" is a theoretical standard never attained—so, practically speaking, there is no cold—in like manner we can with perfect propriety say, and this in spite of holdings to the contrary, that there is no courage.

At this juncture "Life" steps in and says, and even with him this is but a late discovery that fear is of two kinds—mark the distinction. "There is the fear of death, and he who has it is a coward, and then there is the fear of being thought a coward, and he who has this fear is a hero."

"The conservation of discipline means the life and usefulness of the army," and this discipline it is which is accorded the United States Corps of Cadets and which shapes the actions of boys though but a short time removed from the influence of home.

We are inclined to believe that it was a most fortunate thing for the reputation at least of our regular army that what was known as the Hull bill did not become law in the early days of the Spanish-American War.

A sudden fourfold increase, as proposed by that measure for the regular military establishment, would have so reorganized—let us say disorganized—the whole that the fifteen thousand men at first sent to Cuba (restricted to this figure by lack of transportation)

would in that case, we have good reason to believe, have been of a kind never to have returned from Santaigo to tell the story of a disaster which would inevitably have overtaken them. Indeed it is well understood that but for the exceptional physical condition—"superb condition and training"—of the little band of regulars and efficient volunteers, they never could have carried through that bitter campaign. It is well to ponder upon these things, to profit by such experiences, and never again to allow ourselves to be so misled as the American people ever have been in regard to our military resources.

The effective opposition to the passage of the Hull bill (which opposition seemed at the time to conflict with the general interest of the regular army and of the country itself) has then had everything to do in the preservation of our miniature regular army, that is by allowing it to go into action in concrete shape. Perhaps no circumstance in the whole history of the late war had such a determining influence as this prohibition, this defeat of a measure for the increase of our regular establishment in the face of the enemy.

George Tucker Bispham, a recognized authority on "Equity," in discussing the subject of unpreparedness for war, says:

"We passed through a tremendous struggle in 1861-1865. We committed the faults of undertaking grave enterprises with inadequate means; of rejecting the advice of military men upon military matters, and acting in such matters upon the opinions of civilians; of appointing lawyers and politicians to the command of armies; of expecting the performance of impossibilities; of wondering why campaigns, whose success demanded a year's hard marching and harder fighting, were not successfully finished, offhand, in a month or so; and of blaming the Executive, and particularly the War Department, for things for which we—the American people ourselves—were alone responsible. Well, all these faults, and others beside them, were committed during the great war; and when the war was drawing to a close we saw our shortcomings and resolved upon amending our ways. Never again would we be caught with inadequate supplies of arms and inadequate means for raising, mobilizing, equipping and supplying large armies; never again would we ignore the advice of military men on military subjects; no more should Executive action be hampered or rendered impossible by legislative inaction; and no longer would the shortcomings of the people themselves be laden upon the back of some unhappy scapegoat of a military bureau or army department. No; all would be changed. We would reform. In the summer of 1865 it

was resolved by every right-minded citizen that thereafter, if the game of war had ever to be played again, the players on our side should be well selected and should be equipped with everything that professional skill decided they ought to have.

"Alas for our good intentions! They served but as so many paving stones on the downward path of humiliation and dissatisfaction. Another war broke out. It was far less momentous, far less prolonged, far less bloody, and far less destructive to us than the tremendous contest of 1861; and yet the outbreak of a war with a weak Power found us unprepared with a proper system for increasing our army, unprovided with an adequate supply of modern arms, and above all, and worst of all, unprepared to assume the blame of these deficiencies, and ready only to fasten, blindly and ignorantly, upon some man or set of men, the censure which we ourselves should have borne. Cicero said frankly, when the republic seemed to be in danger, '*Nos—nos dico aperte—nos consules desumus.*' We Americans should be prepared to say, with the same frankness and with greater truth, 'We—we, the people—we say it openly—we, the people, are wanting.'

* * *

"To come back, then, what lesson is to be learned from the experience of the Spanish War? It is simply this: When you employ professional men to do professional work, give them what they ask for in the way of tools and material as far as you can; and if you have confidence in their ability and honesty, act on their advice. When a lawyer hands his client a subpœna, with instructions to serve it on Monday upon the witness therein named, but the client fails to serve it at all or serves it on Tuesday or Wednesday, he cannot blame his counsel if the cause is lost because of the absence or lateness of witness. When a man is threatened with a disease whose attacks may be sudden and violent, and is told by his physician whom he consults that he should have a certain medicine always in the house ready for the emergency, but fails to send to the apothecary's for the prescribed drug, it is a hard measure of justice to blame the physician if the patient, owing to a sudden attack of the malady, is subject to exquisite pain or has a narrow escape from death. And so, if the people or their representatives are warned by their professional military advisers that such and such arms and ammunition ought to be in 'stock,' but choose to neglect the warning, they must assume themselves the blame for the loss of life and suffering sustained by some of their number, and cannot transfer the burden to the shoulders of the men whose advice they have not heeded."

The Sixth Infantry at Santiago is not the Sixth Infantry at Manila nor can we say that Duncan's battery of the Mexican War, and later Tidball's battery of the Civil War, was the same in aught but name with that of Parkhurst's battery of the Spanish-American War. See what Parkhurst himself has to say on the unprepared condition of his battery due solely to its sudden expansion; to its unreadiness incident to its being for years on a peace footing.

"The march from (B or D) Daiquiri to Seville was anything but a picnic. The batteries were loaded down with their full complement of ammunition, three days' rations, and with all the hay and grain that could be loaded upon the ammunition chests. The roads were simply vile—narrow, uneven, with sharp turns and pitches, full of rocks and chuck holes, and last, but not least, full of men; it was now that the bad effect of *green* horses and *green* drivers began to be felt, to say nothing of the leg-weary condition of all of the stock from its confinement upon shipboard, to overcome which there had not as yet been sufficient time to rest. * * *

"How well or how ill this march *might have been* performed with *thoroughly-trained* horses and drivers will never be known. It is well known, however, that in many cases the green horses and green men were worse than useless, they were actually an incumbrance. One pair of awkward green horses in a team of six would often balk and render useless all the energy and effort of the other trained four; often the green horses had to be taken out and their places supplied by some of the old horses from other teams before the carriage or caisson could be budged from the chuck hole, or be pulled up a steep incline. This caused not only delay, but also made double work for many of the old horses; all of these set-backs were well understood and taken as a matter of course by all of the artillery, but were apparently little understood or appreciated by any one else. * * *

"The stock was suffering from the heat and oppression of an unusual atmosphere even more than the men. They were watered whenever and wherever practicable; at times eight and even ten horses had to be coupled up to get the carriages through; hence the march, though short in actual distance traveled, was very hard upon both horses and men.

"Unlike the universally accepted idea, as believed by those *not* in the light artillery, and as pictured forth in the many beautiful but fictitious representations of light artillery, the men (cannoneers) marched on foot, each carrying his little (?) blanket-roll and rations the same as any 'dough boy.' There was no thought of such a thing

as these cannoneers sitting up, upon the limber chests, with arms folded and taking it easy, while the rest of the troops plodded through the mud. Each and every cannoneer had to march as I have said, and, besides this, they had to tug and strain, use pick and shovel or other tools, fixing 'chuck holes' in the road, and helping stalled teams, etc., working, as well as marching, to get everything through as soon as possible."

Another light artillery officer also states:

"The campaign at Santiago has made clear the value of practice marches for light artillery when the organizations are on a peace footing. To pass, however, from this condition to a war footing when engaged in active operations in the field leaves scant opportunity for the instruction of recruits and the training of new horses; and every artillerist now knows, better even than before, *how urgent is the necessity for maintaining our light batteries permanently on a war footing.*"

Col. Chas. Larned, Professor at the Military Academy, pointedly refers to the kind or degree of preparedness to be adopted for future wars. The determinative factors will be: The development of individuality and self-reliance in the soldier; expert markmanship in infantry fire and every man a sharpshooter; expert marksmanship in artillery fire; mobility in large bodies of troops of the nature of mounted infantry, and, incident thereto, a highly condensed ration; the abandonment of nearly all close formations and maneuvers on the tactical field, as well as all drill and parade exercises of the old wooden order tending to automatic habits and ideas; a field uniform designed solely with reference to service, and a peace uniform simple, neat, and comfortable, extravagant neither in color nor insignia, which shall designate rank and service corps distinctly, instead of a style of raiment which in this land should be confined to the circus; and if practicable, some form of individual protection from infantry fire.

The Colonel declares that the new soldier should be made intelligent, active, skillful with his weapon and self-reliant, and that all maneuver formations for garrison or marching purposes should be elastic and natural. He advises that the manual of arms shall be reduced to a few simple movements and the work of military exercises directed to perfecting the intelligence and marksmanship of the individual. He holds that the time spent in marching and countermarching, in perfecting an elaborate manual of arms and constrained mechanical movements is even worse than wasted, since it tends to make stiff, unthinking, blind, and dull soldiers, and takes valuable time needed for instruction in their active duties as fighters.

Now it is well understood that for a long time past this subject has been much talked of by thinking men, who were not too much "strapped and buttoned," and among this number it appears the senior professor at the United States Military Academy will be found.

Great changes have been going on from the lordly battle days of "Gentlemen of the guard, fire first," down to the grim, earnest warfare of South Africa.

What kind of men are to fight modern battles? What sort of exercise will best fit them for their work? How far does mere soldierly drill go towards securing general readiness for warfare and how far towards preparation for the important details of the service?

It seems to the writer that while it is essential in the larger question of preparation, it is vital, exhaustive, and paramount in the smaller one.

Changes may be wrought from hour to hour in the details of preparation for great episodes—but the underlying principles which govern armies and carry them on to victory must ever remain the same.

More now than ever before must the individual be trained and schooled in the science and art of war, and never before in the control of armies has the need of discipline been so manifest. Without it much, of course, may be accomplished with skilled and self-reliant horsemen and expert marksmen, but something more is needed in the soldier than that which comes to him by nature.

A question of late has been raised against our Army—its lack of discipline. But of the Army of the United States at Santiago, let this be said: Soldiers of all organizations without regard to regiments or companies obeyed with alacrity and precision the orders of any officer into whose presence they were thrown. This detail is noted as evi dence of the highest order of discipline and the officers of our Army who were present on that field revert to it again and again with pride and satisfaction.

We may indeed perfect in time of peace a small military establishment, and if it can be kept well in hand and *is employed as a whole,* achievements like those at Santiago will result. But even in this case where the Regular Army had its best fighting chance—perhaps the best that has ever offered—almost fifty per cent. of its commissioned officers had already been called away to serve with the volunteers, tempted by offers of higher rank than that held by them in the regular establishment, so that many of the companies went into action at Santiago with not more than one officer on the average to a company.

The condition, training, and discipline of the rank and file only measurably atoned for this deficiency; a deficiency which was unfortunately on the increase throughout the contest in consequence of the heavy losses in killed and wounded in the commissioned grade.

The old regiments reached Santiago de Cuba mustering about six hundred men each, and of these some thirty per cent. were recruits. When they returned to Montauk Point they averaged not more than two hundred men to a regiment, and even these were sick, enfeebled, and otherwise disqualified for duty.

With these men as a nucleus the regiments were hastily recruited to the full three battalion complement and officered with new men.

The only training they had had in rank and file, upon their arrival in Manila, was on shipboard. Is this readiness for war?

J. P. FARLEY,
Brigadier General U. S. A. (Retired).

THE FRENCH GALLEY SLAVES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

"Swallowing the tainted ration's scanty dole,
Tempered with toil of body, moil of soul."—CAMOENS.

"Que diable allait-il-faire dans cette galère?"—MOLIERE.

IN the years following upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many of the Reformed religion in France conformed to the State-Church, forced thereto by the dragonnades of the king. Hundreds of thousands emigrated, carrying their thrift and industry to enrich the Low Countries, England, the American colonies, and other localities, where they were gladly and hospitably received. But in the west and southwest, and notably in the south of France, a fierce religious warfare was carried on, and Louis XIV.'s troops were stubbornly resisted by thousands of the middle class and peasantry who had taken up arms.

The "Camisards" of that labyrinth of hills, the Cevennes, worthy descendants of the Albigenses of the twelfth century, took to their glens and ravines, where they made a manful and vigorous defense. Count Roland, their chief, and Cavalier, the baker's boy, their military leader, and Castanet, their chaplain, prayed and sang psalms and fought the troops of the Grand Monarque with all the fervor of zealots,—of narrow minds, perhaps, but of most sincere convictions.

"Possessed by the devil," Marshal Villars said they were; "Possessed by the Spirit," they said themselves. In the course of their persecution nearly five hundred villages and hamlets were destroyed by pickaxe and fire while the Camisards were in their fastnesses, from the peaks of which they anxiously scanned the distant Mediterranean, vainly watching for the topsails of Sir Cloudesley Shovel bearing promised aid from England. The troubles of the English Dissenters themselves were not light about these times, and, although they were not hung or cut down by dragoons, many were imprisoned and fined, —notably, De Foe, who, for his "seditious libel" against the Established Church and the queen's majesty, was fined, pilloried and imprisoned during Her Majesty's pleasure. But their burden was light indeed compared with that of the Huguenots, who resembled, in the

zeal with which they resisted persecution for conscience' sake, the Covenanters of Scotland, being, however, as became their Southern blood, more light-hearted under their sufferings.

Lamoignon de Basville tyrannized over them as governor, and Langlade du Chayla (himself a former martyr in China, narrowly escaping death there) was one of the most hated of their ecclesiastical persecutors, judging them with fearful and unrelenting severity. At last he was done to death by a band of more than fifty Camisards, who stormed his house, rescued his prisoners, and each man gave him a stab, saying, "This for my father, killed!" "This for my sister, immured for life in a convent!" "This for my brother in the *galleys!*"

The Huguenot history was indeed a bloody one, but those who fell in the skirmishes and massacres had a merciful fate compared with those who escaped death to be consigned to the king's galleys under Louis XIV.

The galleys of Louis XIV. were the last of European vessels where Christians were employed as slaves. The Moorish galleys had Christians as rowers up almost to our own time, and the Maltese held many Turks and Moors to that hard labor, but the French of the Louis Quatorze period chained to the same bench felons who had been reprieved from the gallows—murderers and robbers—and those whose only fault was that they wished to worship God in their own way.

Macaulay says that galleys were not seen in the English Channel before the time of Louis XIV., and that their discipline and economy were very strange and shocking to Englishmen. But the English had been through the "galley period," like most other maritime nations. Alfred introduced the Mediterranean galley to obtain a space for a larger force of fighting-men to resist his Norse neighbors; and in England, as elsewhere, the galley remained the fighting-vessel until the use of cannon rendered other arrangements necessary. These galleys were the principal means of securing England from invasion; and, pulling from forty to sixty oars, they are described as "twice as long, deeper, more nimble, and less wavy, or rolling" than the Danish ships which vexed the British shores.

When Edgar was king he circumnavigated his dominions every year with a fleet of galleys. Ethelred established a regular tax for the support of his navy, which appears to have consisted of galleys.

After the Danes came in, Earl Godwin (whose name is perpetuated in the Godwin Sands) gave Hardicanute a galley, sumptuously gilt, rowed by eighty men. To come down later, Henry II. still used galleys for war purposes; but sailing-vessels of size were becoming a necessity for increased commerce, and this necessarily caused a change

in the constitution of fleets prepared for war, as they were drawn from the merchant marine.

In 1190, Richard Cœur de Lion took to the Crusades nine ships of great size, one hundred and fifty smaller, and only thirty-eight galleys. By 1340 the English seem to have abandoned galleys entirely and taken to sails, and no galleys appear in the list of Edward III.'s great fleet, which was at the siege of Calais, where cannon were first used by the English.

In 1405, Henry IV. applied to the king of Portugal to lend his galleys to assist the English navy against the French.

From that period to the reign of Louis XIV. galleys appear not to have been used within the "narrow seas," and when they appeared again, Englishmen might well be shocked at them.

The late Commodore F. A. Parker, in his valuable and interesting book, "The Galley Period," says that galleys were used on the high seas (outside of Gibraltar, of course, is meant) for the last time in the Invincible Armada. The existence of the galley-fleet of Dunquerque, and its use in the North Sea in naval warfare nearly a century later, seems to have escaped him.

When modern galleys are in question we are apt once to think of those of Malta, as being best known to us by pictures and descriptions. There the war-galley lingered longest, and rich Maltese supported a galley (what was called "tenir galère"), just as rich nobles, in former times, supported a regiment. The French galleys differed but little from those of the Maltese. The latter was a narrow vessel, bearing the proportion of 1 to 7 or even 1 to 8 in length and breadth, every sharp and fast, decked, steered by a rudder and tiller, propelled by oars and sails, these latter being triangular or of lateen-shape, generally two in number, with the long, graceful, tapering yards which still survive in the felucca of the Mediterranean.

The oars of a first-class galley were about fifty in number, and from forty-five to fifty feet long, each being pulled by six men, who sat on benches on deck, placed a little obliquely to the keel. These oars were never taken inboard while the galley was at sea, but when not in use were cock-billed by depressing the looms and making them fast with a toggle. The large and heavy loom had grips bolted to it, so that the slaves could easily grasp them. Along the middle of the deck, between the benches, ran fore and aft a raised bench or walk, called the "coursier," upon which an officer called the "comite" walked back and forth, armed with a long and cruel whip, with which he enforced silence and stimulated the slaves to the utmost exertion at the oar. The poop was high and castellated, decorated with armorial

shields and gilding, and often having a galley. In it were the commander's quarters. At the bows was raised a battery called a "rambade," with protective breastworks, and from two to five or six guns mounted and pointing over the long, low, sharp bow, for the galleys always fought head-on, if possible. Before guns were carried the beak or ram was the great weapon of the galley.

The French galleys answered the foregoing description, except that they had greater beam in proportion to their length.

The recruiting for the "chiourme," or oarsmen for the galleys, varied in system at different periods. In ancient days the place of a rower was considered honorable service. In later Roman days prisoners of war and black slaves were forced to do the same service. In the Middle Ages, while galley-rowers were sometimes enlisted, the labor came to be mostly performed by criminals and infidel prisoners. To these, when necessary, were added mendicants, poachers, and other vagrants, as well as slaves bought from the Turks, and criminals purchased from nations which did not maintain galleys. Even Iroquois Indians were kidnapped by Denonville and sent to France for the same purpose; which caused so much trouble with the tribes that the few which had survived the labor and hardship had to be sent back to Canada.

Pantero Pantera, quoted by Jal, says of the Italian galley of the period of about 1590: "The *ciurma,* or chiourme, is composed of three classes of individuals,—convicts, slaves, and *benevoglies,* which may be rendered volunteers,"—and says that each class might be readily distinguished by certain marks. The convicts were criminals sentenced for a term of years or for life, and these were known by having the head and beard completely shaved. The slaves were Turks or Moors, and the volunteers, or benevoglies were criminals who had served the term for which they had been sentenced, and were then working out a fine, or vagabonds who had no other means of existence. This class took part, under arms, in action, and, as a rule, were only chained at night. The "benevoglies" were distinguished by wearing the moustache. They went on shore, when allowed to go at all, under guard. The "chiourme" had an allowance of three ounces of biscuit per day, water to drink, and a soup every day, in port, made with three ounces of beans and one-quarter of an ounce of oil for each man. At sea they had soup only every other day, because it was troublesome to cook while the galley was under way, and "because it (this heavy feeling, be it understood) makes them heavy in their movements at a time requiring great agility." They had a ration of

meat and wine four times a year—at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Carnival.

In the time of Henry II. of France all felons were hung when the galleys were laid up; and Richelieu, as has been said, directed heretics to be sent to the galleys instead of being hung. Thus justice in France inclined to capital punishment more or less according to whether many galleys were in commission.

While the galleys were in service the slaves were never allowed to leave their benches, to which they were chained, eating and sleeping in the exact place where they toiled at the oar. In very rainy or cold weather an awning was tented over the galley and stopped to the gunwale. This was generally gayly striped. Victor Hugo somewhere says that the galleys of Louis XIV. answered the same purposes as the steamers of our day; and, indeed, a first-class galley, going at steamer speed over the smooth blue Mediterranean, gayly painted, with gilt carving, streaming pendants, trumpets sounding, and armored soldiers at their posts, must have been a beautiful sight to those who could close their eyes to the wretched, emaciated creatures who toiled at the oars.

The great port of the French galleys was Marseilles, which was the headquarters of the corps of officers for that service, which corps was merged into the royal marine in 1848. By this time galleys, as part of a naval force, were becoming disused in France, and the "galleys" came to comprehend the convicts who were confined in the "bagnes" or convict prisons of Toulon, Rochefort, and elsewhere. To the bagne were consigned the Huguenots who were arrested by St. Florentin, the minister of Louis XV., and treated as severely as were those of his predecessor's time. The case of one of them—Jean Fabre (who substituted himself for his aged father, arrested at a field-meeting or conventicle)—became famous throughout France. He was finally pardoned through the exertions of the Duke de Choiseul, Minister of Marine. His story formed the groundwork of a celebrated play, which occupied the French stage for half a century, and which afforded one of the best parts for the celebrated tragedian Talma.

The last slave consigned to the galleys for political reasons was liberated in 1739, large sums having often been paid as ransom by their friends as the ardor of persecution died away. All who remained after this time were felons, and worked in the dockyards.

As has been stated, the French galleys were much wider than the Maltese, and the complement of one, including slaves, was over five hundred souls. There was no regular accommodations for the soldiers and sailors, who were only on board during their short cruises. When

in port, as they for the most part were, these slept and messed in barracks in the dockyard. At sea they occupied the forecastle and a gangway platform about two feet wide, which ran fore and aft above the gunwale.

The hold of such a galley was about nine feet deep, diminishing to six at the side, so that the deck rose in the middle like a turtle-back to turn off the water, which was shipped in the slightest sea. The cabin of the commander was very small, having room for little more than a bed. The hold was devoted to stores and provisions, and in a compartment in the centre of the vessel was the "tavern" or canteen, where wine and liquors were sold—a perquisite of the "comite" or boatswain. Oddly enough from the tavern opened the door of Sainte Barbe, the powder magazine. The forward compartment of the hold was the hospital for the sick and wounded. Each of the rowers' benches was ten or twelve feet long, covered with coarse sacking or baize, and extending from the "coursier" to the side. To each bench six slaves were chained by a ring about the ankle. There was a footboard or stretcher for keeping their feet out of the water when seas were taken on board. As has been said, the oars were about fifty feet long, balanced so that thirteen feet of their length was inboard and thirty-seven out. The "comite," or boatswain, had his post aft, near the captain, while his mates, or "sous-comites," were on the "coursier," armed with long and heavy whips. When the captain gave the order to move, the boatswain used his silver whistle or "call," which was repeated by his mates, and the slaves gave way together, the fifty oars rising and falling like one machine. They ceased pulling at the same signal, and great precision was absolutely necessary to prevent the slaves of the next bench being struck by the loom of the heavy oar.

In these days of steam we are apt to forget how rapidly a low vessel of considerable size may be propelled by oars in smooth water. Many years ago the writer was attached to the brig Dolphin, on the coast of Africa, which vessel was fitted with six sweeps, by which she was able to make from two and a half to three knots in smooth water, and more than once we found them very useful in calm weather.

The labor of a galley-slave—the most fatiguing possible—has passed into a proverb. Six naked men (for they were only clothed when not at work) with shaven heads, chained to a bench, one foot on the stretcher, the other on the bench before them, bending forwards towards the stern of the galley, and pushing the oar at arm's length above the backs of those in front of them, raise the loom, dip the oar, and fall back upon the seat with their full weight. This often continued for many hours without intermission, and when there

was danger of utter exhaustion pieces of bread dipped in wine were crammed into their mouths by the "sous-comites." If one of them fell dead, as not unfrequently occurred, the signal was given, rowing suspended for a moment, the shackle knocked off, and the body pitched overboard.

A touching picture of the sufferings of the French galley-slaves of the eighteenth century is given in a song of the period, supposed to be by a young man who, unfortunately for the romance of the thing, was sentenced to the galleys for life for the crime of beating his father and mother, "meschamment." He sings—

"Tout nu, las, en chemise,
  Me faut ramer
Nuit et jour, sans feintise,
  Sur cette mer.
De nerf de bœuf sans cesse
  Battu je suis,
Je n'ai plus de caresse
  De mes amis.
Du pain d'orge et d'avoine
  Manger me faut
Et de l'eau troublé à boire,
  En grands travaux:
La vermine à toute heure
  Mange mon corps.
Hélas! je plains, je pleure
  Sans nul confort.
D'une cruelle chaine
  Suis attaché,
Qui me fait mille peine,
  Las! endurer," etc., etc.

A most interesting account of life in the French galleys has been left us in the little work entitled "Mémoires d'un Protestant condamné aux galères de France," first published at Rotterdam in 1757 anonymously, but now known to have been written by Jean Marteilhe, of Bergerac. An English translation, by no less a hand than that of Oliver Goldsmith, was published at The Hague in 1758.

Goldsmith, who was still an usher and bookseller's hack, had but lately returned from his wanderings upon the Continent, and for some reason chose on this occasion to assume the *nom-de-plume* of James Willington. It seems probable, from a passage in his preface, that he had, during the previous year, met Marteilhe in Holland.

Marteilhe's sufferings—most of the time in the galleys—endured from the year 1700 to 1713, a momentous period in the history of

Europe. While he was chained to his oar Blenheim and Ramillies, Oudenarde and Wynendael, and Lille and Malplaquet saw battles which will never be forgotten. Marlborough, and Prince Eugene, and Webb, and other leaders inflicted upon the old French king defeats which the world looked upon as retribution for the sorrows ruthlessly inflicted upon so many of his best and most useful subjects.

Born at Bergerac, in Périgord, in 1684, Marteilhe, with many other Huguenots of the neighborhood, was driven by the unheard-of cruelties of the Duke de la Force—who rivaled on the Dordogne the performances of the inquisitors of the Cevennes—to endeavor to flee the country. He was but sixteen years of age, but well grown and strong. His father was in prison, the younger children imprisoned in a convent, his mother forced to abjure her faith, and twenty-two dragoons quartered upon her for an indefinite time.

Flight from the country was declared a capital crime, but Marteilhe and a companion managed to leave Bergerac, and made their way to Paris, where they were advised to make for Holland, via Mèzières and Charleroi. After a number of hairbreadth escapes from arrest, they were finally imprisoned, and reported to the Marquis de la Vrillière as Huguenots escaping from France, and this report was speedily followed by their condemnation to the galleys for being found on the frontier without a passport. They were thrown into the vilest dungeons and most barbarously treated, while it was intimated to them that if they would abjure they would be at once released. In spite of the terrible prospect of the galleys they refused to conform, and in January, 1702, they, with many others, were sent in a chain of convicts to Dunquerque, where they were all placed on board the galley "L'Heureuse," the "capitane" or flag-ship of the squadron of six galleys belonging to that port. Here they were chained to separate benches, so as to prevent communication, and they witnessed the punishment of the bastinado on the very day of their arrival. A villainous bench-mate demanded money of Marteilhe for drink, and, being refused, reported him for blaspheming the Virgin and the saints, and the comite was about to give him the bastinade when he was rescued by the major of the galleys, who investigated the case, and had the wretch who had reported him punished in the same way and then chained to the criminal bench; for there was a hell within a hell in the galleys.

The bastinade was inflicted by stripping the victim and laying him across a bench, while two convicts held his legs and two his arms. The comite then set a muscular Turk to beat him with a thick rope. As the Turk knew he would suffer if he did not put forth his whole

strength, great wales were raised at each stroke. Marteilhe says that few could bear more than twelve blows without becoming insensible, but that the strokes were continued until all that were ordered were received. Thirty or forty was the usual number for slight offenses, but he had seen one hundred given, in which case the victims scarcely ever survived. After the punishment vinegar and salt were rubbed in to restore the circulation and prevent gangrene.

After remaining on board the Heureuse about a fortnight a distribution of the new-comers was made, and Marteilhe was allotted to the Palme, which galley was noted as having the most cruel "comite" of the whole squadron. As Marteilhe did not know the man, he was asked by the very person himself why he was bewailing his fate; he replied that it was because the comite of the Palme, to whose lot he had fallen, was a perfect fiend in human shape. The comite then said, "I wish I knew who had told you that: he would repent it!" As it turned out, however, this blunder rather had a good effect, and the notorious comite always favored Marteilhe, as if to prove that his reputation was ill-founded. The "argousin" or galley-guard had put upon him an extra heavy ring and chain because he was young and strong, but the comite made him change it, saying that he did not want his strongest and best oarsmen crippled. He then had him chained by a very light chain to his own bench,—for the comite ate and slept on an after-bench,—on which was raised a table with iron legs, surrounded by a small tent. The convicts of this bench were under the table, which was unshipped when they were rowing. The six convicts of this bench waited upon the comite, standing at attention while he ate, and disputing eagerly for the fragments of his meal; and these "reserved seats" were eagerly sought after. As Marteilhe would not wait upon him or eat the fragments which he left, the comite removed him to another bench, lest his conduct should be a bad example, but he still privately favored him, and ordered his sous-comites not to strike him. Marteilhe says that this was remarkable, as when work was going on the whip flew in the most indiscriminate manner, and the comite "would not have regarded his own father." The commander of this galley was very bitter against Huguenots, and used to urge the comite to use the whip freely upon them, especially when they were naked and rowing. The friendly comite generally managed to hit some one else than Marteilhe, however.

A captain of a galley was allowed five hundred francs a month for his table, and he had a steward, purveyor, and cook, some of whom were selected from the slaves, and the post was of course much sought after, as they were excused from other work and got better fare.

In the July following Marteilhe's committal to the galleys the squadron left Dunquerque for a cruise upon the Flemish coast, and overhauled a fleet of Dutch men-of-war becalmed. One of them was a league astern of the rest, and her captain, not knowing the size and formidable character of the galleys, which were so low in the water, instead of getting out his boats to tow up to the rest of the fleet, made light of them. The surgeon, who was a French refugee, knew their strength, and warned the captain that if he allowed them to approach too near they would capture him. The galleys pulled up, firing from their long bow-guns; and when they drew near the slaves raised their appalling "chamade," or cry of battle. Three hundred naked men simultaneously rising and falling, yelling, and shaking their chains formed a sight to make any stranger shudder. The Dutch crew was so dismayed that they ran below, and the ship, which was of fifty-four guns, was easily boarded and taken by the soldiers of the galleys. She was called the Unicorn, and the captors succeeded in towing her into Ostend, the becalmed fleet being unable to offer any assistance. After this cruise the galleys proceeded to Dunquerque, and remained there all winter.

During the season of 1703, whenever calm weather permitted, the galley-squadron kept the English coast in constant alarm firing at small towns and at merchant shipping.

In 1704 they had a rough experience in another encounter with a Dutch squadron. They had been for some time cruising about Ostend, harassing the Dutch blockading squadron with their long guns, which carried farther than those of the ships, and, when their enemy had a working breeze, taking refuge in the channels among the sandbanks on the coast.

At last the Dutch admiral played a ruse to draw the galleys farther away from their safe retreat, by causing a report to be spread in Ostend that a Dutch East Indian fleet, richly laden, was in the offing, and much disabled by sickness among the crews. The six galleys sailed that night with much secrecy of movement, and after a long pull found themselves at daylight in sight of the fleet, which showed every evidence of alarm, and made all sail to escape. This was the blockading fleet disguised as merchantmen, and with drags overboard to retard them, while apparently crowding sail. The galleys, in line abreast, at once opened fire, which was responded to by a few small guns. The slaves were forced to the utmost exertion, and the fighting crews stood, axe and sword in hand, prepared to board, when suddenly the chase hauled their wind and poured in broadsides at close quarters, which cut away the galleys' masts and made great slaughter among

the crews. They at once made off, pulling for shallow water, before reaching which some of them came near sinking from the shot-holes received. The six galleys carried about three thousand men, and they reached Ostend with a loss of two hundred and fifty killed and wounded, among the former the cruel comite, who had, however, been so good a friend to Marteilhe. This lesson had such an effect upon the French that the galleys did not go out again that year; and, the Dutch admiral sending in a peremptory demand for the French refugee surgeon who had been captured in the Unicorn the year before, he was actually allowed to escape, the way to do so being made easy for him.

In the next year occurred the siege of Ostend. The galleys were sent from Dunquerque to assist the garrison in the defence, but the blockading fleet prevented them from entering the harbor, and they were obliged to return without accomplishing anything. Three days after Ostend was taken, and the galleys remained idle for the rest of the season.

The year 1707 was one of great hardship for the galleys, as they were constantly cruising in the Channel, and two of them were very nearly lost in a gale. The pilots having predicted fine weather, the capitane and another put to sea to annoy the English along the Channel-coast. This movement was opposed by the pilot of the flagship alone, who, in the council, predicted a heavy storm, and begged hard to be permitted to stay on shore. He was not only laughed at, however, for differing from the other pilots, but forced to go to sea. This pilot's name was Peter Bart, a drunken fisherman, but the brother of the celebrated Jean Bart, and, like his distinguished relative, a thorough seaman. The galleys sailed on their cruise with beautifully fine weather, and spent the next night in cannonading the English coast about Dover. The next moring they ran for the French coast, between Calais and Boulogne, where Marteilhe's galley anchored in a cove where she was sheltered from east and northeast winds, while her consort remained in the open roadstead outside. Peter Bart earnestly opposed anchoring in the cove, saying that before daylight they would have a violent gale from southwest, and, being where they were, all hands would be lost. He was again laughed at for his prediction, but at the time he had indicated the southwester burst upon them with great fury. With four anchors down the galley dragged, and when they tried to ease the cables by rowing the oars were carried away. The chaplain of the galley gave absolution to the ship's company *en masse*, and the convicts reckless of danger, and seeing their masters unmanned by the close approach of death, cried out with

impunity, "Ah! we will all soon be equal and drink out of the same glass!" At last Peter Bart was applied to to devise some means of escape, and after many appeals consented to try, saying, however, that if his own life were not involved he would let them all die like pigs. He then stipulated that they should obey his orders without question and in silence. This was instantly ordered by beat of drum. Some of the seamen were induced, by the offer of a large sum, to carry out an anchor on the quarter in the caique, or large boat. "Please God, we shall see," says Peter. He then had the sails reefed close, furled, and hoisted again with stoppers on them, so that a pull of the sheets would let them fall. When all was ready four men cut the four bower-cables, while they roused in on the one on the quarter, the galley swung off, and as soon as the wind came abeam the sheets were boarded, the sails took the wind, the stern cable was cut, and with Peter at the helm the galley shot out of the rocky cove like an arrow from a bow. Once out the wind was fair for Dunquerque, but the convicts hoped the galley would be unable to enter, and be obliged to run past to bring up on the Dutch coast—a thing which the officers and crew most dreaded. No one could render them any assistance, and they staggered along, all hatches closed, and the galley washed by every wave. The harbor of Dunquerque was very difficult of approach, being formed of jetties nearly a mile and a half long, and the sand-banks made it necessary to keep close along the shore, and then turn suddenly into the narrow space between the jetties. For a long vessel like the galley this was a very difficult maneuver. As they approached it was high tide, and the sea was breaking clean over the jetties, the gale was increasing, and they must enter or perish. Galleys always entered port with furled sails, as they were hard to steer under canvas, particularly in a heavy sea; but Peter Bart said they must go in like the fishing-boats did, under sail, or not at all. The officers said it could not be done. They were drenched with seas and rain, had had nothing to eat since the day before, and, moreover, knew that if the galley touched she would go to pieces. The drunken Peter only swallowed some more gin, laughed at the officers' dismay, and swore he could take them in. And so he did, lowering his sails when he got within the jetty, and bringing up against the quay with a force that smashed the galley's long, low prow. After this escape they were very anxious for Peter Bart to continue as pilot to the squadron, but he took himself off, saying that a thousand francs a month would not tempt him to risk his life with them.

The next year, 1708, the galleys re-armed in April, and were actively employed in annoying the English. Anne was now queen,

and had a large fleet cruising in the Channel and the North Sea. One of the fleet, a ship of seventy guns, was commanded by a certain Captain Smith, who turned traitor, carried his ship to Sweden, where he sold her, and then made his way to France and offered his services against England. The king received him with apparent warmth and promised him the first vacant captainship, but advised him in the mean time to go to Dunquerque and serve as a volunteer in M. de Langeron's galley. This advice was equivalent to a command, and Smith was forced to obey, taking part in all the expeditions to the English coast, and even wishing to land and burn some small towns; but the coast-guard and frequent bodies of troops prevented this. In his hatred for his country Smith was always planning some mischief. Among other projects was one he had for pillaging and burning the town of Harwich, on the east coast of England; to accomplish which he required that the six galleys of the Dunquerque fleet be put under his command. The king acquiesced, and, to Langeron's disgust, gave the order for Smith to have the command, for this cruise only.

Taking on board much combustible material and an extra force of soldiers, they put to sea on the 5th of September, with smooth waters and everything favorable, and reached the mouth of the Thames the same evening. While lying by and waiting for darkness, the sentinel at the masthead discovered a large fleet of merchant vessels, escorted by a frigate, making for the river. A hurried consultation of the officers took place, and, against the protestations of Smith, it was determined to attack the convoy. Two of the galleys (of which Marteilhe's was one) were to attack the frigate, and the other four the convoy.

The frigate chanced to be commanded by an exceedingly brave and skillful officer, who made signals to his charge to crowd all sail for the Thames while he fought the galleys. Drawing the capitane away by feigning to run, he was pursued with ardor, the galley firing and edging down for his quarter, with the soldiers, sword and battle-axe in hand, prepared to board. When close abroad the frigate shifted her helm, avoiding the galley, which glanced along her broadside and splintered her oars. The English then grappled her and held her alongside the frigate, opening from the lower-deck guns with canister and grape. Every man on board the galley was exposed as if upon a raft, and a frightful carnage ensued, especially as the English kept up a shower of hand-grenades in addition to the fire of the guns. The French crew threw themselves down to avoid this fire, and at that moment the English boarded the galley and cut down nearly all but the slaves at the oars, whom they spared. Langeron, on his poop,

hoisted signals of distress. The other galleys perceiving this ceased the pursuit of the convoy and came pulling up to his relief. Surrounding the frigate, they fired into her for some time, and at last boarded her with twenty-five grenadiers from each galley. They found the quarter-deck barricaded and the deck of the waist composed of gratings; and, while the English behind the barricade plied the boarders with musketry, the crew, who were below, poked up their boarding-pikes through the gratings, and the French were forced hastily to regain their galleys. A second attempt had the same result, until at last a party boarded with axes and chopped the gratings through, when the English between decks were overcome by force of numbers. Then the officers who were defending the barricades were overcome by dint of hard hand-to-hand fighting, and the English captain was left alone in his poop-cabin, firing upon all who approached, and, when he was summoned to surrender, threatened to apply a match to the magazine. (Men-of-war then had the bulkheads of their cabins loopholed for musketry, and the quarter-decks and poops were genuine castles or strongholds, with "murdering pieces" mounted and pointing toward the waist, where boarders were alone likely to effect a lodgment.) Finally, a sergeant and twelve grenadiers broke down the door, the sergeant's brains being instantly blown out by the captain's pistol, and the soldiers fled from before the desparate man. Having thus delayed all the galleys until he was sure that the convoy under his charge had had time to get safely into the river, the English captain came quietly out and surrendered. When brought on board the galley, the Frenchmen were surprised to find him a little man and quite deformed. Langeron, in recognition of his bravery, returned him his sword; and the captain at the same moment recognized among those present the traitor Smith, upon whose head a reward of £1,000 was set. The little man rushed at him to kill him, "as the executioner in London could not do so," and the by-standers had quite a struggle to prevent the fiery little fellow from accomplishing his purpose. The prize, which was called the Nightingale, was safely towed into Dunquerque, the galleys taking three days to accomplish it. Marteilhe was badly wounded during the fight by one of the frigate's guns. To his bench were chaained five convicts and a Turkish slave, and, when they ran alongside the frigate, they happened to be just in the line of fire of one of her guns, and it was evident that they would all be killed if the gun was fired. Five of them lay down flat upon the bench, but Marteilhe stood up as far out of range as his chain permitted. He saw the gunner apply the match, and he was thrown un-

conscious upon the coursier, over the dead body of the lieutenant of the galley. At dark he recovered consciousness, and, feeling no pain, he crawled back to his bench, saying, "Get up, lads! the danger is over." The Turk, who had been a Janissary, and boasted that he had never felt fear, did not reply, and when Marteilhe tried to raise him by the arm, the limb came off in his hand; indeed, all five of his benchmates had been literally torn to pieces. Marteilhe now began to feel something cold and wet upon his naked body, and discovered that he was wounded in three or four places. The other galleys had come up, and were assisting the disabled one to reach an offing, as well as towing the captured frigate, but no lights were shown for fear of pointing out their position to the English men-of-war, which had come out of the river on hearing of the engagement. Seventeen out of eighteen of the slaves on the three benches about Marteilhe had been killed by grape from one gun of the frigate, and killed and wounded encumbered every part of the galley. The coursier, four feet wide, was completely covered with the dead, and, among the benches, dead slaves, soldiers, and sailors were all piled together. After obtaining an offing they began to throw overboard the dead and place the wounded below. Marteilhe himself narrowly escaped being thrown overboard for dead, for he had fainted again; but, when the "argousin" came to unchain him, the pain revived him, and he was thrown pell-mell with the other wounded on the coiled cables below.

Here they remained for three days, until they reached Dunquerque, without treatment, and with all the filth and vermin incident to their forlorn condition. No wonder that gangrene set in, and that the wounded "died like flies."

At Dunquerque the wounded slaves who remained alive were hoisted out by ropes about the body and placed in the hospital, where they were chained to the beds by the neck.

Marteilhe had a secret friend in the town, who recommended him to the head-surgeon, who, although he usually only ordered the treatment, not only dressed his wounds himself, but reprimanded the galley-surgeon for having neglected him. Owing to this care he got well, but he says that at least three-fourths of the wounded died.

After three months in the hospital he left there "sleek and fat," but with a certificate that his injuries would prevent him from rowing. He was chained to his old bench again, however, and remained there all winter. But when the galleys were fitted out, in 1709, he was lucky enough to have a change of labor. There being six slaves to each oar, the largest and strongest was strokesman, having the hardest work and being nearest the comite's whip. The weakest were placed

near the side. Marteilhe had always been stroke of his oar, but now his arm was so weak that he could hardly lift it. In such cases the comite usually flogged until the man was half dead, to see if he was shamming, and Marteilhe expected nothing else. Upon going out of harbor the comite conned the galley out until she was clear, and then came aft along the coursier, seeing how the rowers were classed and using his whip freely. When he came to Marteilhe's bench he called out, "Dog of a Huguenot, who ordered you to row?" He replied that he was doing his best with one arm. Disguising his kindness under rough language, the comite called the argousin to "unchain the incapable dog and put him in the store-room." If those who were wounded were not released, at least they should not row in his galley.

Poor Marteilhe had served seven years at that bench, and would have been released after he was wounded had he not been a Huguenot. The rough but good-natured comite excused himself for his leniency by saying that "as he (Marteilhe) would be d——d for his religion in the other world, he should suffer less in this."

After this our slave was made clerk to the captain of the galley, and was allowed to wear the convict's red coat and cap all the time; his hair was allowed to grow, and he only carried an iron ring about his ankle, without the chain to which he had so long been accustomed.

In 1710 and 1711 the condition of naval affairs in France was so low that no attempt was made to fit the galleys for sea.

In 1712, Marteilhe had added to his other duties the distribution of their rations to the slaves, of whom he gives many interesting particulars, especially praising the Turkish slaves for their sobriety, industry, and truthfulness, and saying that they were allowed to go about without a guard. The Moors, on the contrary, he paints in the darkest colors, saying that they were the greatest scoundrels even in the "chiourme" of a galley.

In 1712 peace was concluded with England, with the disgraceful stipulation that the English should occupy the town and fortifications of Dunquerque till they could demolish the forts and fill up the port. The English accordingly took possession with five thousand troops in September. The French navy was so reduced that they could not fit out the galley-fleet, and an agreement was entered into by which those vessels, their crews, and gangs of slaves should remain in the harbor during the winter, and that no boat, seamen, or galley-slaves should leave the port without permission of Her Majesty of England.

As soon as the English troops took possession they ran in crowds to gaze at the terrible galleys of which such heartrending tales were told. Among them were some officers who were French refugees,

and these sympathized with the Huguenot slaves, sitting on their benches to talk with them in spite of the filth and vermin and stench which they encountered. There were then twenty-two of them remaining in the galleys, and the English soldiers became much excited by their miserable condition, and swore they should be released. De Langeron and the chaplains tried to prevent them from coming on board, but it was found to be impossible, and so the plank to the quay remained open to all visitors. At last the excitement rose to such a pitch that the English commander, Lord Hill, consented to permit the Huguenots to be smuggled away in a fishing-boat under his pass. The poor wretches supposed that they were being taken out to sea by night to be privately drowned, and were rather surprised when they reached Havre alive. Here they were chained together, eleven couples, and forced to march south through France, suffering from cold and wet, damp dungeons at night, galled by their chains, and covered with vermin and severe skin diseases brought on by their entire want of cleanliness. At Lyons the whole chain was put into a flat-bottomed boat, and thus taken to Avignon, where they resumed their weary march, and at last reached Marseilles. Marteilhe says that he suffered more in this winter journey than in the whole twelve years of his service in the galleys. At Marseilles they were placed on board the galley Grande Reale, with every prospect of indefinite servitude. But England and all the Protestant powers exerted themselves after the peace of Utrecht to effect the liberation of the Huguenots, and in spite of clerical efforts to the contrary they were at last set free on condition that they left the kingdom by sea and at their own expense.

After innumerable difficulties and disappointments, one hundred and thirty-six of them left Marseilles in a tartane for Italy, whence they scattered, some going to Switzerland, some of Holland, and some to other countries where they had friends and sympathizers.

E. SHIPPEN.
Medical Director U. S. Navy.

*HOW JAPAN REFORMED HERSELF.**

"It is a well known characteristic of mankind to despise what they do not know. For this reason the Japanese, until quite recently, looked down upon foreigners as barbarians. But the foreigners display the same mental attitude which formerly distinguished the Japanese. They do not know what to them is a foreign country—Japan."

It is a good many years ago since Fukuzawa Yukichi, perhaps the foremost Japanese educationalist of modern times, wrote these words, and since then the world has learned to respect and to admire Japan for her splendid achievements in every province of human activity. But the world still believes that the reform of Japan is a thing of yesterday, a mushroom growth which has sprung up overnight, and which, as we are told, may disappear as suddenly as it came when "the Asiatic" reasserts himself, tears up his European clothes, like the monkey in the fable, and returns to his native ways.

In reality, the foundation on which the magnificent edifice of modern Japan has been erected with marvelous skill and unparalleled rapidity was laid at a time when Europe was still in swaddling clothes, and successive generations have added stone by stone to the building, which, with the adaptation of European civilization, received its natural completion. The rise of modern Japan may seem like a fairy tale to the superficial observer in Europe or America, but to the Japanese themselves the reform of their country appears natural in view of its history, character, and traditions.

If we wish to understand how and why Japan succeeded in carrying out perhaps the most marvelous reformation which any empire has ever effected, in order to gauge what are her aims and what her future will be, we must study her progress and her reformation from Japanese sources. Such study will reveal the fact that Europe and America can now learn quite as much from Japan as she has learned from them in the past.

Twenty years ago, when Japan seemed, in European eyes, no greater than Siam or Liberia, Fukuzawa Yukichi said:

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"Though we learned the art of navigation during the last twenty years, it is neither within the last twenty years, nor within the last 200 years, that we cultivated and trained our intellect so as to enable us to learn that art. That continued training is characteristic of Japanese civilization, and can be traced back hundreds and thousands of years, and for that continuity of effort we ought to be thankful to our ancestors.

"We have never been backward or lacking in civilization and progress. What we wanted was only to adapt the outward manifestations of our civilization to the requirements of the time. Therefore, let us study not only navigation, but every other branch of European knowledge and civilization, however trifling it may be, and adopt what is useful, leaving alone what is useless. Thus shall we fortify our national power and well-being.

"On the great stage of the world, where all men can see, we mean to show what we can do, and vie with other nations in all arts and sciences. Thus shall we make our country great and independent. This is my passionate desire."

Fukuzawa Yukichi and the other great reformers of his time have now succeeded in carrying out their ardent ambition, and have raised their country to the eminent position in the world which is its due. Now let us take a rapid glance at old Japan, and then watch its transformation and modernization.

The early history of Japan is wrapped in obscurity, but from the fact that the present Emperor comes from a dynasty which, in unbroken succession, has governed the country for more than 2,500 years, we may assume that the Japanese were a politically highly organized, well-ordered, and, therefore, a highly cultured people centuries before the time of Alexander the Great. Seven centuries before Christ Japan was already a seafaring nation, for Japanese ships went over to Corea. In the year 86 B.C. the Emperor Sujin had the first census of the population taken, and in 645 the Emperor Kotoku ordered that regular census registers should be compiled every six years. In Great Britain we find that only in 1801, and after much obstruction and opposition, was the first census taken. Japan's first regular postal service was established in the year 202, and was perfected in later centuries.

The great renaissance of Japan took place in the seventh and eighth centuries, or several hundred years before William the Conqueror. Prince Shotoku initiated that period of splendid and universal progress. He organized the administrative system of the country,

and he created that spirit of Japan which combines absolute fearlessness, patriotism, and the keenest sense of personal honor with unselfishness, unfailing courtesy, gentleness, and obedience to authority. The following rules of political conduct laid down by the Prince during a time of disorder have been, and still are, the Ten Commandments of the Japanese, and were spoken of as The Constitution:

"* * * Concord and harmony are priceless; obedience to established principles is the first duty of man. But in our country each section of the people has its own views, and few possess the light. Disloyalty to Sovereign and parents, disputes among neighbors, are the results. That the upper classes should be in unity among themselves, and intimate with the lower, and that all matters in dispute should be submitted to arbitration—that is the way to place society on a basis of strict justice.

"Imperial edicts must be respected. The Sovereign is to be regarded as the heaven, his subjects as the earth * * * * so the Sovereign shows the way, the subject follows it. Indifference to the Imperial edicts signifies national ruin.

"Courtesy must be the rule of conduct for all ministers and officials of the government. Social order and due distinctions between the classes can only be preserved by strict conformity with etiquette.

"To punish the evil and reward the good is humanity's best law. A good deed should never be left unrewarded or an evil unrebuked. Sycophancy and dishonesty are the most potent factors for subverting the State and destroying the people.

"To be just, one must have faith. Every affair demands a certain measure of faith on the part of those who deal with it. Every question, whatever its nature or tendency, requires for its settlement an exercise of faith and authority. Mutual confidence among officials renders all things possible of accomplishment; want of confidence between Sovereign and subject makes failure inevitable.

"Anger should be curbed and wrath cast away. The faults of another should not cause our resentment.

"To chide a fault does not prevent its repetition, nor can the censor himself be secure from error. The sure road to success is that trodden by the people in unison.

"Those in authority should never harbor hatred or jeaalousy of one another. Hate begets hate and jealousy is blind.

"The imperative duty of man in his capacity of a subject is to sacrifice his private interest to the public good. Egoism forbids co-operation, and without co-operation there cannot be any great achievement."

These lines, which were written about 600 A. D., or thirteen hundred years ago, and which have the sublime ring of inspiration about them, explain the mystery of the Japanese character better than a lengthy account of Japan's history, philosophy, and customs. When we remember that these principles have continuously been taught in Japan during more than forty generations, we can understand the character and spirit of the country, to which it owes its magnificent success. When we read these lines we can realize that Fukuzawa Yukichi's claim to an old civilization was not a hollow boast, and we can comprehend why the passionate ambition to elevate their country animates every thinking Japanese from the prince to the peasant. These guiding principles show us the moral and mental foundation of Japan, and enable us to understand why the Japanese officials are the flower of the nation, why class jealousy is absent in Japan, and why Japan is the only country in the world where, regardless of birth, wealth, and connections, all careers and the very highest offices in the land are open to all comers.

These principles of political conduct, which might have been drawn up by a Lycurgus or a Solon, explain the wonderful unity of purpose, courage, self-reliance, self-discipline, homogeneity, and patriotism of the Japanese nation which at present astonish the world; and it seems that Japan owes her greatness and success less to the superior will-power and to the inborn genius of the individual Japanese than to the traditional education of the character of the nation, in which the educational ideas of Athens and Sparta are harmoniously blended. British education rightly attaches great weight to the formation of character, but it would seem that British educationalists, in the highest sense of the word, can learn more from Japan than from the United States and Germany, where education is principally directed towards the advancement of learning and the somewhat indiscriminate distribution of knowledge.

In olden times, when communications were exceedingly bad, the various centres of original culture existing in the world were separated from one another by such vast distances that each highly cultured country naturally thought itself the foremost country of the universe, considered the inhabitants of other nations as barbarians, refused to learn from them, became self-concentrated, rigidly conservative, and at last retrogressive. We find this narrow-minded, though explicable, attitude of haughty contempt for all foreign culture, which finally results in the inability to adopt a superior civilization and organization, in Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Palestine, Greece, China, and many other ancient countries.

To the ever-victorious men of old Japan, also, their country was naturally the centre of the universe; it was created by the gods themselves, and their Emperor was the Son of Heaven, being a direct descendant of the great Sun-goddess. But national self-consciousness and self-admiration never became so overwhelmingly strong as to obscure Japan's open mind. On the contrary, the Japanese were always ready to learn from other countries, and to graft foreign culture on to their own. From conquered Corea Japan introduced Buddhism, and from the Chinese she learned much in literature, philosophy, and art. In the year 195 the Chinese species of silkworm was brought into the country, and later on silk-weavers from various districts of China were introduced and distributed all over Japan to teach the inhabitants the art of silk-weaving. In 805 Denkyo Daishi introduced tea plants in a similar manner. Evidently Japan was ever ready and anxious to learn from the foreigner all that could be learned, and to adapt, but not to slavishly copy, all that could benefit and elevate the nation.

Up to a few hundred years ago European civilization was unknown in Eastern Asia. Largely owing to the influence of Buddhism, Japan had been permeated with Chinese literature and Chinese ideas, and had come to consider Chinese culture in many respects superior to her own. Therefore it was not unnatural that, in the sixteenth century, when Portuguese missionaries caused a widespread revolt, Japan resolved to close, *more sinico,* the country against all foreign intercourse. From 1638 to 1853, or for more than two hundred years, Japan led a self-central existence far away from the outer world, like the sleeping beauty of the fairy tale; but in the latter year she was waked out of her self-chosen seclusion by the arrival of Commodore Perry and his squadron, who, to the amazement of Japan, had come to wring a commercial treaty from the country, and to open it, if necessary by force, to the hated foreigners.

Japan had considered herself safe from the contact of foreigners, and inviolable. The intrusion of Commodore Perry was, in the eyes of all Japan, a crime and almost a sacrilege. The sanctity of the country had been defiled, its laws had been set at defiance, and the government had no power to resist the Commodore, who used veiled threats of employing force. The feeling of national honor, which is stronger in Japan than in any other country, was deeply outraged, and the passionately patriotic nation was shaken to its base with violent indignation.

Nothing can give a better idea of the indescribable excitement and turmoil which was caused by Commodore Perry's intrusion than the

vivid account of Genjo Yume Monogatari, a contemporaneous writer. He says:

"It was in the summer of 1853 that an individual named Perry, who called himself the envoy of the United States of America, suddenly arrived at Uraga, in the province of Sagami, with four ships of war, declaring that he brought a letter from his country to Japan, and that he wished to deliver it to the Sovereign. The Governor of the place, Toda Idzu No Kami, much alarmed by this extraordinary event, hastened to the spot to inform himself of its meaning. The envoy stated, in reply to questions, that he desired to see a chief minister in order to explain the object of his visit, and to hand over to him the letter with which he was charged. The Governor then despatched a messenger on horseback with all haste to carry this information to the Castle of Yedo, where a great scene of confusion ensued on his arrival. Fresh messengers followed, and the Shogun Iyeyoshi, on receiving them, was exceedingly troubled, and summoned all the officials to a council.

"At first the fear seemed so sudden and so formidable that they were too alarmed to open their mouths, but in the end orders were issued to the great clans to keep strict watch at various points on the shore, as it was possible that the 'barbarian' vessels might proceed to commit acts of violence.

"Presently a learned Chinese scholar was sent to Uraga, had an interview with the American envoy, and returned with the letter, which expressed the desire of the United States to establish friendship and intercourse with Japan, and said, acording to this acount, that if they met with a refusal they should commence hostilities.

"Thereupon the Shogun was greatly distressed, and again summoned a council. He also asked the opinion of the Daimios. The assembled officials were exceedingly disturbed, and nearly broke their hearts over consultations which lasted all day and all night.

"The nobles and retired nobles in Yedo were informed that they were at liberty to state any ideas they might have on the subject, and, although they all gave their opinions, the diversity of propositions was so great that no decision was arrived at.

The military class had, during a long peace, neglected military arts; they had given themselves up to pleasure and luxury, and there were very few who had put on armor for many years, so that they were greatly alarmed at the prospect that war might break out at a moment's notice, and began to run hither and thither in search of arms. The city of Yedo and the surrounding villages were in a

great tumult. And there was such a state of confusion among all classes that the Governors of the city were compelled to issue a notification to the people, and this in the end had the effect of quieting the general anxiety. But in the Castle never was a decision further from being arrived at, and, whilst time was thus idly wasted, the envoy was constantly demanding an answer."

Commodore Perry happened to arrive at a most critical period in the history of Japan. Since 1192 the formerly subordinate military class had seized the reins of government, and the Shogun, who was supposed to be only the generalissimo of Japan, and who was appointed by the Mikado, had possessed himself of all political power. The Mikado was the nominal ruler of the country, but, though he was treated with the greatest respect, was in reality a prisoner in his palace at Kyoto. The country was divided into numerous principalities, which were more or less independent. Japan was an empire in name, but no longer an empire in fact. Thus the land was ruled by a number of great feudal chiefs, who were supported by their armed retainers, the samurai, the soldier caste of Japan. The autonomous territories of the great nobles were ruled on different principles—they possessed their own laws, finances, and regulations. There was consequently, perhaps, less unity in Japan then than there is at present in China.

In the absence of a powerful centralizing influence, the country had become divided against itself; the formerly unquestioned authority of the Shogun had been shaken and gravely compromised, the nobles were intriguing for power, the people were arbitrarily and harshly treated, feudalism felt the ground heave and give way under its feet.

The numerous Daimios, the great feudal lords of old Japan, were generous patrons of literature and art, and strove to make their residences not only seats of power, but also centers of learning. From these learned circles the ultimate revolt against the Shogun's usurpation took its beginning. In 1715 the Prince of Mito finished, with the assistance of a host of scholars, his great work, *Daai Nihon Shi,* or history of Japan. This classical work was copied by hand by industrious students and eager patriots, and was circulated throughout the Empire, being printed only in 1851. It is characteristic for the spirit of intense and reflective patriotism of Japan that this celebrated compilation, which gave an account of the decay of the Mikado's power and of the usurpation by the Shoguns, became the strongest factor in the eventual overthrow of the Shogunate, in the re-establishment of the Mikado's power, and in the unification of the Empire.

The history by the Prince of Mito was followed by a history of

the usurpation period by the celebrated scholar, poet, and historian, Rai Sanyo, who attacked with historic proof, unanswerable logic, and patriotic fervor the Shogun's usurpation of the Imperial power. He traced the history of Japan and the Imperial House, and mourned the disappearance of the true Imperial power. The influence of his writings was enormous, and not a few of his disciples became men of action, who carried out their master's ideas. Thus the Mikado's party found a strong and growing support among the intellectual classes.

The body of malcontent idealists and students was reinforced by the large body of devout Shintoists, who see in the Mikado their god, and the fountain of all virtue, honor, and authority. Shintoism, which had been lying dormant for a long time, experienced a wonderful revival, and became again a living faith. Consequently it was only natural that the adherents to Japan's native religion were outraged when they were told that the Mikado had been ousted from power and was practically a prisoner.

Thus disorder within the country was added to the danger threatening from without. While the conscience of the people was awaking to the ancient wrong done to the Mikado and clamoring for its redress by reinstating him in power, Japanese patriotism instinctively felt the need of uniting the nation against the insolent foreigner, and added force to the growing movement towards national unity and towards the reinstallation of the legitimate ruler.

Under these circumstances it was only natural that the ferment of the nation was greatly increased by the behavior of the insolent foreigners, and by their—to Japanese minds—outrageous demands, and the national feeling rose to fever heat when it was discovered that the Shogun had, in spite of the remonstrance of the Mikado, concluded the treaty of 1854, whereby the country was opened to foreign trade, merely in order to get rid of the troublesome and dreaded foreigners at any price.

From 1854 onward the problem whether the foreigners should be exterminated or tolerated was uppermost in men's minds, and, as the majority of the nation was in favor of expelling the barbarians, the position of the unfortunate Shogun, who had concluded the treaty without the Mikado's consent, became one of very great difficulty. During this period of national agitation and perturbation the Mikado issued a rescript, in which he said: "Amity and commerce with foreigners brought disgrace on the country in the past. It is desirable that Kyoto and Yedo should join their strengths and plan the welfare of the Empire." This idea rapidly became universal, and led

to the rallying cry of the people, which rang from one end of the Empire to the other: "Destroy the Shogunate and raise the Mikado to his proper throne."

The hatred towards the foreign intruders became more and more accentuated as time passed on. Europeans were murdered without provocation, and the guns on the coast opened fire on foreign ships, regardless of their nationality, when they passed by. These attacks led to the bombardment of Kagoshima on August 11, 1863, and to that of Shimonoseki on September 5, 1864. Though the Japanese on land bravely tried to defend themselves, they found their weapons unavailing against the superior armaments of the foreign ships.

The effect of the two bombardments on the mind of Japan may best be gathered from the following memorandum of a native chronicler:

"The eyes of the Prince were opened, through the fight of Kagoshima, and affairs appeared to him in a new light; he changed in favor of foreigners, and thought now of making his country powerful and of completing his armaments."

The Emperor also wrote in a rather pathetic tone to the Shogun:

"I held a council the other day with my military nobility, but, unfortunately, inured to the habits of peace which for more than 200 years has existed in our country, we are unable to exclude and subdue our foreign enemies by the forcible means of war. * * * If we compare our Japanese ships of war and cannon with those of the barbarians, we feel certain that they are not sufficient to inflict terror upon the foreign barbarians and are also insufficient to make the splendor of Japan shine in foreign countries. I should think that we only would make ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the barbarians."

The damage done by the bombardments was, after all, insignificant, and if Japan had possessed the spirit of China, the officials might easily have explained away these attacks as being unimportant and purely local affairs. However, the proud mind of Japan required no further humiliation to drive home the lesson, but immediately realized that the time of seclusion, conservatism, and feudalism was past, and that the nation's salvation could only henceforward be found in progress and unity. As Professor Toyokichi Iyenaga put it:

"Those bombardments showed the necessity of national union. Whether she would repel or receive the foreigner, Japan must present a united front. To this end a great change in the internal constitution of the Empire was needed. The internal resources of the nation had to be gathered into a common treasure, the police and the taxes had to be recognized as national, not as belonging to petty local

chieftains, the power of the feudal lords had to be broken, in order to reconstitute Japan as a single strong State under a single head. These are the ideas which led the way to the Restoration of 1868. Thus the bombardments of Kagoshima and Shimonoseki may be said to have helped indirectly in the Restoration. * * *

"When a country is threatened with foreign invasion, when the corporate action of its citizens against the enemy is needed, it becomes an imperative necessity to consult public opinion. In such a time centralization is needed. Hence the first move of Japan after the advent of foreigners was to bring the scattered parts of the country together and unite them under one head. Japan had hitherto no formidable foreign enemy on her shores, so her governmental system, the regulating system of the social organism, received no impetus for self-development; but as soon as a formidable people, either as allies or foes, appeared on the scene in 1853, we immediately see the remarkable change in the State system of Japan. It became necessary to consult public opinion. Councils of Kuges (nobles belonging to the Court of the Mikado) and Daimios (independent nobles) and meetings of Samurai sprang forth spontaneously."

Recognizing that the reconstitution of the country, its reunion, and the re-establishment of the rule of the Mikado were absolute necessities for the continued independent existence of Japan, the Shogun, the virtual ruler of the country, whose predecessors had governed Japan for hundreds of years, took a step which is almost unprecedented in history. Placing the welfare of his country high above the glorious traditions of his House, and waiving the historical claims to his exalted position which he possessed, the Shogun resigned his office on November 19, 1867, in a document which should for ever and to all nations be a monument of sublime patriotism. In this document he said:

"A retrospect of the various changes through which the Empire has passed shows us that after the decadence of the monarchical authority power passed into the hands of the Minister of State; that by the wars of 1156 to 1159 the governmental power came into the hands of the military class.

"My ancestor received greater marks of confidence than any before him, and his descendants have succeeded him for more than 200 years. Though I performed the same duties, the objects of government have not been attained and the penal laws have not been carried out; and it is with a feeling of the greatest humiliation that I find myself obliged to acknowledge my own want of virtue as the cause of the present state of things. Moreover, our intercourse with

foreign powers becomes daily more extensive, and our foreign policy cannot be pursued unless directed by the whole power of the country.

"If, therefore, the old *régime* be changed and the governmental authority be restored to the Imperial Court; if the councils of the whole Empire be collected and their wise decisions received, and if we are united with all our heart and all our strength to protect and maintain the Empire, it will be able to range itself with the nations of the earth. This comprises our whole duty towards our country."

This simple declaration is as manly, straightforward, and wholly admirable as the following verbal explanation of his step which the Shogun gave to Sir Harry Parkes and the French Minister. He said:

"I became convinced last autumn that the country would no longer be successfully governed while the power was divided between the Emperor and myself. * * * I therefore, for the good of my country, informed the Emperor that I resigned the governing power with the understanding that an assembly of Daimios shall be convened for the purpose of deciding in what manner and by whom the government should be carried on in the future.

"In acting thus I sank my own interests and abandoned the power handed down to me by my ancestors in the more important interests of the country. * * * In pursuance of this object I have retired from the scene of dispute instead of opposing force by force. * * * As to who is the Sovereign of Japan, this is a question on which no one in Japan can entertain a doubt. The Emperor is the Sovereign.

"My object has been from the first to obey the will of the nation as to the future government. If the nation should decide that I ought to resign my powers, I am prepared to resign them for the good of the country. * * * I had no other motive than the following: With an honest love for my country and people, I resigned the governing power which I inherited from my ancestors with the understanding that I should assemble all the nobles of the Empire to discuss the question disinterestedly, and, adopting the opinion of the majority, which decided upon the reformationn of the national constitution, I left the matter in the hands of the Imperial Court."

Thus the question whether the Mikado or the Shogun should be supreme was not decided by civil war, as might have been expected, but by the self-sacrifice of patriotism.

The Mikado accepted the resignation of the Shogun, and with the disappearance of the latter from power the chief obstacle to Japan's unification and modernization was removed. A government was formed by the Mikado, and its first active step was a memorial to the Throne, which is so remarkable for its enlightenment and which

is so important for the whole development of Japan that it seems necessary to quote a part of it. That interesting manifesto, which most clearly illustrates the mind of Japan and which brings the fundamental differences between that country and China into the strongest relief, says:

"* * * It causes us some anxiety to feel that we may perhaps be following the bad example of the Chinese, who, fancying themselves alone great and worthy of respect and despising foreigners as little better than beasts, have come to suffer defeats at their hands and to have it lorded over themselves by those foreigners.

"It appears to us, therefore, after mature reflection, that the most important duty we have at present to perform is for high and low to unite harmoniously in understanding the conditions of the age, in effecting a national reformation, and commencing a great work; and that for this reason it is of the greatest necessity that we determine upon the attitude to be observed towards this question.

"Hitherto the Empire has held itself aloof from other countries and is ignorant of the force of the world; the only object set has been to give ourselves the least trouble, and by daily retrogression we are in danger of falling under a foreign rule.

"By travelling to foreign countries and observing what good there is in them, by comparing their daily progress, the universality of intelligent government, of a sufficiency of military defenses and of abundant food for the people among them, with our present condition, the causes of prosperity and degeneracy may plainly be traced. * * *

"In order to restore the fallen fortunes of the Emperor and to make the Imperial dignity respected abroad, it is necessary to make a firm resolution and to get rid of the narrow-minded nótions which have prevailed hitherto.

"We pray that the important personages of the Court will open their eyes and unite with those below them in establishing relations of amity in a single-minded manner, and that, our deficiencies being supplied with what foreigners are superior in, an enduring government be established for future ages. Assist the Emperor in forming his decision wisely and in understanding the condition of the Empire; let the foolish argument which has hitherto styled foreigners dogs and goats and barbarians be abandoned; let the Court ceremonies, hitherto imitated from the Chinese, be reformed, and the foreign representatives be bidden to court in the manner prescribed in the rules current amongst all nations; and let this be publicly notified throughout the country, so that the ignorant people may be taught in what

light they are to regard this subject. This is our most earnest prayer, presented with all reverence and humility."

Happily, the Mikado himself saw the necessity for reform and progress. Had he been a man of ordinary ability, had he not been aided by a group of enlightened and far-seeing statesmen, he might have rested satisfied with regaining, by the force of circumstances, the power which his ancestors had lost centuries ago. He would have continued a rule of absolutism, and he would merely have tried to raise the defensive power of the country sufficiently to allow Japan to return to the seclusion to which the people had become accustomed. But, happily, Mutsu Hito was thoroughly in sympathy with the reformers, and on April 17, 1869, he took before the Court and the Assembly of Daimios the charter oath of five articles, which in substance were as follows:

"(1) A deliberative assembly shall be formed, and all measures shall be decided by public opinion.

"(2) The principles of social and political science shall be constantly studied by both the higher and lower classes of the people.

"(3) Everyone in the community shall be assisted in obtaining liberty of action for all good and lawful purposes.

"(4) All the old, absurd usages of former times shall be abolished and the impartiality and justice which are displayed in the working of nature shall be adopted as the fundamental basis of the State.

"(5) Wisdom and knowledge shall be sought after in all quarters of the civilized world, for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of Empire."

Thus the Mikado identified himself with the cause of reform, pledged the nation to progress, and made the success of the movement towards the modernization of Japan a certainty. Henceforth the whole of the nation strove for progress and enlightenment with that passionate will-power and singleness of purpose which is not found outside Japan.

By the voluntary surrender of power on the part of the Shogun, the Mikado had been installed, and he had pledged himself to progress; but the formidable difficulties remained how to unify and modernize a nation which for centuries had been governed by a large number of independent princes whose power rested on an immense army of Samurai. The problem of abolishing feudalism and militarism, which, so far, had formed the groundwork of all government, was one of enormous difficulty, for the feudal lords and their Samurai considered themselves, naturally, as "the government" by tradition as well as by right. This apparently formidable question was, how-

ever, easily settled by the marvelous patriotism of those who held power in the land.

Daimio Akidzuki, president of the Kogisho (the deliberating council representing the clans), addressed the following memorial to the Throne:

"* * * The various princes have used their lands and their people for their own purposes; different laws have obtained in different places; the civil and criminal codes have been different in the various provinces.

"The clans have been called the screen of the country, but in reality they have caused its division. Internal relations having been confused, the strength of the country has been disunited and diminished. How can our small country of Japan enter into fellowship with the countries beyond the sea? How can she hold up an example of a flourishing country?

"Let those who wish to show their faith and loyalty act in the following manner, that they may firmly establish the foundations of Imperial government:

"(1) Let them restore the territories which they have received from the Emperor and return to a constitutional and undivided country.

"(2) Let them abandon their titles, and under the name of Kuazoko (persons of honor) receive such small properties as may suffice for their wants.

"(3) Let officers of the clans abandon that title, call themselves officers of the Emperor, receiving the property equal to that which they have held hitherto.

"Let these three important measures be adopted forthwith, that the Empire may be raised on a basis imperishable for ages. * * *"

This declaration, which was inspired by the great statesmen of the three leading clans, and which breathes a spirit of unselfish patriotism that seems almost incredible to the more stolid and the more selfish nations of the West, met with universal approval, and the great Daimios emulated one another in offering up to the Mikado their titles, their position, their lands, and their wealth. The Daimios of the West, for instance, said in their memorial:

"Now, when men are seeking for a new government, the great body and the great strength must neither be lent nor borrowed. * * * We therefore reverently offer up the list of our possessions and men. * * * Let Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodeling the territories of the various clans. Let all affairs of State, great and small, be directed by the Emperor."

On April 14, 1869, 118 Daimios, having a revenue of 12,000,000 kokus of rice, or about £24,000,000, had agreed to the proposed radical restoration. A few months later 241 out of 258 of these nobles had resigned their power, and the remaining seventeen, who were the only dissentients, soon followed suit. Thus feudalism, which had existed in Japan for over eight centuries, voluntarily extinguished itself, and patriotism triumphed over selfish interests and the love of power.

The fall of feudalism was marked by the laconic Imperial decree of August 29, 1871, which simply announced: "The clans are abolished and prefectures are established in their place." As great an event in history has probably never been proclaimed by as short a decree.

The new era of Japan, which is truly called the "Meji Era," the era of enlightenment, thus began with acts of noble self-sacrifice by the greatest in the land, and the patriotic example of the nobility stirred up the country from shore to shore. A feverish desire to sacrifice themselves for their country, a desire which is deeply implanted in all Japanese, took hold of the whole population, and when it was recognized that the enormous caste of Samurai, the warriors, who cost the country about £2,000,000 per annum, had no room in the modern State, patriotism found again the remedy. The army of professional soldiers, who had been taught that the sword was their sole and their only means of earning a living, and who disdained to earn their bread by industry or trade, quietly effaced themselves, surrendered the larger part of their income, and, without a murmur, accepted inglorious poverty in the shape of pensions which amounted to but a few pence per day, and which barely kept the men from starvation.

The compensation paid to the nobles for surrendering their lands and, with the lands, their incomes to the State, the pensioning of the Samurai, and the rearrangement of finances from their local basis to an Imperial basis, was an enormous financial transaction of stupendous difficulty. The loans raised in connection with this vast national reorganization amounted to no less than 225,514,800 yen, or to the truly enormous sum of about £40,000,000. It speaks volumes for the financial strength of the country and for the consummate ability of the Japanese financiers that this enormous operation was satisfactorily carried out, and that by 1903 all but the trifling amount of 23,800,111 yen had been redeemed.

Many enlightened Japanase shared the opinion of the great educationalist, Fukuzawa Yukichi, who fearlessly declared: "The Govern-

ment exists for the people, and not the people for the Government; the Government officials are the servants of the people, and the people are their employers." Hence the desire for representative government arose in Japan soon after reformation, though the Japanese had hitherto only known government by despotism. Though the Japanese people had had no experience whatever of popular government, the Mikado and his advisers had so much confidence in the good sense and the patriotism of the nation that they decided upon giving the people a share in the government of the country. On October 12, 1881, the Mikado issued the famous declaration, in which he said:

"We have long intended to establish gradually a constitutional form of government. * * * It was with this object in view that we established the Senate in 1875, and authorized the formation of local assemblies in 1878. * * * We therefore hereby declare that we shall establish a Parliament in 1890, in order to carry into full effect the determination which we have announced; and we charge our faithful subjects bearing our commissions to make in the meantime all necessary preparations to that end."

With the deliberate cautiousness and foresight which is characteristic of all Japanese action, the people were, step by step, introduced and accustomed to self-government. When the Senate had settled down, the local assemblies were created, and when the local assemblies had proved their worth, it was announced that ten years hence a Parliament should be elected. Thus the leaders of public opinion had ample time to prepare the nation for the coming change, and were enabled to educate the electorate for their coming duties.

In consequence of this careful preparation and this wise delay the Japanese Parliament has proved a great success. The elections cause no excitement, the people record their votes with the full knowledge of their responsibility, and Parliament works with ability and decorum. Lengthy speeches are unknown in that assembly, and the House gets through an immense amount of work in an incredibly short time. Parliamentary peroration and obstruction are practically unknown in Japan, though there have been not a few political struggles and dissolutions. However, party struggles are confined to domestic politics.

The reconstitution of the body politic of Japan was crowned on April 1, 1890, when the Mikado solemnly promulgated a Constitution for Japan. Whilst in all other monarchical countries the Constitution had to be wrested from an unwilling Sovereign by the force, and not infrequently by the violence, of the people, Japan is the

only country in the world which can boast of a monarch who has voluntarily divested himself of a part of his rights, and who has by his own free will granted a participation in the government to his subjects.

This short sketch of one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of the world clearly proves that Japan's marvelous progress and her astonishing change from mediæval Orientalism to modern Western culture is in no way a fact that can cause surprise.

Though the Japanese are an extremely gifted people, they are, individually, probably no more talented than are the inhabitants of many other countries. Japan's progress has no doubt been meteoric, and her complete adoption of Western culture has certainly been startling. But her progress and her transformation appear only natural if we remember that Japan is a nation in which everybody, from the highest to the lowest, in all circumstances, unflinchingly obeys the rule: "The imperative duty of man in his capacity of a subject is to sacrifice his private interests to the public good. Egoism forbids co-operation, and without co-operation there cannot be any great achievement."

The individualistic nations of the West in which the interests of the nation are only too often sacrificed to the selfish interests of the individual, where party loyalty is apt to take precedence over patriotism, where ministers, generals, and admirals are rarely appointed by merit only, where jobbery occcurs even in time of war, and where everything is considered permitted that is not actually punished by law, will do well to learn from Japan's example, for it cannot be doubted that the cause of Japan's greatness and of Japan's success can be summed up in the one word—patriotism.

O. ELTZBACHER.

SOME PHILIPPINE FABRICS.

MANILA, P. I.

"ONE-HALF the world doesn't know how the other half lives."

Nothing could have been truer of this half of the world and ours a few years ago, and even now, despite legion of articles in newspaper and magazine, those at home have hazy and erroneous ideas of this back number stowed away in the China Sea.

Small things rather than large ones often convey a more definite idea of conditions of life. For instance, the manner of dress and kinds of material used furnish an example of development which the slow years have brought, in an artistic way if nothing else.

"What can one send home that is distinctly characteristic of the Philippines?" a man asks.

"To a woman?"

"Yes."

"Why, a piña or jusi dress, of course."

"But where shall I go to find it?"

"Down on San Fernando street or at the Loban convent. It is more interesting buying on San Fernando and less expensive, but the finer cloth is to be had at the convent."

Naturally he goes to San Fernando first and finds a narrow street hemmed in on each side by a wall of the dirtiest, most bedraggled awnings one can imagine. What their original color or texture 'tis hard to guess, for the wear and tear of ages has been patched and darned with this rag and that until it is hard to discover the root from the branch. He stops his carriage in disgust, admires his friend's taste negatively, wonders how one gets under or through or over the dirty things without touching them, and is emphatically sure that he can find nothing there to send to the kind of woman he knows.

Sordid though they look from the outside, there comes a desire to see what is hidden behind those dingy curtains. So the explorer, as he feels himself to be, takes a plunge at the opening made by a homeward-bound purchaser, and enters a long, narrow arcade obscurely lighted, half-filled with people, many of his own kind, who are looking at wares in front of booths no larger than drygoods boxes

filled with well-packed shelves. The bright eyes of the little half-caste girls look out from the setting of their variegated background in a most alluring manner, calling and urging customers to buy.

It is amusing to wander along in the half light where the whole environment is so bizarre that one wears it on his sleeve that he is a new arrival and easily to be lured. The sight of an American "Caballero" with a searching come-to-buy look in his eyes is a delight to the little Chino-Filipino hearts. Poor English, bad Spanish they hurl at him, show him a dozen things at once, "Mucho bueno, muy barato"—very good, very cheap. Not one escapes who enters here, no, not one without his arms full and his pockets empty. The explorer feels that he is to succumb, but resolves to die hard. So he wanders from cage to cage looking at bright-colored jusi, for all the world like striped chiffon, only stiffer and firmer. The masses of the bright color dazzle him and he realizes in an indistinct way that these radiant things will make fluffy, airy gowns with the swish of silk beneath. There is piña, too, fine and firm, but less showy, as it only comes in two colors, cream and black; silk from China, wonderfully cheap; ill cut and ill set diamonds, from heaven knows where originally but taken for the nonce from the bosom of a dress, securely tied in a handkerchief.

The "mañana" habit and an embarrassment of displayed riches, the merry chatter of the pretty mestizos, keeps him dilly-dallying until he comes to an exceptionally bright little girl who marks him for her own. She sits on the counter, smiles sweetly, displays her pretty little stockingless foot, calls herself "pobrecita" and him "muy rico," picks out a jusi with white ground and soft pink stripes, piling it up in a billowy mass of rose color. Then he takes what she gives him, pays what she asks and goes away well pleased.

So much for San Fernando; now to the convent. The sight of the high stone walls, the creaking of the iron gates, the sequestered air enveloping all, makes a man feel like "a bull in a china shop" even before he catches a glimpse of the workroom with its dado of girls bent industriously over their embroidery.

The modest sister with downcast eyes invites him in, with less effusion perhaps but no less welcome or desire for his heretical diñeros than her half-caste sister. As he enters the work stops and the girls recite a paternoster or a litany in high-pitched voices, then resume their work.

The convent was founded about fourteen years ago by the Sisters of the Order of San Vicente de Paol as a home for destitute Filipino and Mestiza girls.

They serve a long apprenticeship at plain sewing before they attain to the dignity of embroidering piña, which is almost the "raison d'etre" of the convent's existence.

Their work is certainly marvelous; more perfect embroidery cannot be found anywhere. It is fine to a degree and one looks with wonder at the clear eyes which seem none the worse for this close work.

All the cloth is fixed firmly on standing frames large enough for two or more girls to work at once. They use both hands, making an upward and downward stitch.

The designs are made by the sisters and are most artistic; a very beautiful one is that of roses and butterflies intertwined with a dainty running vine; the butterflies and flowers in relief, with a drawn-work design beneath. The piña cloth itself is exquisitely fine, a cobweb in delicateness but surprisingly firm and strong. The embroidered piña dresses are a delight and also a delightful price. However, they will last a lifetime and can be handed down to grandchildren.

The Explorer does not leave the convent empty handed, and the sight of these pretty stuffs makes him want to know how and where they are made in this indolent land without factories and machinery.

The little mestizas on San Fernando tell him the best jusi and piña comes from Iloilo, but there is much made in the provinces around Manila. If he will go to Malabon, only a few miles away, he will see the jusi made and can order his own design if he wishes.

In consequence, choosing a sympathetic friend as confidential adviser he starts from Manila on a queer little dummy train, with double-decker cars, which is supposed to leave the station every hour, but in reality it goes when it gets rested, and rests when it gets tired. The Explorer and his friend pack themselves in among the natives returning from market, who display not the slightest impatience or interest as to when the train might be going. They contentedly chew betel nut, smoke cigarettes, stare solemnly, each in his turn at the American man and woman. At last, after considerably over an hour of waiting, the little engine seems to revive itself and starts off on its winding journey through the green fields. At the first curve it meets an impediment, however, for there is a carabao on the track. The train stops and the crew goes to chase the animal off, while all the people dismount and talk and gesticulate, some of the older ones growing choleric over the manner in which the carabao is ejected. A cock or a carabao never fails in vital interest for the Filipino.

After an hour of picturesque meandering through rice fields with their raised dykes making an emerald green checkerboard on one side, trees and waving palms, with occasional glimpses of the bay on the other, the rambling old town of Malabon is reached.

There is a truly metropolitan array of carrometas in front of the old battle-scarred church, not exactly in metropolitan condition, but the cocheros show metropolitan vigor in offering their services.

Choosing the least disreputable and putting his friend up, the Explorer begins to inquire where the "jusi" factory may be. The cochero has never heard of it. The Explorer speaks Spanish fluently, so he tries with gesture and vivid description to make the cochero understand that he wants to see the large factory where jusi and piña are made, where hundreds of Filipino girls work and turn out many bolts a day. It is useless, the only factory the cochero ever heard of is a tobacco factory in Manila, but if the Señor and Señora want to see jusi made, that is simple enough; his wife makes it in "los bajos" of his house when she isn't doing something else. He will take them there if they care to see it.

So the Explorer and the Confidential Adviser, a little crestfallen that there is not a great workroom to be seen, suffer themselves to be driven to the home of the cochero, a very pretty little nipa house with an alarming array of shoes outside of all sizes and descriptions, chinelas of wood, of bamboo, of straw, of velvet, with heels and without, bespeaking a large and well-to-do family and also highly-polished floors which must not be marred. The Explorer looks at the woman's footgear threateningly with a motion toward his own, but she responded very quickly: "I am not going to do anything of the kind and you are not either. It is time we taught these people our customs."

When the cochero explains what the Americanos want, to the evident and somewhat disdainful surprise of his wife and her sisters and cousins and aunts and all the three generations who live with her, they have a secret pity for people who know so little; certainly they must know little who don't know how jusi is made.

They are hospitable, however, to a degree and pass around the betel nut and cigarettes. It would be discourteous not to accept, so the Explorer gravely takes a piece of betel nut wrapped in a banana leaf coated with white lime. He manages very well and gives the woman a stern look to bid her follow his lead. She obeys, essays some pretty emphatic nervous chews which cause the juice, blood red, to spurt out and run from the corners of her mouth. It continues to run and she can't manage it any more than a druling infant.

The Explorer is mean enough to laugh and tell her to spit it out, but she isn't apt at spitting. Finally with the aid of a glass of water and several handkerchiefs he sets her to rights. The natives are much amused and more than ever convinced that a woman who cannot even chew betel nut properly doesn't count. Their opinion in regard to the man has correspondingly risen.

They lead the way to an unfinished room under the house. First off they show great skeins of thread made from jusi, a kind of banana; it is fine and creamy, stronger than cotton, with a bright glaze; this is kept stretched on pegs until it is needed, when it is wound off by means of a primitive little reel of bamboo on to spindles made of bamboo and from these transferred to looms, as the warp.

The looms are small and made from the inevitable ubiquitous bamboo, carrying a double thread and worked with the feet. The hands use the shuttle to weave in the woof. Almost all jusi has stripes of bright-colored silk which takes an extra bobbin to weave in. The silk used is bought from the Chinese peddlers who cry their wares through the country.

The little brown women look most picturesque as they sit at their work, and one becomes fascinated watching the deft hands and feet, especially the feet, which as readily find the right bamboo treadle as a pianist finds keys on the piano without a glance of the eye. In the more complicated patterns such as a zig-zag, wavy stripe, squares and flowers, the number of treadles seems confusing, but the little feet wander over them with no sign of hesitancy and the hands keep the bobbin singing from one side to the other without apparent effort.

One woman can make about ten yards a day working ten hours, earning about two dollars, which is very good pay, but she only works when the spirit moves her, one day in seven or several successive days when a piece is to be finished. One piece usually contains about twenty-three yards.

Abaca, a cloth made from hemp fibre, and sinamay, made from banana fibre and very much worn by native women and men, are woven on the same sort of loom with coarser teeth to carry the thread. A great deal of coarse silk is made in the little nipa houses, and piña, the finest cloth made on the islands, is the slow work of patient hands at these flimsy looms.

They also make a great deal of cotton cloth, and the spinning of the thread from the crude cotton is veryy interesting to watch. It seems to be the work of the old men and women mostly. An old crone squats on the floor with a lighted cigar in her mouth and fastens the bunch of cotton above her; a piece of hard wood about

fifteen inches long beside her serves as a distaff; this she starts spinning by a dextrous twist of her hand against her bare leg. Then she fastens a piece of spun thread in the raw cotton and holds it so the spinning distaff winds out the thread. She can sit for hours at this task which seems comparatively easy, but which the Explorer and his Confidential Adviser found an impossible task for them; to be sure they didn't have big cigars nor the twist of the bare leg.

The jusi fibre is obtained from a class of the banana tree of the same name. The bark is stripped from the trees, shredded lengthwise in small strips and hung up to dry. Then it is pressed with great strength under a knife which takes away all the green pulp and leaves the fibre free. This is then arranged in skeins and sold in the market.

The piña thread is prepared in almost the same way; the leaves of the pineapple, freshly cut, are pressed under a fine comb of iron, designed by one of the Recolleto fathers for separating hemp and utilized for piña as well. This little instrument tears away the pulpy part of the leaf and frees the fibre.

The thread is made continuous by a deft and peculiar twisting and drawing out of the many strands bunched together.

If the character of the people could be resolved into first principles as easily as can the piña the task to be accomplished would be comparatively easy.

ANNA KLURA.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

An analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the more important and valuable articles.

WARSHIPS.

1. Cruisers and Submarines.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, April 16.
2. The Present Status of the Protected Cruiser Type.—*Nav. Inst.*, March.
3. The British Naval Budget, 1904-5.—*Mar. Rund.*, April.
4. The U. S. Naval Budget, 1904-5.—*Same.*
5. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Mar. Rund.*, April, May; *Nav. Inst.*, March, June; *Jour. R. M. S. I.*, April.

We has space but for a short extract from the *first* of these articles:

"It appears that as the result of experiments which have been carried out in the Mediterranean a radical change is to be made in the armament of all the new cruisers where they are not so far advanced as to make the matter prohibitive on the score of cost The fact that has been brought out, or perhaps we should say emphasized, by the experiments which have been made is that for long-range fire there must be high gun command. This is practically an admission that it is no longer expedient to carry guns as low as those on the main decks of most of our battleships and cruisers. The changes which have been determined upon are in the direction of fewer guns, of heavier calibre, carried at double the height above the water-line. It has been suggested that in addition to the experiments in our own fleets the Admiralty may very possibly have received from our allies, the Japanese, results of their experience of 'the real thing,' which have also had their effect in bringing about this new departure.

"The new departure will affect the later armored cruisers of all classes. In the original 'County' class represented by the Kent no alterations are officially mentioned, but it is well known that steps are being taken to substitute 7.5-inch guns for the double-barreled 6-inch guns which now form their bow and stern chasers. The mounting of these 6-inch guns is defective, and it does not seem likely that it will be improved. In the Devonshire class, the second batch of 'County'

ships, the modification mentioned has already been carried out, and now a further change is to be made. The 6-inch guns, four in number, on the upper and main decks forward, are to be abolished and replaced by two 7.5-inch guns in gun houses. The gun houses will be armored, and their height above the water-line will be 19 feet, as against the 10 feet of the main deck guns. In the Duke of Edinburgh class further changes are to take place. In two of the six, the Duke of Edinburgh and the Black Prince, the cost of making the alterations is prohibitive, and the armament of these two ships will therefore remain as originally planned, except that the forward sponsons will be abandoned in order to give the ships greater ease in a seaway. In the four later ships, the ten 6-inch guns will be wholly done away with, and they will be replaced by four 7.5-inch guns on the upper deck at a height of 19 feet above the water-line. These guns will not only have the advantage of a higher command, but they will be mounted in armored gun houses. It is almost certain that this change will excite discussion, if only for the reason that the 7.5-inch cannot, by reason of the weight of its projectile, be deemed a quick-firer."

MILITARY GEOGRAPHY.

1. The Sea as a Theatre of Operations and as a Battlefield.—*Mar. Rund.*, April.
2. Sea Routes and Overland Routes: Their Relation to the Far East.—*Same.*
3. Port Arthur and Dalny.—*Bulletin, No.* 1.
4. Dalny and the Siberian Railway.—*Same.*
5. The Trans-Siberian Railway.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, May-June.
6. Transportation in War.—*Same.*
7. The Terrain in Korea.—*Same.*

MILITARY HYGIENE.

1. On the Prevention of Infectious Diseases.—*Nav. Inst.*, March.

SMALL ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS.

1. The New Rifle-carrying Equipment.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, April 9.
2. Cavalry Arms.—*Jour. Cav.*, April.
3. Spur Attachment for Leggings.—*Same.*
4. The Hyposcope.—*Bulletin, No.* 1.
5. Notes on New Equipment for Infantry.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, May June.
6. Modern Military Rifles.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, April 23.

The *first* of these is on a subject of some importance:

"In fact, one of the most difficult problems to solve during the past war was that of providing the mounted soldier with some easy method of carrying the rifle, not only when in the saddle, but during the process of mounting and dismounting. The trained cavalryman, hitherto used to the carbine and its cumbersome bucket, found the long rifle no easy weapon to manipulate, and the various means which were somewhat hastily devised to assist him in its carriage, either on his back or elsewhere, were clumsy and uncomfortable. But the case with the comparatively untrained soldier was worse.

"The importance, therefore, of devising some simple method of carrying the long rifle, or even the recently shortened one, cannot be overestimated, for in future mounted men must form a large proportion of our army, both at home and abroad.

"Lord Roberts has given evidence to this effect, and that the cavalry must be prepared to fight on foot much more than they have ever done before, and that there must be more mounted infantry. Sir Ian Hamilton has recorded his opinion that, compared to a modern rifle, the sword or lance can only be regarded as a mediæval toy, and that even in pursuit of thoroughly demoralized troops, which afford a special opportunity for the *arme blanche,* a trooper who merely uses his horse to keep within easy range of the enemy, and employs his magazine rifle, can by such a method do more damage, with less fatigue or danger to himself, than he could with sword or lance. This view seems to have been recently confirmed, for the successful pursuit in Somaliland by Kenna's force, when over 500 of the enemy were killed, was due to the rifle fire of his mounted men.

"The subject, therefore, of the carriage of the rifle is one worthy of careful attention, and of probably more than it has hitherto received, for it is time to do away with the comparatively useless rifle-sling for dismounted men, and both the clumsy bucket and back belt for the mounted soldier. The object to be sought is that of enabling both to carry their rifles comfortably, with both hands free, if necessary, and yet to be able to mount and dismount from their horses, ponies, mules, cycles, or any other means of conveyance with the greatest celerity and convenience. This object seems to have been attained by the invention of Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Patterson, D. S. O., of the Essex Imperial Yeomanry, whose rifle equipment has been on trial in the Indian Army for the past year, with the result that Lord Kitchener, always quick to appreciate any such improvements, has recommended its adoption for all mounted troops in that country,

and under the orders of the Secretary of State for India 25,000 sets have been despatched.

"The equipment needs very little explanation. The rifle hangs upright behind the man's left shoulder and thigh, from a slot and frog in the waistbelt, muzzle upwards, by means of a stud fixed to the lower band of the weapon. When mounted, the weight of the arm is transferred to the horse by means of a metal spring clutch, which grips the small rifle butt, fixed in a leather frog attached to the near side of the saddle. That is all; but not least of the advantages of the invention are its extreme simplicity and cheapness.

"This equipment is now undergoing extensive trial and report, under orders from the War Office.

"Not only has it already attracted attention amongst sportsmen in all parts of the world, who have long sought a method of easily carrying their rifles and guns when mounted, but it has also been sought after by many representatives of foreign and colonial forces, who seem determined to be up to date in what has long proved the crux of the soldier's equipment."

The *sixth* is also an article of special interest:

"The consideration of modern military small arms is one of considerable interest at all times, but above all at the present time it gains in importance and interest in connection with the war in the Far East. Before going into the details of modern small arms it is of some interest to consider the desiderata of a military weapon. In the first place, its range must be at least 2,500 yards, and at this great distance it should have enough remaining velocity—in other words, penetrative power—to disable the adversary. Its trajectory should be low, so that the bullet may not rise unduly high above the ground. Its weight must not be excessive, and its structure must be strong enough to stand the wear and tear of service and the shock of the discharge and personal combat with the bayonet.

"Of the eleven nations whose rifles are taken as types, ten have adopted a magazine rifle, one has adopted a repeating rifle. The magazine rifles are fitted with a box or magazine situated either at one side or vertically under the body. The latter seems preferable, as the weight of a loaded magazine on one side of a rifle tends to tilt the rifle over to that side, and so to draw the bullet in its flight low and down to the tilted side. Some of the magazines are fixed, some detachable.

"There are many diverse opinions as to the advantages of these systems. With the Mannlicher rifle thirty shots can, approximately,

be fired in one minute; with the Rubini, the same number; with the Lee-Enfield rifle thirty-four can be fired by a skilled firer; with the new pattern Krag-Jörgensen it is claimed that forty-three can be fired. Of course, these numbers are only opproximate, and can only be fired by specially-trained men, and, although very striking targets have been made by experts firing at rates approaching this high ratio, yet it is very doubtful whether in action such a rapid delivery of shots is either practical or effective.

THE RUSSIAN AND JAPANESE RIFLES.

"Russia has a rifle called the three-line rifle, about four feet three inches long, with a quadrangular bayonet seventeen inches long, so that with its bayonet fixed the rifle is about five feet eight inches long. Its weight with bayonet is nine pounds twelve ounces. The cartridges are contained in a clip (really a charger), from which they are pressed down into the magazine. The bullet is made of cupro-nickel. The propellant is called pyroziline. The weight of the charge is 71.76 grains. This gives an initial velocity of 1,927 feet per second. At 300 yards the bullet penetrates 26.3 inches of wood. Each soldier carries 120 rounds on his person, sixty-six in the regimental reserve, seventy-two in the ammunition column, 170 in the gun park—total, 428. Japan has a rifle called the thirtieth year, issued in 1900. Its length is four feet two inches. The bayonet is sword-shaped, fifteen inches long. The bore of the rifle is small, .256-inch. The weight with bayonet is nine pounds eight and one-half ounces. The cartridges are carried in a charger, and are pressed into the magazine in fives. The bullet is made of lead. The propellant is nitro-cellulose, thirty-two grains, giving a muzzle velocity of 2,300 feet. Unfortunately no details of its penetration are to hand; this is a matter of regret, as it would be interesting to see the penetration of a leaden bullet speeding with this enormous velocity. The soldier carries 120 rounds on his person, fifty more in the battalion reserve, 170 in the ammunition, and none in the gun park, making a total of 340 per rifle carried in the field."

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. The Horse for Military Purposes.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, May-June.
2. Artillery Remounts.—*Same.*

NEW EXCHANGES.

Bulletin of Military Notes. Occasional. War Dept. Office Chief of Staff. Mil. Inf. Div.

THE GREAT SIBERIAN-MANCHURIAN RAILWAY.

WITH REFERENCE TO ITS GENERAL AND MILITARY IMPORTANCE.*

(Year Book for the German Army and Navy, July, 1903, by Lieutenant Colonel Hildebrandt.)

THE grand project of a Russian-Asiatic railway to the Pacific having for some years excited the liveliest interest in military and commercial circles, the herculean labor of building this road, begun in 1891, has now arrived at completion. Russia has in recent times displayed the most active efficiency generally in the construction of railroads, and this undertaking has been carried forward under enormous difficulties and with astonishing energy, bearing in mind its importance.

Siberia is the land of magnificent distances. From the Ural Mountains to Bering Sea it measures nearly 7,000 kilometers and spans North Asia in an average with equal to that of the whole of Europe between the parallels of North Cape and the Gulf of Venice. This trans-continental line, therefore, running east and west over a vast territory, encircles nearly one-fifth of the greatest circumference of the terrestrial globe. The track of this, at present the greatest world-commerce line, naturally does not touch the localities where perpetual ice reigns, but runs through the temperate zones of middle and southern Siberia.

The Siberian lowland west of the course of the Yenisei forms a moorland steppe, gently sloping to the Arctic Ocean, of level appearance in general, which, at the headwaters of this river, is bordered by a plateau well cut up by deep river valleys, the northern slope of the great interior Asiatic tableland. On the right bank of the Yenisei the character of the country changes, commencing to rise considerably and condensing into a complication of mountain chains, the backbone of which extends, through many windings of the Sajanish mountains, to Lake Baikal, one of the largest water basins of the world. On the east shore of this lake rise the steep walls of the

*Translated by Captain Henry D. Styer, 13th Infantry, for the Second Division, General Staff, U. S. A.

Baikal Mountains, built up in rugged contour, a mighty mountain mass reaching toward heaven to dizzy height, with which the Yablonoi mountain chains, stretching northeast, connect, separating Trans-Baikal from Amoor province. The lowlands of the Amoor, also, and its tributaries are surrounded by mountain ranges and rocky cliffs. This entire mountain system is heavily wooded and rich in gold fields and bed of ore. At least there will be no lack of coal in a country where large fossils are so often found under the buried forests. From the openings in this homogeneous mass of mountains between Altai and Amoor flow mighty rivers toward the Arctic Ocean, which are noted for being navigable, a total distance of nearly 4,800 kilometers, but are without canal communication, being entirely free from ice during very few months in the year.

From this general glance at the natural features it is apparent that, leaving out of consideration the great extent of the line of track, unusual technical difficulties connected with the laying of the track were encountered not alone in the mountain districts of Trans-Baikal, where considerable blasting and tunneling were necessary, as well as the establishing of curves and serpentine grades. The important work of bridging the wide rivers crossed by the railway must not be underrated. There are no obstacles to prevent the further improvement of the present single track, hurriedly completed for political reasons. The roadbed has been made wide enough so that a second track may be easily added.

As a line for the development of northern and middle Asia, the Great Siberian Railway is a civilizing factor of the highest order, at the same time being a powerful line of operation for Russia's attempts at expansion in the Far East. Its junction with the European-Russia network of roads is brought about through the line leading from Moscow across Samara, crossing the Ural Mountains at Slatoust, thence to Tscheljabinsk in the upper country of the Tobol. The entire length of the line leading to European stations from the last-mentioned place and ending at Vladivostok on the Japan Sea, may be divided into three principal parts. First, the West-Siberian line (1,655 km.) from Tscheljabinsk to the important commercial town of Tomsk on the Ob; then the middle-Siberian part (1,795 km.) to Irkutsk, without doubt the most important city of Siberia, which is situated only about 60 km. from Lake Baikal on the Arigara, its principal outlet, and third, the East-Siberian or Trans-Baikal line (4,350 km.) to Vladivostok, the base of Russia's maritime power in Eastern Asia, whose strongly fortified harbor protects the approach of the Pacific line to the coast. The whole line has, therefore, a

length of 7,800 km., a distance whose extent is realized only when one remembers that it is almost three times as long as the Ostende-Petersburg line of the through Northern express (2,680 km.).

Following in general the old Siberian post-road, the track running from Tscheljabinsk passes over nearly 2,000 km. of perfectly level plain almost in a straight line, although with some changing curves where it was necessary to avoid swampy lowlands, meanwhile passing over a series of broad and deep drains. Then across the Irtish at Omisk, the Ob at Tonisk, from which place we advance through the most fertile and populous regions of the Yenisei country to Krasnoyorsk. East of this river over rising ground we reach Irkutsk, and round the southern point of Lake Baikal, after which the road follows the tortuous bed of the Selenga River, which breaks through into Siberia from Mongolia and flows into the Baikal basin. After overcoming a mighty accumulation of natural obstacles in the Baikal Mountains and breaking through many-fold obstructions where it was impossible to go around the debarring rocky barriers, the iron rails following up the Uda, a tributary of the Selenga, approach the Yablonoi chains. After these are penetrated with many a twist and turn the gulleys and bottoms of the rapid Ingoda and Schilka are passed over in the headwater region of the Amoor and then the route follows the widening of the river valley on the left bank of the Schilka. After this the line crosses the Amoor at Chaborowska and turns in to its tributary the Ussuri so as to reach along the right bank, its destination, Vladivostok, the mistress of the East. It has no doubt been observed that all strategical and otherwise important places as well as districts of military importance are touched by the line of track.

In laying such an enormous stretch of track it cannot be hoped that imperfection and disadvantages should be entirely absent in the early years of operation, chiefly as the result of rapid and often over-hurried construction, for which reason continuous and extensive improvements will be demanded. Therefore buildings have been designed providing quarters for the necessarily great number of workmen, principally at stations, and their daily wants are provided for by establishing storehouses and sanitary arrangements. The population accordingly, in the sections along the line, has already increased; settlements, villages and market-towns having sprung up with American rapidity, especially since the vacant land along the line has been assigned for settlement to the laborers' families.

In connection with the building of the main line, spurs and cross-lines have been projected in order to strengthen the interests of the State; also the providing of canals for relieving and further develop-

ing the line. This branch-extension which has been begun with the well-known Russian perseverance, includes, first and most important, the line leading to Port Arthur on the Yellow Sea, a strategical line for the furtherance of Russian aims in North and East China, which are already discernible in the continued occupation of Manchuria by Russian troops and the preparations for fortifying. The building of a Siberian-Turanian line is simply a question of time, probably one running from Samarkand or Bokhara to Omsk. Such a closer connection between the affairs of the Trans-Caspian territory and East Asia would materially advance Russia's steady growth in Asia. Then also could the intervening vast and desert steppe north of the Aral Sea, in time well cultivated through canals, spring into new life.

The political attitude of a nation goes hand in hand with its economic situation. Armed might always accompanies trade; commercial intercourse and military power are reciprocally complementary. The Siberian commercial line, also, is directly subordinated to purposes of State, so as to further commercial and military designs. But warfare and competition in the world's markets are no longer conceivable without efficient railroad lines whose prompt and known utilization makes possible resolute action in order to attain decisive results. Since Siberia has been joined by iron bands to Europe, the most important central source of civilizing forces, progress has been infused into its heretofore stagnating commercial life. Siberia, a country one and a half times larger than Russia and the rest of Europe together, heretofore lay entirely unknown and uncultivated. To-day we know that within reach of the railroad fertile and fruitful land is at hand in abundance for agricultural uses. The dense, dark forests covering the plains and extending up the mountain's side, which heretofore prevented entrance into the interior, will be cleared and the ground will be changed to farming land or devoted to some useful purpose. Through influx and increase in population, large tracts now unexplored but open to settlement will be reclaimed as the railway brings multitudes of European settlers to gather the natural treasures of this region. Thereby the possibility presents itself of making use of the various riches of the earth, the granaries of West Siberia (in time to come the best in the world), as well as the unparalleled mineral beds of East Siberia. In connection with the steady settling of many emigrants, the heretofore feeble colonization and improvement enterprises will prosper appreciably, as by the uplifting of industry decided changes

in circumstances have already been actually brought about. Siberia offers ample opportunity for fresh energy.

A number of important questions still come under consideration, in addition to the apparent advantages which Russia has already obtained from a political and military standpoint, through her Pacific artery of the political world market. Commerce in the interior of the country as well as outside is no longer crippled by vast distances. The coast of the Okhotsk and Japan Seas with its many harbors is connected with the interior, as is also the Yellow Sea with the Amoor province through the Manchurian line—acquisitions which cannot be rated too highly. After railway traffic with its fruitful results has been established, the districts heretofore practically separated will be brought closer together even to the far-off Eastern seas, whose coasts are much more valuable to Russia for gaining new markets than those of her other waters, which are of use conditionally, being cut off entirely or frozen up for months at a time.

For the protection of economic development there is always necessary sufficient military strength, which insures the safety of the commercial line, while the latter again is of benefit to the movements of the operating military forces. Russian transports formerly very seldom sent to the practically defenseless Eastern points, massed with celerity, may hereafter reach there. Especially by the military will demands of an exacting nature be made on the Siberian Railway to forward whole army corps equipped for service at seasonable times to the Amoor or to Vladivostok, and so to overcome widely separating distance, that principal hindrance to joint action on the part of the divided forces. The line now opened is a vein for Russia's advance into Asia in the way of promptly distributing lines of troops throughout the vast distances of Siberia, especially as the penetrability in other sections of the country—country passed over—is entirely insufficient, with its still primitive network of highways. Warfare of to-day requires a superior force to be brought quickly into the district of operations or to points particularly threatened. Taking it for granted that a fully equipped army corps of about 30,000 men could be forwarded approximately 900 km. in four days on a double track and in six days on a single track line, the transfer from the Ural to Manchuria would require from twenty-six to thirty-nine days, and to Vladivostok from thirty-five to fifty days, if trains of at least fifty cars each followed one another at the shortest possible intervals and the most comprehensive precautions were taken at all stations to insure an unmolested passage. Naturally, the

detachments stationed permanently along the line would be able to reach a designated rendezvous in much less time.

Therefore the railway also appears in the rôle of a valuable war expedient and an important strategical weapon. Many a scheme, no longer Utopian, may become a reality through the instrumentality of this line of operations, shortened by the railway. Without a doubt, Russia will not consent to evacuate Manchuria, although China and Japan will protest. After the China-Japanese war Russia acquired by treaty a slice of China in order to possess on the peninsula of Siau-Tong, north of Port Arthur, a harbor free from ice and open for vessels in winter. This new harbor location, Dalny, is also the terminus of the Manchurian line and permanent base for later undertakings on the Yellow Sea. Slowly but surely proceeds the advance of the Russian to the west coasts of the great ocean. In all sections approached by it are acquired poles for the increase of Russia's military and naval strength. The strong link that unites this development of power to the Czar's Empire is the Siberian railway. A point not to be underrated is the greater degree of centralization in the Russian Empire since the whistle of the locomotive sounds throughout Siberia because *there* especially the circumstances of space and time are of more importance than elsewhere.

Russia will probably have occasion before long to support her possessions in Eastern Asia, especially the position held in the Chinese Empire. The Siberian line will then have to prove whether or not it fulfills its duty, and the strengthening of the defenses along the Amoor may be considered as a palpable sin of recent superiority. Since the healing process in Siberia was begun with steam machinery, the whole public life, that is, the military, pulsates more quickly and powerfully than one imagines. The test of the example, of course, does not yet appear—proof and verdict will come together as soon as the iron dice begin to roll. The almost demoniacal rapidity of technical development has taken deep hold of the military and therefore warfare to-day is confronted with problems which were scarcely thought of before—the proper solution of which the battle of the future must decide.

The construction of an Asiatic Pacific line is a civilizing factor of the highest importance, to which, with reference to the effect on commerce in general, only the naval connecting line, the Suez Canal and the Panama-Nicaragua ship-canal of Central America, can be compared. The strategical importance of the line is plain. Russia is standing at the Amoor and Pamir ready to do battle for the fur-

therance of her schemes for increase of power in Asia, but first, because of the efficiency of the newly acquired Siberian railway, may possibly make greater preparations for war in Eastern Asia. Since navigation around the east point of Asia has been practically of no importance, the route through the Suez Canal remained the nearest connecting line of Russia with possessions on the Japan Sea; a commercial line too long and not entirely free.

Indeed, on this account was there demand for the building of this shorter Pacific line, belonging entirely to Russia. The whole world lives under the sign of commerce to-day, railways accompany it through all lands and climates, adapting themselves to the compelling circumstances of geographical location and carrying regular traffic throughout the most inhospitable countries. The practical operations of all commerce are dependent on the railway line, and certainly to a great extent is this true of military undertakings. It is possible, therefore, that for Siberia, where every energy has been aroused by a railway built on a grand scale, a new horizon may dawn, not only of economic development but more especially of strategical advantages.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

It is probable that Congress will be asked in the coming session to make an exact definition of the titles of retired officers of the staff corps of the Navy who have held positions which have carried the rank and pay of rear admirals during their incumbency. The question is one which is wholly settled by existing law, and the opinions that have been rendered do not by any means throw satisfactory illumination on this phase of the question of titles. While the outgoing Secretary of the Navy took action which indicated that the matter might be settled adversely as regards the staff corps, Secretary Morton has not as yet completed the work and there is an impression that the matter has been pigeonholed. As it is not one which affects the immediate interests of the service and as no Secretary can hope to settle it in such a way as to give universal satisfaction, the suggestion that the matter should be left to Congress seems to be the wisest one.

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One of Secretary Morton's earliest indications of his probable policy was given in his speech at Chicago on the occasion of a dinner in his behalf, at which he said that the Navy of the United States should be the most formidable in existence. This has been taken to mean an approval of an extensive building programme, but what he probably had in mind was that the Navy of the United States should be the most efficient in existence, something which is compatible with a moderate equipment of ships, but which requires an adequate force of highly trained officers and men, together with an organization which will make the best use of the material provided.

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The officers of the Army who command the vessels which form the efficient if slowly growing flotilla auxiliary to shore operations are not exempt from the haps and mishaps which accompany sea going. General Crozier, chief of ordnance, has the Ariadne at Washington and makes an occasional trip down the river during the heated term. Recently, with the former Secretary of the Navy as a guest, together with others, he was down the Potomac when

an accident to the boiler disabled the vessel. His guests left in a passing launch, but General Crozier staid by the ship during a number of long hours before relief came from Washington.

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It is stated that there is a brisk movement going on in the matter of submarine boats, and that the Newport News company is building several of the Lake type, while another prominent shipbuilding company has taken a strong interest in the Holland type. The report of the board which made the trial of the Holland type has not been made public, though the impression has been given out that the results were favorable. There is a renewed interest in the whole torpedo question as the result of the current war, and it is predicted that there will be a renewal of interest in torpedo boat construction which had lapsed in favor of the interest in the big battleship construction. One of the signs of renewed torpedo interest is the arrangement made between the Bureau of Navigation and the Bureau of Ordnance for the detail of officers to Newport for torpedo instruction. All officers who are to go to torpedo boats are to have a preliminary term at the torpedo school, and officers who will have to do with the torpedo outfits of battleships will also receive instruction. In addition there will be more officers made available for general torpedo work, and this arrangement is expected to result in representations to the department of the necessity of more attention and greater expenditure in the line of torpedo provision.

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The approval of the military service has been cordially accorded Lieut. Newton A. McCully, of the Navy, who replied to an offer of safe conduct from Japan from Port Arthur that he would stay in the besieged city and take his chances. Lieut. McCully by persistent effort was able to get into Port Arthur, going in on the last train, the ammunition train, which entered the city just before communication was shut off. It is believed that he was with the Russian fleet when it made its unsuccessful attempt to make a junction with the Vladivostok fleet and that his experience has been unique among the attachés who have been sent to observe the course of the war. Only one other attaché elected to remain in Port Arthur, and if Lieut. McCully succeeds in getting through the siege he will have accumulated a fund of information that will be of the utmost value to the military service of the United States.

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While the insular bureau of the War Department has made a

splendid record for efficiency in handling the thousand and one questions of government which arise in the affairs of the island possessions, other departments of the Government are most liberal in proffering service and to take charge of certain interests with which they have to do on the Continent. The chief of the insular bureau has, therefore, at intervals to point out mildly and in a kindly way, but at the same time with a firmness that admits of no mistake that the War Department is running insular affairs and no others need apply. There is a fine field for some of the civilian departments to assume a sphere of influence in the undeveloped possibilities of the Philippines and it is likely that there will be an effort to have Congress make certain assignments which will open them up.

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The Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department is of the opinion that it has taken a step in advance by placing the minimum age for the enlistment of apprentices at seventeen years. The enlistment of apprentices has been resumed under this condittion, and the training system of the Navy has entered upon a new idea which will probably result in the enlistment only of apprentice seamen on a first enlistment at an age below twenty years and the merging of the present systems of apprentice and landsman training. The present regulation as to the age of apprentices has in effect negatived the idea of the old apprentice system which had as its basis the idea of taking boys at a comparatively tender age and making all of their habits and associations of the sea. The reason for the change is given that boys under seventeen are so light that their services before they reach the close of the first two or three years of their enlistment are practically useless in modern ships and that a boy taken at seventeen is as useful at nineteen as an apprentice who has cost two years more of training. It is claimed that the sea habit can be as well inculcated from seventeen as from an earlier age and the bother and extra care of younger boys is avoided, while the boy has a chance to get a broader education ashore and is more intelligent in the long run if taken at seventeen than at the earlier age. All of which is, as has been said, in direct contrast to the theories as to the training of sailors formerly held and the outcome of the innovation will be watched with interest.

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The fitting out of the hospital ship Relief, which is now in progress on the Pacific coast, is a tribute to the persistent and consistent work of the Sugeon General of the Navy for suitable floating

hospital provision. The problem of caring for the sick and disabled of a fleet is materially simplified by the presence of a hospital ship which will be regarded in the future as essential a part of fleet organization as any other auxiliary.

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It looked at one time as if the two colliers which were authorized in the last naval appropriation bill would be delayed in construction until Congress had made some provision for equipping yards for building the ships. The launching of the Connecticut in September, however, will make a place available at the New York yard, and it is believed that the collier which is to be built on the Pacific coast can be constructed at Mare Island. Meanwhile, with the increase and pending increase of the fleet, there is call for increased dockyard facilities at all points. In the annual report of Constructor Baxter from the New York yard, the meagre dry dock facilities are pointed out, and while there are docks constructing at other points, other facilities will be demanded with increasing force after the ships at present near completion have been put into commission. Considerable repairs and a certain amount of reconstruction is inevitable for the older vessels of the Navy, and the country must be prepared to accede to considerable expenditures for yard improvements in the next ten years to keep the Navy in effective form. The difficulty is, of course, that navy yard extension must be carried on at all the yards in similar proportion under the theory that each yard must profit equally in the annual appropriations. This, with duplication of plants at the different yards, will make ultimate efficiency a thing that will cost a good deal of money.

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The maneuvers of the joint regular and volunteer forces at Manassas, Va., beginning Sept. 3, are from the fact of being held in the east attracting more attention than was the fact with the Kansas maneuvers last year. Disappointment is generally expressed when such exercises fail to develop some spectacular feature which will commend them to the onlookers. As a matter of fact, however, it is to be said that they are less apt to be successful when something in the nature of a spectacle is aimed at than when the problems of assembling and handling considerable bodies of troops are taken up without consideration of the effect that may be made by the massing of regiments. The strain in any war in which the United States may be engaged will be in the mobilization of its

fighting force. The trouble will always be to get the troops into the field in such shape that they can keep the field and not go to pieces under the strain of unaccustomed conditions. If volunteer troops can be put frequently into the field in large bodies in conjunction with regular troops so that at least the rudiments of field life may be understood a greater good will be gained than even in the more extended familiarity with the rifle.

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It has been noted that the title of Secretary of War is conspicuously absent in news items relating to the business of the Army. The usual form seems to run that the military secretary has been informed, or the military secretary has issued notice to such and such effect. In the intervals the chief of staff or the general staff have effected so and so, but of pronunciamentos which originate with the Secretary of War there seem to be almost none. Of course in former times when it was announced that the Secretary of War received this or stated that, it was understood that the real action had been taken by some officer in charge of the particular subject, but the lack of mention of the head of the Department in matters pertaining to the routine of the Department is likely to raise the query as to where the titular head of the Army and the repository of the authority of the commander in chief is at.

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One of the most healthful signs of the military service of the United States in both the Army and Navy is the spirit of inquiry as to whether the best possible results are being obtained by the current system. The maxim, "whatever is, is right," has been cast away to a degree which, in so conservative a profession as that of arms, is exceptional and no detail of the service is immune from the peering of ambitious officers. The measures taken by the Navy Department to improve the physical standard of the midshipmen at Annapolis have been almost drastic, and the Army has come to the front during the month with a proposition by an officer of high rank that the cavalry arm shall be protected from the physically undesirable. It is pointed out that certain physical characteristics and mental characteristics allied to the physical make a certain proportion of officers undesirable for the cavalry arm, though they may be at the same time excellent military men, and it is proposed to limit the freedom of choice of graduates from West Point as to the arm of the service preferred, and to assign graduates in accordance with the

physical and mental fitness shown. It is pointed out that officers who are likely to carry over weight and those who are not lovers of horses are likely to be of less value in the cavalry, and it is urged that these and other characteristics should be considered at the Academy and should aid in making up the list of assignments to the respective branches of the Army.

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Wireless telegraphy, after months of careful experimentation, has come to be an effective adjunct to the military service of the United States, the most tangible evidence of the fact being the contract made with the De Forrest interests by the Navy Department to carry on a circuit covering West Indian and Caribbean points. The part taken by the Army and Navy in the development of wireless telegraphy is not likely to be exploited, but the United States is by no means behind other countries in its practical application to military service, and the equipment is very far in advance of the general impression of the extent and success of its use.

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One of the notable changes in the detail of officers during the month has been the transfer of Captain W. W. Mead from the naval training station at Newport to the command of the Portsmouth navy yard, and of Captain C. M. Thomas from the work of training at the Norfolk station to the training station at Newport. Captain Thomas has made a distinguished success in the work of training men for the Navy, and it is believed that opportunity will be afforded him at Newport for an extension of the system that has produced such good results at Norfolk. The change is also regarded as a step in the direction of the consolidation of the present dual training system which is indicated elsewhere.

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The attempt to bring political pressure to bear on the Navy Department to increase the amount of work done at the Puget Sound navy yard is assuming proportions and means that almost warrant the use of the word scandalous in the connection. There is an assumption that the yard at Bremerton was established and is being maintained solely in order to add to the prosperity of that section of the country and that the people interested in property in the vicinity have the right to demand the spending of a certain proportion of the annual appropriations there. This is a sentiment that has done more harm than almost any one thing that has kept back the growth of the Navy in the history of the United

States, and the firm stand of the Navy Department that it would send just as much work as the interests of the service demand and no more to Bremerton ought to receive general approval.

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Comment has been general in Army circles on the suggestion that the classes at West Point have grown too large for effective work and on the article of Col. Samuel E. Tillman, U. S. A., in the Journal of the Military Service Institution. The fear is expressed that in the considerable increase of numbers of the cadet classes something of the sentiment of West Point will be lost and that a valuable part of the training which cannot be definitely stated in educational terms is not compatible with the larger attendance and the impossibility of making an individual impress on the graduates of the West Point spirit. It is to be noticed that the considerable increase in the size of the classes at Annapolis has not caused a similar fear on the part of the officers of the Navy, but this consideration may have been lost in the real and pressing necessity for the increase of the commissioned personnel of the naval arm of the service. The point that there will be something in the old West Point atmosphere missing in the larger school is well taken, and it remains to be seen if there will be something growing out of the new conditions which will take its place. It is possible that it shall be felt that so large a school loses the intensive effect of inculcating the army spirit; it may be found advisable to divide the course and the instruction so that while preliminary and basic instruction will be given at West Point, schools especially devoted to the several branches of the service and in which the attendance will be less and permit the closer personal contact of the instructors, will be provided for the completion of the military education of the cadets. That is, that separate colleges which need not necessarily be located away from West Point could be formed, the whole to make up a great military university, but which would permit a segregation of groups where the West Point spirit as a whole would be intensified by the interest of the cadet in his particular school and the arm of the service to which his life is to be devoted.

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One of the movements that have been more or less frequent in every quarter of the year since the Spanish war to remove the wreck of the Maine from Havana harbor was called to the attention of the Navy Department this month from the statement that some one had received a contract for the removal of the ship. As

there was no official statement from the government of Cuba or any one in authority and the matter rested on the statement of the supposed contractor that he had the right to remove the wreck, the Department very properly replied that it had no authority to grant the request for private ownership of the materials and that the request must be made to Congress. The misapprehension of the real status of the request made has led to numerous statements as to the position of the United States in the matter, which is, however, a perfectly simple one of awaiting motion on the part of regularly constituted authorities before taking the subject up seriously.

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The sudden and lamented death of Rear Admiral Henry C. Taylor comes to the naval service as a loss which can hardly be over-estimated. A splendid sailor, a gallant commander and an executive of the military side of the Navy Department who has scarcely been excelled in the whole history of the Navy of the United States, his usefulness to the Navy was in its very prime. As Chief of the Bureau of Navigation he developed the efficiency of the fleet and amalgamated the individual ships of the Navy into effective squadrons so that the naval efficiency of this country stands to-day at its highest point. A gentleman, a diplomat and every inch a man, his loss is a personal one to every one, of whatever rank, who had come in contact with him, who had experienced his ready and unfailing kindness. Not missing his full share of the glory which comes from staunchness and readiness in conflict, his greatest title to fame has come in the paths which are far more difficult to tread, of day by day effort to improve existing conditions. Setting the standard of the naval service as high as it is possible to attain, he never wavered from his devotion to its interests, and there is no more admirable name in the naval annals of this country than that of Henry Clay Taylor.

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The Army is to work over the question of discharge by purchase, and when some preliminary work has been done in the way of decision on certain paragraphs of the regulations where decision might influence the question of such discharge, the whole matter will be taken up. Instead of regulating the cost of purchase of discharge by the number of enlistments, the years of service will be taken as a basis on which to establish the amount to be paid. Discharge by favor, which has been used to cover certain cases in which discharge seemed desirable and

purchase money not available, will be regarded as illegal, and will, it is assumed, be abolished, in the regulations at any event. Meanwhile the Navy is holding strictly to the requirement that discharge can only be granted for unfitness or undesirability, and maintains its non-purchasable discharge policy which is said to be having an excellent effect and working but little hardship.

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The question of Navy pay appears at intervals either in the statement that the special board appointed by the former Secretary of the Navy is still at work on the subject, or because of one of the many causes brought before the Comptroller of the Court of Claims to determine moot questions and fine points. There are those who believe that the question of Navy pay has now got into such a tangle that there is no clear and coherent way out of the matter except an entire consideration of the subject by Congress and a complete rendering of the whole question over into new legislation.

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Major Chauncey B. Baker, of the quartermaster's department of the Army and Paymaster Samuel McGowan of the Navy, have been designated as members of the board which will confer with representatives of the railroads on the establishment of rates for government of the service. Both officers have been selected because of their expert knowledge of railroad transportation, and it is believed that the saving and simplification of accounting that will follow the conference will make the board a memorable one.

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The board appointed by the President to select a location for a naval training station on the Great Lakes is now at work, having spent two weeks in visiting the various points offered and anticipating a month more of work. The personnel of the board is Capt. W. H. Reeder, U. S. N.; H. M. Waitt, of Lexington, Ky., and Wm. M. Bradley, of Portland, Me. The pressure on the board in favor of the different locations offered is considerable, and there is a general eagerness on the part of the representatives of the competing sites to take the commissioners in hand and show them the particular advantages of their particular spots. Much of the journeying of the board is being done on the revenue cutter Tuscarora and the members express the intention of seeing all points on the lakes thoroughly before making up their minds. It will be remembered that a naval board had already made up its mind as

to the ideal spot for the station, and there is much interest as to whether its judgment will be approved.

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There has been some criticism in the press of the use of the revenue cutters of the Treasury Department this summer for excursion boats for the members of the cabinet and prominent officials. Comment has been made on the use by the postmaster general, the President pro tempore of the Senate and others besides the Treasury officials of revenue cutters on trips of more or less length. It is one of the inconsistencies of life that newspapers which object to the presence of an official who pays for his subsistence on a government vessel in the course of her regular voyaging, would urge with much vigor the sending of government vessels at a considerable expense and away from their regular duties to grace some civic celebration.

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The laurels of the medical department of the Army, already green and plenteous from the handling of difficult questions of sanitation, are added to by the success of Army surgeons in treating enemia in Porto Rico. Over three thousand patients have been treated, and with extraordinarily successful results, so that it is believed that with further investigation and a continuance of treatment, the disease which is one of the chief obstacles to the progress of the island will be eradicated.

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Plans of location of buildings at Boise Barracks, Idaho, Point Bonita, Cal., Jackson Barracks, La., and at Indianapolis, Ind., have been approved and work will begin at once on specifications and preparation for letting contracts. The project for Boise Barracks includes the expenditure of nearly three hundred thousand dollars. An example of an up-to-date Army post is furnished by the construction at Fort Myer, Va., where the recent additions have completed an installation of buildings in which comfort and efficiency have been admirably combined and which constitutes a revelation to those who have despairingly felt that makeshift construction was inseparable from the government provision for housing the personnel of the Army.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

CASE OF PAYMASTER BISCOE.

The President this week ordered the court-martial sentence of Paymaster Harry E. Biscoe, who was tried on the Asiatic Station by order of Rear Admiral R. D. Evans on the charge of "neglect of duty" and sentenced to be reduced fifteen numbers in his grade, mitigated to a reprimand by the Secretary of the Navy. By this order of the President's, Paymaster Biscoe will be restored to his original place on the list of paymasters. The reprimand will be administered immediately, it having been prepared in the Navy Department and approved by the President.

Considerable interest has been taken in naval circles in the appeal made by Paymaster Biscoe against the sentence of the court and his claim that Admiral Evans was actuated by personal animus in ordering his trial. The following statement, which was given out by Secretary of the Navy, Moody on June 30, relative to the case, explains just what action was taken in the matter:

"Mr. Biscoe was convicted by the court-martial of certain charges and specifications which, in substance and effect, were that he had failed to use proper and reasonable care in the supervision of the issuing of stores of provisions to the general mess of his ship. The sentence of the court was that he lose fifteen numbers. He appealed to the Navy Department. The Judge Advocate General, reviewing the proceedings, advised the Secretary that they were in conformity to law and that the evidence justified the conviction. He said further: "I am of the opinion that the sentence may, without prejudice to the interests of the service, be materially mitigated, and recommend that such action be taken."

The Secretary reported to the President that the verdict of guilty on two of the specifications of one of the charges should be set aside upon the ground that the mess manual, the provisions of which had not been observed by Mr. Biscoe, was not a lawful regulation issued by the Secretary of the Navy within the meaning of the law, but that in other respects the evidence was sufficient to sustain the conviction."

With regard to the sentence, the Secretary's recommendation was as follows: "I have examined with care his previous record and find it to be

excellent in every way. His reputation among the officers of the Asiatic Fleet, from the commander-in-chief down, was of the best. I am of the opinion, in view of his good record and of the fact that there was no evidence or suspicion of intentional wrong-doing by the accused, that the ends of justice would be satisfied with a punishment much less than that awarded by the court, and therefore respectfully submit a recommendation that the punishment be considered with a view to its mitigation. This brings me to a consideration of the power which the President or the Secretary of the Navy has in the premises. In this case, the commander-in-chief of a fleet, in foreign waters convened the court, and is its reviewing authority. By Article 53 of the Articles for the Government of the Navy, a sentence of a court, lawfully convened by the commander of a squadron 'may be carried into execution on confirmation of the commander of the fleet or officer ordering the court.' The approval of the Secretary of the Navy is, therefore, not required in order to make the sentence of the court effective. He has no power over the proceedings except as a representative of the President. It is believed, however, and that belief has for many years been carried into practice, that the President, or the Secretary of the Navy acting by the authority of the President, may remit or mitigate any punishment inflicted by a court convened as this court has been convened, or set aside proceedings which upon their face are irregular. It is, therefore, my opinion that in this manner the President has jurisdiction to act in the case under consideration."

The President, acting upon the recommendation of the Secretary and the Judge Advocate General, has mitigated the penalty imposed by the court, and directed that the original recommendation of the court of inquiry be carried out and that Paymaster Biscoe be reprimanded for neglect of duty. This has accordingly been done, and the case is closed. —*From Army and Navy Journal, July 2, 1904.*

WHERE GAME ABOUNDS.

One of the chief difficulties of the sportsman, the question where to go and when to go, is solved by the publication of the booklet "Fishing and Shooting," by the Canadian Pacific Railway. It gives a running account of all the many sporting regions of the Dominion of Canada, tells what each can offer, how it may be reached and what facilities in the way of accommodation, guides, canoes and outfits, etc., are to be procured. It is an eminently practical little work, compiled by men who have been there themselves and know what they are talking about, and it may be obtained free from any agent of the company, or by writing to the Advertising Agent, Windsor Street Station, Montreal, Que.

In former issues of the book an appendix containing a synopsis of the game laws of the provinces and states touched upon was added. This is now issued as a separate publication to be procured in the same way, and anyone contemplating a trip into Canada should write direct to the nearest C. P. R. agent or to the Advertising Agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who will give him the information requested by return mail.

THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN JAPAN.

"In the year of our Lord God 1598," says the original account in worthy old Purchas, "Peter Vanderbaeg and Hans Vandergerck, chiefs of the Dutch Indian Company, made ready a fleet of five Hollanders to traffic unto the Indies. Tempted by the success of the Portuguese, the Dutch desired to enter upon the trade of those regions, in spite of the hostility of the Dons, the bulls of the Pope, or the fires of the Inquisition. The admiral was stout Master Jacque Mahay, in the good ship Erasmus." William Adams was the pilot of this proud argosy; we have, in his letters to his wife, a faithful and touching record of his voyage.

William Adams was born "in Gillingham, two miles from Rochester, and one mile from Chatham, where the Queen's ships do lie;" and he calls upon us to remember that he is thereby "a Kentish man." "I was," he says, "from the age of twelve brought up in Limehouse, near London, being 'prentice twelve years to one master,—Nicolas Diggins,—and have served in the place of master and pilot in her Majesty's ships, and about eleven or twelve years served the Worshipful Company of Barbary Merchants, until the Indian traffic from Holland began, in which Indian traffic I was desirous to make a little experience of the small knowledge which God hath given me."

The fleet in which Will Adams was embarked sailed from the Texel on the 24th of June, 1598. Before they reached the equator sickness broke out, and they touched for refreshment on the coast of Guinea; here, before the fleet again sailed, Admiral Jacque Mahay and many of the crew died. In April, 1599, they reached the Straits of Magellan, having decided that they should go to the Indies by way of the South Seas, to make, no doubt, those "experiences" for which bold Will Adams had such a craving. Cold, hunger, and sickness pressed heavily upon them; and when, by dint of perseverance and skill, the solitary ship Erasmus reached Moka, on the coast of Chili, the Spaniards were ready to slay and entrap them on every opportunity. After waiting until November, 1599, for her consorts, only one vessel joined at the rendezvous, and she was piloted by Will Adams's very good friend and countryman, "one Timothy Shotten, who had been with Master Thomas Cavendish in his voyage round the world." Two of the fleet, it was conjectured, had sunk at sea, and another was known to have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. These same gentry suddenly one day set upon the captain of the Erasmus, who was on shore purchasing supplies for his famishing crew, and besides slaying him and "my poor brother, Thomas Adams," says Will in his letter, "they left

scarce so many men whole as could weigh our anchor." The consort likewise lost her captain and twenty-seven men killed in another affair. Yet the resolute survivors, having appointed captains to their vessels, "held a council as to what they should do to make their voyage most profitable. It was resolved to go for Japan; for, by the report of Derrick Garritson, who had been there with the Portugals, woolen cloth was in great estimation in that island; and we gathered, by reason that the Malaccas and the most part of the East Indies were hot countries, woolen cloth would not be much accepted. Therefore it was we all agreed to go to Japan."

On the 29th of November, 1599, these two stout Hollanders, piloted by William Adams and Timothy Shotten, bore up before the south-east trade-wind on their long and lonely voyage. Nothing can give a clearer idea of their weary journey than the following entry in the narrative: "The wind continued good for divers months!" They cross the equator; we follow them through island channels, where eight men are killed and eaten by the natives; we see them at last as they approach the western limit of the great South Sea. Storm and angry seas await them as they come nigh Japan; and on the 24th of February, 1600, the Erasmus parts from her consort. Poor Timothy Shotten! he and his charge succumbed at last. Nevertheless, the Erasmus still did her best, still directed her course for Japan. "The four-and-twentieth day of March we saw an island called 'Una Colonna,' at which time many of our men were sick again, and divers dead. Great was the misery we were in, having no more than nine or ten men able to go or creep upon their knees, our captain and all the rest looking every hour to die. But on the 11th of April, 1600, we saw the high land of Japan near unto Bungo, at which time there were no more than five men of us able to go. The 12th of April we came hard to Bungo, where many country barks came on board us, the people whereof we willingly let come, having no force to resist them; and at this place we came to an anchor." (The Bungo Channel of Will Adams is the Boango Channel between the islands of Kiu-siu and Sikok, the passage connecting the Suo-nada of the Inland Sea with the Pacific.)

The Shogoon happened at the time to be at Osaka, the great commercial centre, a few miles south-west of Miako, the spiritual capital; and when the circumstance of the arrival of other than a Portuguese or Spanish vessel was reported to him, he ordered the pilot, Master Adams, and one of the mariners to be brought before him; the more so, doubtless, as the Portuguese represented the character of these new arrivals in anything but an amiable light; "for," says one of the letters of Adams to his wife, "after we had been there (in Bungo) from five to six days, a Portugal Jesuit, with other Portugals, and some Japanese that were Christians, came from a place called Nagasaki; which was ill for us, the Portugals being our mortal enemies, who reported that we were pirates, and were not in the way of merchandising." As crucifixion was the penalty of this crime, and poor Adams and his companion were not aware that the other charge which was made against them of being heretics was rather a merit than otherwise with the rulers of Japan, it was natural that they took a tender leave of their sick captain and shipmates; and then, adds the

staunch old sailor, "I commended myself into His hands that had preserved me from so many perils on the sea."

In the presence of the Shogoon he spoke up manfully. "I shewed him," says Will Adams, "the name of our country, and that our land had long sought out the East Indies;" and after explaining the purely mercantile purpose of their voyage, th Shogoon asked whether his country had wars. "I answered him, yea; with the Spaniards and Portugals." From what contemporaneous history has informed us in regard to the hostility of the Shogoon towards, and his dealings with, the Christians, we may conclude that he would see without regret the arrival of strangers of a different religion, who, though worn out with suffering, and with the prospect of immediate death before them, openly avowed their hostility to the subjects of those powerful monarchs of Spain and Portugal, of whose vast resources, wealth, and ambition he had heard so much. It was, however, some time before Will Adams was relieved from suspense as to his own fate. Nine-and-thirty long days of anxiety were passed in prison, the Shogoon having in the meantime ordered the ship to be brought up to Osaka; and during all that time the Jesuits and Portuguese used their utmost endeavors to have the crew of the Erasmus treated as thieves and robbers, and saying "that if justice was executed upon us, it would terrify the rest of our nation from coming there any more; and to this intent they daily sued to his Majesty to cut us off." But the Pagan was more humane than the Christian; for, "praised be God for ever and ever!" ejaculated the saved sailor, the Shogoon answered them, "that because their two countries were at war was no reason why, to please Portugals, he should slay Dutch and Englishmen!" and forthwith Will Adams and his companion were liberated and sent to their ship and shipmates.

Bright days now dawned upon the sorely-tried Dutchmen and their honest pilot; they were given everything they needed, treated most kindly, but they and their stout bark were never again to leave Japan. The Erasmus was ordered to the city of Yedo, the capital of the Shogoon. Will Adams's merits were so appreciated at court that he eventually obtained great influence. When, in 1609, the next Dutch ships arrived in Japan to act hostilely against the Portuguese, they found the Japanese government very well disposed towards them, and considerable privileges, as well as the port of Firando, were conceded to them through the good offices of William Adams.

Though he individually behaved with forbearance to the Portuguese, and, as he assures us, returned good for their evil, the Dutch had no such intention; and it is certain that, in introducing the Hollanders to the commerce of Japan, Will Adams struck the death-blow to Portuguese interests there. By the Dutch ships Will Adams sent the interesting letters so fully quoted, and at last, as he desired, stimulated his countrymen to enter upon the same remunerative trade. He had already been thirteen years in Japan, when he heard that a ship bearing the red cross of England had reached Firando.

She was the Clove, of London, belonging to the East India Company (then in its infancy), and commanded by Captain John Saris, furnished with a letter from King James I. and suitable presents to the Emperor. The good ship Clove had

pushed to sea from the Thames on April 18, 1611, and reached Firando on the 11th of June, 1613, two years having been profitably spent in trading on the way, as ships were wont to do in those days. Adams was then at Yedo, and was immediately sent for by the Prince of Firando. Early in August Captain Saris, William Adams, and ten Englishmen started for Yedo, bearing the royal letter and presents. A favorable treaty was soon obtained from the Shogoon, granting to England important privileges. The following is the text of the treaty:

TREATY *concluded between the Emperor of Japan and King James of Great Britain, August,* 1613.

"Article 1. We give free license to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, viz., Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and the Company of the East India merchants and adventurers, forever safely to come into any of our ports of our empire of Japan with their ships and merchandise without any hindrance to them or their goods, and to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their own manner with all nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasure.

"Art. 2. We grant unto them freedom of custom for all such merchandise as either now they have brought or hereafter shall bring into our kingdoms, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part; and do authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive and come from England to proceed to present sale of their commodities without further coming or sending up to our court.

"Art. 3. If any of their ships shall happen to be in danger of shipwreck, we will that our subjects not only assist them, but that such part of ship or goods as shall be saved be returned to their captain, or merchant, or their assigns, and that they shall or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of our empire where they shall think fittest, and at their pleasure.

"Art. 4. If any of the English merchants shall depart this life within our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the disposal of the cape merchant and that all offenses committed by them shall be punished by the said cape merchant according to his discretion; and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

"Art. 5. We will that ye, our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same, according to agreement, without delay, or return their wares again unto them.

"Art. 6. For such commodities as they have now brought or shall hereafter bring, fitting for service and proper use, we will that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be made with the cape merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

"Art. 7. If, in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their ships, they shall need men or victuals, we will that ye, our subjects, furnish them for their money as their need shall require.

"Art. 8. And that, without other passport, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of Yesso, or any other port in or about our empire."

This treaty was abrogated in 1619, and the English abandoned their factory at Firando. Henceforth the Dutch had exclusive control of the trade with Japan, but were restricted to the island of Decima as a place of residence.

The Erasmus, we are told by the Japanese, was taken to pieces with the greatest care; a staff of painters

made careful sketches of each piece of timber, copper, and iron in position and when separate; a class of wood and ivory-carvers made accurate models of such parts as proved too cunningly devised for the artists. A model of the Erasmus, complete in every particular, was made in ivory and gold, and carefully preserved in Yedo. An earthquake, nearly fifty years ago, threw down the building where this model was preserved, and a fire among the ruins finished its destruction.

Will Adams and the crew of the Erasmus were, two years after arrival, positively told that they must content themselves to remain in Japan for life. The Dutch sailors dispersed themselves over the island, and except that they continued to receive an allowance of two pounds of rice per diem, and twelve gold kobangs a year (equal to about sixty-five dollars gold), we hear no more of them.

Adams was refused leave to quit Yedo, but treated with great consideration. He built ships for the Shogoon. The first was of eighty tons, and pleased the Japanese ruler so much that he was advanced to the rank of "tutor," "being," says Adams, "in such grace and favor, by reason I taught him some points of geometry and the mathematics, with other things, that what I said could not be contradicted. At the which my former enemies, the Jesuits and Portugals, did greatly wonder, and entreated me to befriend them to the Emperor in their business; and so by my means both Spaniards and Portugals have received friendship from the Emperor, I recompensing their evil unto me with good."

Adams, however, did not altogether become ship-builder or tutor; for, after having built a second vessel of one hundred and twenty tons burden, he made a cruise to sea in her prior to 1609, going as far as Miako Bay with a Japanese crew.

In that year two circumstances occurred which held out a prospect of release to the poor fellow from his imprisonment, for such it appears to have been to him. A Spanish galleon, the San Francisco, returning from Manila to Acapulco, in Mexico, and having on board the governor of the Philippines, was cast away upon the coast of Japan; and of the crew, one hundred and sixty souls perished. The remainder, including the governor, were very kindly treated. The larger of the two vessels built by Adams was given to them by the Japanese Emperor, with every means for proceeding upon their voyage; and at a favorable season, in 1610, they did so, returning, it appears, to Manila.

In that same year which saw the San Francisco wrecked upon the one shore of Japan there arrived upon the opposite side two privateers from Holland, in quest of the Carrack, of Portugal, which yearly ran from Macao to Japan. They missed their prize; so they consoled themselves by making arrangements for a future trade at Firando. The Dutch commanders traveled to the court, and there, thanks to the aid and influence of Adams, permission was accorded them to come yearly with certain commodities for trade.

In 1611, Adams sits down to write that remarkable letter given by Master Purchas, bearing date 22d of October, 1611. In this letter he speaks of the kindness and generosity of the Emperor, who had given him a living "like unto a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen, who are as my servants and slaves." He describes the people his fortune had thrown him among "as good of nature, courteous above mea-

sure and valiant in war," and adds, "I think no land better governed in the world by civil policy." He urges his countrymen to trade thither, and ends with the plaint, that he hopes by some means or other he shall hear of his wife and children. "Patiently," he says, "I wait the good will and pleasure of God Almighty, desiring all those to whom this letter may come to use means to acquaint my good friends with it, and so my wife and children may hear of me; by which means there may be hope that I may see them before my death; the which the Lord grant, to His glory and my great comfort. Amen."

After the arrival of Captain Saris in the Clove, June 11, 1613, Adams seems to have resigned himself to the inevitable, and made preparations to live and die in Japan.

With this intent he married a noble Japanese lady, and retired to a village near Yokoska. Here he lived quietly until his death, which occurred in 1619.

The tombs of himself and wife are placed side by side on the summit of a hill in sight of Fuji-Yama, the "Peerless Mountain." The site of his tomb is often visited by his countrymen who are expatriated, as it were, from home and country, and whose sympathies are intensified by absence from their native land. Said a distinguished officer of our navy to the writer, when standing together on the hill overlooking the villages of Yokoska and Hemmi, "Poor Adams! Perhaps directly beneath us, on this beautiful shore, the worn-out old mariner stood, watching with a sinking heart the lessening sail conveying the survivors of the San Francisco; their hearts overflowing with gratitude to God for their deliverance." Home was henceforth but a shadow, a myth, to this old man of the sea. "Nec scire fas est omnia;" therefore let us hope when his spirit took its flight he found that rest, that home, denied him upon earth.

RICHARD S. COLLUM,
Major U. S. Marine Corps.

THE PRISONER.

IT was in Tropical Australia.

Two men were playing chess by lamplight in the central room of a big, white, corrugated-iron house that stood on sloping ground a little back from the road that led through the township of Golindie. The rainy season was supposed to have ended, but showers had fallen during the afternoon and evening, and there was a sound of dripping and trickling water in the warm, still air. From the creek, some two hundred yards away, came the incessant hoarse outcry of bullfrogs.

The room, which had no ceiling but the lofty roof, was furnished with a large oblong table, two benches three chairs, and an iron barrack-bed covered with a mosquito net. The fluted walls were of a pinkish buff, and the wooden framework which divided them into large rectangles was painted dark brown. The subdued clicking of a telegraph instrument came through the open door that led into another room.

The house was a combined Police and Telegraph station, and the chess-players were Western of the Police and Ross the telegraph operator. They wore the customary indoor dress of that part of the world—cotton singlets and pyjamas, with bare feet.

"It's your move," said Western, leaning back after a long pause, and relighting his pipe.

Ross had a habit, a disastrous one for a chess-player, of hearkening half

absently to the sound of his instrument, through which, hour by hour, ticked every message from Europe to Australia.

"Yes, I know," he replied, with his eyes focussed upon infinity. "Listen," he contnued; "somebody coming up from the road."

There was a trampling and splashing on the soft wet soil outside, and presently a "cooey." Western took up the lamp, and the two men walked out on the verandah. Thtey stood there, some four feet above the ground of the yard, looking into the darkness, till a horse and rider come into the circle of the lamplight.

"That you, Western?" said a voice.

"By Jove! it's Barton!" cried the policeman. "Hullo! Barton, old man, where do you come from? Glad to see you. Hold on till I get the lantern. Here, Jim!" he shouted, stamping his feet into canvas shoes, and jumping off the verandah. "Here, take 'em nanto longa stable. Give it feed," he added to a bearded black fellow who emerged from an outhouse.

Barton dismounted smartly enough, but he walked up the steps and across the verandah stiffly and with the air of one who has been too long in the saddle. He was tall, well-set-up fellow of twenty-six or thereabout. His flannel shirt and moleskin riding-breeches were stained and sodden, and splashes of mud, of several different colors, marked him from spur to shoulder.

"Thanks, Western, I won't sit down or do anything," said he, after greeting the two men, "till I've got a message off. Line clear, Ross? It's urgent. George Hansen killed at the Copper Mine; speared by Long Charley."

"Good God! Here, I'm on in this, Ross," said Western, as the telegraphist sat down to his instrument. "Tell me the yarn, old chap, and I'll send it at Government expense. Poor old George! I saw him when I was out there from the Caroline last year. Well, we ought to get Master Charley this time. Any evidence? Were you there?"

"Hold on a bit," said Barton. "Let me tell the story in my own way, and then you send the wire by all means. I'll cut it as short as I can."

"Fire away," said the policeman, getting ready his writing materials. "You look as if a drink would do you good. I'm what they call a teetotaller in these parts, and there's no whiskey, but this Victorian claret is pretty decent."

The tumbler shook slightly in Barton's hand as he began to tell his story.

. . . . . .

On the eighth day after the evening when he had set out to tell his story at Golindie, Barton stood in the witness-box of the court house in Port Daly. The lofty oblong room had something of the air of a chapel, with its rows of varnished benches, its fibre matting, and high windows. A punkah, pulled by a Chinese boy, swung to a stately measure above a long bare table at which the jurymen were sitting; they had just returned from "viewing the body," which lay in a shed at the rear of the court house.

Barton gave his evidence clearly and without repetition. He had arrived (he said) at the Green River Copper Mine at about 11 A. M. on the 9th, and found the deceased, George Hansen, who had lived there alone as caretaker since the mine had been abandoned, suffering from a spear wound in the back. He, the witness, had attended to him as well as he could, and had extracted the

spear head (produced) from his body. Hansen had died about six o'clock the next morning. The witness identified a paper written before his arrival. In it, and orally, he had made a statement to the effect that he had been speared by a blackfellow named Long Charley. Just after Hansen's death, Father Celusu, a missionary, had arrived at the mine, also Mr. Gellibrand and Mr. MacIntyre. The body had been temporarily buried, and the witness had ridden to Golindie and reported the affair to the police.

The coroner asked Barton one or two questions, and was about to dismiss him, when Scanlan the solicitor stood up.

"Your Honor," said he, "I have just received a telegram from the Protector of Aborigines authorizing me to watch this case on his behalf. I ask Your Honor's permission to put a few questions to the witness."

The corner, who was also the Judge of the district, assented.

"Now, Mr. Barton," said Scanlan, "do you know Long Charley?"

"No," replied the witness. "That is, I believe I have seen him."

"You believe? Was he pointed out to you?"

"No, I saw him—I saw a blackfellow on the day before the murder, and from what I heard later I believe he was the man."

"Oh, and where did you see him?"

"Between the mine and the river."

"How far from the mine?"

"About six miles."

"You notice, gentlemen," said Scanlan, "the witness saw a blackfellow —one blackfellow, gentlemen—six miles away, on the day before the affair happened, in a neighborhood where, as we know, there are thousands. Then he gathered from the words—from the ravings—of a dying man that a certain blackfellow had done the deed, and jumped to the conclusion that the man he had seen was that particular blackfellow.'

'I 'should like to say——" began Barton.

"Never mind what you would like to say, sir," interrupted the lawyer; "we are not here to listen to what you would like to say. We want facts. Will you swear that you saw Long Charley? Will you swear, from your own personal knowledge, and irrespective of anything you may have been told since, that Long Charley was within five miles of the mine on the 10th instant?"

Barton was obliged to swear "No."

"Now," Scanlan went on, "take this paper. Did you see Hansen write it?"

"No; he told me he had written it.'

"Can you identify the handwriting?"

"Yes."

"Have you any writing in your possession which you can swear is his?"

Barton was prepared for this question, and had taken from a pocketbook a paper which he handed to the lawyer. The latter read it in silence.

"Who wrote this?" he asked.

"I wrote the body of it, at Hansen's dictation. The signature is his," replied Barton.

"H'm. It seems to be a leaf from a pocketbook."

"It is a leaf from my pocketbook," said Barton.

Scanlan handed the paper to the coroner. After a pause he went on. "Gentlemen, this document is a will, written by Mr. Barton upon a leaf of Mr. Barton's pocketbook, and purporting to be signed by the deceased Hansen, in which Hansen bequeaths all his property, including his interest in certain silver claims, to Mr. Barton. The will is unwitnessed

save by Mr. Barton himself, and His Honor will tell you that it is informal. May I ask, Mr. Barton, how long you had known the deceased?"

"A few days."

"And the silver claims—do you know where they are?"

"Yes; they are in the Green River district."

"Does any one else know where they are?"

"No," replied Barton.

"Thank you, that will do," said the lawyer, sitting down. Then, partly from habit and partly because he had observed that the interest of the jurors in the examination of a witness was usually in direct ratio to the amount of pain inflicted, he sprang up and added another question—

"One moment, please. During your short acquaintance with this man, Hansen, were you upon good terms with him?"

"We were very friendly," said the witness. He colored a little as he spoke.

"Oh, you had no quarrel with him at any time?"

It was a chance shot, but it went home; truthful Barton colored again.

"Well, yes, we had a sort of quarrel; but he was—he'd been drinking."

Scanlan warmed to his work. His questions followed in rapid succession, and the stylographic pen of the white-uniformed police trooper who acted as clerk flew over the paper. The coroner once or twice showed impatience. Once he said, "Really, Mr. Scanlan, is this relevant?"

"Of course I bow to Your Honor's decision," returned the lawyer, suiting his action to the word; "but I'm sure Your Honor will agree * * * most important * * * no hasty conclusion * * * jury * * * state of public feeling with regard to these natives of the country, owing to the memory of the previous most unhappy affair, which, I am sure, is fresh in all our minds * * * unfortunate prejudice against the man whom I may perhaps be permitted to call my client * * *"

Barton had left the box. He sat mopping his brow and feeling uncomfortable. There was no doubt he had had a trying time * * * What hard work it had been digging that grave. * * * He had ridden—what was it?—a hundred miles in a night and a day; two hundred miles in three nights and two days. And oh, that voyage in the little launch, with the corpse and the Chinese engineer! Two days, or was it three? And the nights. * * * By Jove! How many nights since he had had any sleep?

"* * * had known each other only a few days, and during that time there had been gambling transactions, gentlemen." (Scanlan was addressing the jury.) "They had had what he was afraid he must call a drinking bout, and this had ended in violence. Shots had been fired, gentlemen. They had the witness' own statement to prove these things; and then, what did they find? Here was Hansen dead, murdered as it appeared, and here was the will bestowing a mining property, a secret mine, gentlemen, upon the survivor. He suggested nothing, he made no imputations, but they were bound to consider reasonable probabilities. * * *"

Through the dusty upper panes of the windows the sky looked (Barton was thinking) as it looked in England—a deeper blue. What a patch of color that was, the rectangle framed by the doorway; the red road, the vivid green of the jungle that fringed the cliff, and the ultramarine sea beyond. * * * What

a strong smell of carbolic acid! * * * Why, he must have been dozing! There was Scanlan, still on his legs. Scanlan was very tall; the edge of the punkah-frill lightly brushed his head at every sweep. It was a bald head; a tall lawyer who had much practice in that court was bound to grow bold Barton thought. * * * What was that Scanlan was saying?

"It was true that they were not trying any man for his life, but nevertheless a grave responsibility rested upon them. A charge had been made against a native. There was nothing in the evidence to support that charge beyond a scrap of paper. As a legal document it was as worthless, for it was as informal and as unauthenticated as the will. * * * There was no proof of motive for the crime. * * * The black man, under the wise and just law of the land in which they lived, was entitled to equal justice with the white man. * * * The evidence of Father Celsus, a reverend gentleman whose experience made his opinions on the character of natives very valuable. The so-called Long Charley had been baptised, and, for a time at least, had led a regular and virtuous life at the mission, where he even tilled a plot of land. * * *"

Father Celsus was recalled, and in answer to the Inspector of Police said that he knew that Paul (alias Long Charley) had worked at the copper mine about a year ago. The witness believed that he had been ill-treated by a miner named George, surname unknown.

The coroner summed up. He pointed out that there was very little evidence. The post-mortem examination had shown that death had resulted from a spear wound, and that the deceased had probably been drinking. The evidence of his verbal statement fas at second-hand. It was not evidence upon which any person could be convicted, but it was worth their consideration in attempting to get at the truth. The same with regard to the written statement. It was not a formal disposition, but if it was made by the deponent in the knowledge that he was about to die, it was most probably true, and they would be right in giving it weight. It was for them to consider. * * *

"In my opinion," said the coroner, in conclusion, "Mr. Barton has given his evidence in a straightforward manner, and though he admitted that there had been a quarrel between him and the deceased over cards, and even violence, I think that his subsequent conduct, in giving information to the police, and in assisting them as he has done, was that of an innocent man and a good citizen.

"Gentlemen, consider your verdict."

Barton was standing on the veranda when Murray of the police came along.

"Here, old man," said he, "come in and have some tiffin. You've been having a pretty rocky time. That swine Scanlan!"

In the airy little messroom the half dozen troopers sat in their singlets and white trousers. Barton, well known to most of them, was made welcome. A Chinese servant brought in the prawn curry, and the delicate fresh chutnies compounded by the Singhalese cook. For dessert there was placed before each man a pineapple, cunningly peeled, its juicy, butter-colored spiral topped by its blue-green leaves. Barton was so weary that talk was a painful effort, and before the meal was over he was glad to stretch himself upon one of the iron beds in the adjacent barrick

room. He was left undisturbed, and when he awoke at sunset Murray brought him the verdict, "Wilful murder against Paul, alias Long Charley."

"Tom Reynolds and old Davy Mack were the only bushmen in the crowd," said Murray. "It's their verdict. I was in and out of Logan's office, and heard them talking. Hayes and the other Peddlington storekeepers and town men wanted 'Person or persons unknown,' but those two struck out. 'Pairrson unknown be dahmned,' says Davy Mack; 'Ah know the herren-gutted black scoundrel, and he knows me, the child o' hell!'"

"Well, what next?" inquired Barton; "what's going to happen now?"

"The warrant's issued, and I expect Western will start to-morrow. Rather rot sending one man on a chase like that. Perhaps one of us will go from here with him, but I don't know; we're short-handed. One thing, Western knows that country."

"I think I shall go with him," said Barton. "I've got nothing much to do, and I left the horses and my black boy over there at the mine. You'll take me, won't you, Western?" he asked, as the latter came in and began to strip off the uniform he had worn all day in court.

"Glad to have you, my boy. Between us, we'll collar the *soor*. Don't let the Old Man know."

That evening Barton dined with Payne, the other lawyer of the little town. After dinner they sat in deck chairs on the veranda, smoking.

"You know, Payne, that nigger has got to hang. You'd understand how I feel about it better, perhaps if you'd seen that poor devil sitting in his blood and waiting for death in that lonely house, as I did. I promised him I'd see justice done, and—well, it comes to this; I mean to see the thing through. I'm not a bloodthirsty chap; but I should be ashamed not to do that."

Payne, who had listened attentively to the whole story, presently said, "Look here. If that chap's caught I shall most likely prosecute for the Crown, but I'll tell you straight—you won't repeat it, of course—there's no case to hang a dog on, let alone a black fellow. You and I *know* he did it; but as for evidence, my dear fellow, why, in spite of your ride to Golindie and all that, there's as much against you as against him. And, another thing (this is particuylarly confidential); I don't believe, whatever further evidence might be got, that government would wish a conviction pressed for. This country is run by the parsons and the press between 'em. No," he added, after a pause; "I'm not a betting man, but I'd lay you four to one in sovereigns that Long Charley *won't* hang. Not for this business, anyhow."

* * * * * *

Barton and Western had been traveling almost incessantly for ten days. At the outset, and upon the face of it, their task of finding their man in that wild country seemed to Barton, eager as he was, almost impossible. Actually, the task was no light one; Western was probably almost the only man in the whole country who could have undertaken it with any chance of success. Perhaps partly because he had spent several years in India while still very young, he had a remarkable faculty in acquiring languages, and he now had a considerable smattering of four or five among the many dialects spoken by the blacks between the Fanny and the sea. Along with, and by means of, this knowledge (rare among the white

residents of the country), he had learned a good deal about the native customs and intertribal relations. In that region there are tracts a few square miles in area, separated by frontiers, now natural, now imaginary, where the natives are so divided by differences of language and custom, and by their own mysterious laws, that they form practically separate nations.

At most times it was the custom of Long Charley (Ardnamurria, to give him his proper name) to disregard these frontiers and to wander at will, for his fame as a desperado, a slayer of white men, whose cunning had defeated the white men's law, endowed him with something of the immunity enjoyed by the "bad man" of farwestern America. Now, however Western thought it likely that he would avoid the territory of tribes timid but hostile, who might take advantage of his being "wanted" to rid themselves of a dreaded outlander. "Then again," said Western, "he's bound to keep away from the telegraph line and the road, indeed from the neighborhood of all settlements. He's about the best known black fellow in the whole country, and there are one or two places along the road where he's chary of showing his ugly mug at the best of times. While the news of this affair is fresh he won't go within miles of the road. Later on, if we miss him now, he'll be sending his lubra to hang round the Chinamen at Fir Creek or the Two-in-the-Bush to get opium or liquor for him, and I'll be on the lookout for her. For the next month or two, I reckon he'll either lie low in his own country, between the road and the river, or else make down the river, through the Telkina country, to where the coast blacks are. He went there after the massacre three years ago for a bit, with his mates Ninka and Wirriwanni."

Thus deciding which avenues were open to the offender, Western was able to make his plans and work the pursuit systematically. It was a long business, however, at best, and they owed much to a lucky accident. They happened one day upon traces of a camp beside the track, where it led through a gorge in a high range. The remains of the fire were unmistakably those of a black's fire, and "Mahdi," Western's black boy, who had been a government tracker in Central Australia, pounced upon specks of flour among the ashes. The party moved slowly after this, following the trail which, over the stony country, was visible only to Mahdi's eye. It was a good piece of tracking; once Barton became incredulous and thought Mahdi was "humbugging," as he said; but at a word from Western the tracker turned up a leaf of a bush and showed a grain or two of flour upon its under side. Once he found an empty tin that had held boiled mutton, half hidden in a tussock of grass. It had been jagged open with a spearpoint; part of a sack of flour and some tinned provisions were known to have been stolen by Hansen's murderer. Now and then, in a more favorable patch of country, Mahdi would cease his minute scrutiny and walk along ahead rapidly, reading the track as one skims at a glance the contents of a fairly written page.

The trail was now far away from the cleared track. It led across a tangle of limestone ridges, thickly covered with casuarinas and thorny scrub. The ground became more and more rocky and tracking more difficult. When it fell dark the party camped in a hollow, that their fire might not be seen. There was no

water except what they carried in their canvas bags, and they dared not bell the horses, so these were perforce tethered.

"See here," said Western, "that fire wasn't more than two days old. I'll tell you what's puzzling me. If Charley has been lying up somewhere, and got a move on him because he knew we were about, why on earth did he make that camp so near the track, where almost any one mighht spot it? If, on the other hand, he has been moving all the time, and doesn't know where we are, how is it he hasn't got farther away than this? He might have got right down to the river mouth by this time. Niggers are cranky devils, I know, but I can't see our friend waltzing round in this limestone country and wearing the skin off his elegant feet just for fun. What do you make of it?

Barton pandered, sluicing the dregs of his tea round and round in his pannikin. "Isn't it possible, he said at last, "that it may not be Charley's own track at all? I know the flour and the bully tin point his way, but there's his lubra, you know. Poor old George saw her, and she carried off the flour. Perhaps Charley left her behind."

"By George! Barton, you've hit it, I believe!" exclaimed the policeman. "In such country as we've had, it would be difficult to tell a lubra's track from a man's. Damned stupid of me, though, not to have thought of it. Well, it's my belief whoever made these tracks was bound for the river, by way of Mount Henry, and I'm inclined to push on at daylight for the flats at the foot of that range. It'll be hard lines if we can't pick up the tracks in the boggy ground, and if Emma's alone we may find her camped, and perhaps get some information: anyhow, she'll pay for watching. *Dekho,* Mahdi" (sometimes in speaking to blacks Western used Hindustani words). "Why, where's that boy got to?"

As he spoke Mahdi appeared. For reasons of his own, he had slipped away and done a little prospecting ahead.

"Western," said he, "I think it, this feller track belonga lubra. Me bin find 'm 'nother feller fire, find 'm this feller." He held out a small "dilly-bag" made of native string, such as lubras carry. In it was a tin match-box: Western opened this, and found a few matches and about an inch of tobacco.

"Aha!" cried Western, "you see it is the lady, and she isn't far away, either. This is a Kurandi bag; only a lubra would carry it, and Emma's a Kurandi woman. She's scared, or she would never have left her tobacco. On a dark night like this she won't go fifty yards if she can help it. Hullo! Hark!"

"Coo-oo!" a native cry, came from no great distance ahead, followed by a "Coo-ey," such as white men give.

"By the Lord!" cried the policeman, "that means she's here, and has spotted us, and wants to palaver!" "Yohai! Melbazna! It is peace!" he shouted in the Kurandi dialect, with a long outpouring of liquid polysyllables, chosen less for their precise meaning than to show knowledge of the tribe and friendly intention. In a few minutes the lubra appeared. She was a tall, thin, ill-favored woman, whose years had passed the twenty-five, or thereabout, which spell middle-age for her sex and race. One eye squinted so much that only a segment of the iris showed, with sinister effect. Naked, save for a kilt of faded red cotton cloth, she crouched trembling in the fire-light. She had some words of English, and with the occasional aid of Barton's

boy, Harry, it was not difficult for Western to question her. For half an hour or so the conversation, in Pidgin English and "Native," went on, and then Western turned to Barton.

"Well," said he, "Mrs. Ardnamurria is a pretty shady customer, and we must not build too much on what she says. I should trust her less than I do (and that's not much), only I know she rather liked George Hansen, and went to some trouble to give him the straight tip about L. C. He'd been hammering her then, and she says something about it now—possibly all humbug. The odds are she has been knocking about here lately to keep an eye on our movements and give him *khubar*. But she *may* be turning dog on him, and anyhow, we can't afford to miss a chance." He spoke a few words to Mahdi, and the tracker took Emma a short distance from the white men's fire to where the two blackboys were camped.

"Well, what does she say?" asked Barton.

"The main thing is, that Charley's camped at a place they call Wara Lunana, or Old Man Rocks, about 'two feller sleep' from here. I've heard of the place before, but it so happens I've never been to it. I think it's about twenty-eight miles northwest of Mount Waterton; that's about sixty from where we are now. As I say, Melbazna may be playing false, but it'll do us no harm to go there and see: it's not an unlikely story, either, and anyway, we'll hold on to her for the present. Mahdi and Harry will see that she doesn't bolt, and give her plenty of tucker. My idea is, to go on at daylight to the Big Billabong and give the horses a drink and a spell, then for you and me and Emma to take the three best horses (she can ride) and push on to the place, leaving the boys to follow when the horses have rested a few hours. If we find His Nibs, we can make Westport in a day from there; if not, we shall be no worse off than we are, and it'll be a good place to camp for a day or two."

"All right," said Barton; "I'm on. Just think; we may have the brute in irons by this time to-morrow!"

They rolled under their mosquito-curtains, and were soon asleep.

. . . . . .

The Old Man Rocks stand near the edge of a winding, stony, flat-bottomed gully, divided by a serrated range of rocky hills from the basin of the Green River. They cover an area about half a mile in length by a third of that in width. Their appearance is such that from a little distance the traveller might easily believe that he had happened upon the time-defying ruins of some ancient abandoned city, for many of the rugged fragments are of the bigness of an ordinary house, and here and there a pinnacle shoots up to a height of seventy or eighty feet. The color of the rock, where it is not hidden by creepers, is that of the masonry of some age-old Norman castle, and some of the crags have the form of rude and massive arches. A thousand years before the first white man set foot on Australian land, this gully was the channel of the river; the rocks were carved by millions of tons of swirling water, ages before they were seen of any human eye.

Where Nature had hollowed a cave in one of the largest masses of grey stone, Ardnamurria had made his refuge. The place was well chosen, for, though distant only a long day's ride from the small settlement of Westport, it was difficult of access and far removed from any beaten track. The chamber in the rock was

entered by a narrow opening, and the smoke, when a fire was necessary, escaped through tortuous fissures, overgrown and hidden by a great banyan tree. In the cave were the remnants of the plunder of the house at the copper-mine,—a few tins of food, flour, some matches and tobacco. Four or five spears, with a womera or throwing stick, lay upon the floor near the almost extinct fire, and a heap of dry sticks for burning occupied a corner. Beside the spears lay George Hansen's revolver.

The Australian aborigine has an almost unlimited capacity for sleep. The tenant of the cave had spent most of the day in slumber; the coolness of the air now warned him that the sun was low, and he arose from his stolen blanket, yawned, and stretched himself. The murderer of George Hansen was well over six feet in height; his shoulders, chest, and arms well formed and muscular. Like all his race, he was "too fine" below the waist; his hips were small and narrow, and his legs, inordinately long above the knee, were, though serviceable enough, as he had often proved, almost absurdly slender. Still, as he stood there, naked save for a leather belt (his victim's) round his middle, he was no bad specimen of a savage. His head was covered with an artificial mop of hair made by plastering tufts from the heads of dead friends or enemies to his natural locks with the wax of wild bees. The face was not ill-moulded; a scanty coarse moustache drooped to the pointed chin. Rows of long scars, the seams of cuts prevented from healing smooth by the introduction of ashes under the skin, decorated his body, which was smeared, besides, with a reddish, greasy earth. A cut on one foot made him slightly lame.

There was no water-holding vessel in the cave larger than the empty tins that strewed the floor. Picking up one of these and a spear, Ardnamurria prepared to fetch water from the tiny native well about a hundred yards to the north of the cave. After a reconnoitering glance from the opening, he emerged and swung himself down to the ground by means of the roots of the banyan.

. . . . . .

The sun was near setting, and the violet shadows of the rocks were lengthening, when Barton, Western, and the lubra dismounted and tethered their horses in a clump of the jungle about half a mile from the Old Man Rocks. It was the second day after Melbazna's appearance. The lubra had spent a year or so of her youth on a cattle-station, and was no novice on horseback.

"Allow me, madam!" said Western, with a mock bow, as he took the rein of the horse Melbazna had ridden. But he spoke almost below his breath, not being sure how near they were to their quarry. Few words were said as the three began cautiously to advance on foot through the scrub that fringed the gully; their tactics had been decided on during the journey, and impressed upon the lubra by frequent repetition. "Your legs are longer than mine," Western had said to Barton; "you keep your eye on her ladyship. Remember, if she once gets out of your sight she'll vanish like a lovely dream, for good and all, so, if she bolts, you leg it after her."

They came within fifty yards of the cave, and Emma pointed to the entrance and the means of reaching it. Western, who had a quick eye, suddenly dragged Barton into a crouching posture and whispered, "I saw him, down there to the left front, bending down. I expect he's

getting water. There are rocks on two sides of him; it's a straight run-in. Never mind Emma now. It's an eighty yard's sprint from the edge of the scrub."

The lubra (whose sight was probably defective owing to her squint) had not seen Ardnamurria, and was now scrambling up to the opening of the cave. In the few seconds of the white men's crouching advance through the last of the low scrub bushes, she entered the cave and came out again. As they started to run toward the well, she leapt to the ground and followed them, running like a deer. Hansen's revolver was in her hand.

The well was at the apex of two converging walls of rock. As Western had said, Ardnamurria had rocks on two sides of him. To reach the water he had almost to lie down. At the instance of his rising erect he heard a cry from the lubra, and turning swiftly, saw the two white men running at full speed towards him. Flight was impossible. He poised his spear: as he did so a shot rang out, and Western dropped with a bullet through his thigh, the impulse of his speed driving him forward as he fell. Barton checked neither for the shot nor for Western's grunted oath, but ran on. As the spear flew from Ardnamurria's hand within its own length of Barton's face, Emma, behind him, leaped over Western's prone body; Barton ducked his head like a pugilist, and as the lubra opened her mouth in another shriek the spear passed between her lips and severed the main arteries of the neck. She fell, spouting blood, and Barton was at grips with her slayer.

Ardnamurria was now unarmed, and Barton had never unbutted the pouch of his revolver. It was man against man. Their wrestling was of the primitive unpremeditated sort that Nature teaches when life and death wait upon the issue; for in the mind of the savage surrender is mere suicide, and Barton knew that his adversary would kill him if he could. Round and round they whirled, stamping and straining. The only sure grip of the writhing naked body was afforded by the belt, and Barton's left hand never loosed it. The long black arms were whirling, the fingers working like a panther's claws. Barton's shirt was in bloody ribbons. His booted heel trampled the murderer's wounded foot. There was a yell, and the butted head came at his face like a cannon-ball; his teeth jarred; filthy hair ground into his eyes and mouth. . . . He swung his right, and his soul drove the fist hammerwise upon the angle of the black fellow's jaw. As the blow crashed home he flung his whole weight forward, risking a fall. . . . . Ardnamurria was below him. He shifted his grip to the throat, and dropped with his knees upon the black fellow's body. In a minute more he had turned the prisoner on his face and secured his arms with his belt. Western flung him a pair of handcuffs, and he fastened these upon the ankles.

Western was sitting up nursing the revolver which he had taken from the dying hand of Melbazna. "Played, sir; played indeed!" said he, and fainted.

. . . . . .

The moon had risen. Western, with his wound bandaged as well as Barton could do it with strips of clothing and a handkerchief tourniquet, was reclining with his back against the rock. Barton had made tea in the quart-pots, and they had shared a meal of biscuits from their saddle-bags and one of the tins found in the cave. The intermittent chime

of a bell came from where the hobbled horses browsed beyond the belt of scrub. Barton had just returned from giving a drink to the prisoner, who lay with his feet handcuffed to a stout sapling.

"I feel all right now, thanks, old chap," said Western. "No pain lying like this. I must have lost 'whips' of blood, though as poor old George would have said. You know, one can't blame the old girl much: after all, he was her man. I'd like to know just when she made up her mind to round on us. I don't believe she thought of it till she saw the revolver. She might have sung out before, and His Nibs would have legged it, and with the mokes half a mile away we should have stood a poor show. First time I ever heard of a lubra shooting! Perhaps she didn't know it would shoot more than the once. Well, she's paid for her double treachery, and we'll call it square."

"When d'you expect the boys?" asked Barton. "I don't feel keen on digging a grave at this time of night."

"By Jove! I should think not," replied Western. "Leave that till the morning, at any rate. Oh, they'll turn up somewhere about midday. But if I feel as fit in the morning as I do now, and can climb on to old Moses's back, I don't think we'll wait for them. The sooner we get this joker off our hands the better I shall be pleased."

"Well, I suppose we can send some one out from Westport to bury Emma."

"As to that, when we've wired to Peddlington most likely the Old Man will decide to have an inquest, and then we shall have to send a wagon out for her. By the bye, I expect they'll try Charley for this job, as well as the other; and there's no doubt about convicting in this. Pity it isn't a hanging business. Because you dodged and the spear hit a person it wasn't meant for, the charge will be only 'attempted murder,' so they can't hang him. 'The law is a hass,' isn't it?"

Barton said nothing in reply, and stood for five minutes meditatively gazing at the fire while he cut up a pipeful of tobacco, and loaded his pipe. Then he cleared his throat and said:

"He's got to hang, anyway."

The tone made Western look up. "What do you mean, old man?" he asked. "If you mean he deserves it, I'm with you. The *badmash* ought to have swung years ago." (Long Charley had been sentenced to death and escaped by a legal flaw.) "But that's no business of ours."

In the firelight, as he stood in his ragged shirt, with his moustache matted into a cut on his cheek, Barton looked very big and grave. "It is my business, Western," said he. "I saw George Hansen die, and I—well, I as good as promised I'd see justice done. Payne told me—I know it's practically certain he'll get off. And now the only eyewitness lies there dead. Let me take him away and hang him now."

Western, looking up into the grave face, seemed to himself to be in a kind of dream. "There's the stolen property," he said musingly; "the revolver, and all that; * * * to be sure, I daresay Scanlan will make out that I planted it. * * *" He raised his voice, "You're not serious, are you?" he asked sharply.

"Indeed I am," replied Barton, "It's got to be done, and I'm going to do it." He spoke altogether without excitement.

Western laughed on a single short note. "Get out! my dear chap, what

are you talking about? Hang my prisoner?"

"He's mine," put in Barton, quietly.

"Oh, is that it? Well, he *was* yours—you're right there; you collared him, and devilish well you did it, and I thank you, Barton, and I'll take care you get credit for it. But he's mine now, and don't you touch a hair of him. This isn't Arizona, sonny; it's the good old British Empire, every time! And I'm in charge, Mr. Barton."

Barton lay down and put his head on his upturned saddle, with his back toward the policeman. "Look here, old man," he said, kindly, "don't you worry yourself and get excited. Go to sleep."

"Sleep be hanged!" retorted the angry little man. "Never heard such damned nonsense in my life! Hang him, indeed! Barton, I warn you! I'll do my little best to hang *you*, if you try any tricks. Mind that, now!"

Barton was silent.

"I wouldn't have believed it of you, Barton—by God! I wouldn't! Did you think that because I—because I'm not in love with this blasted police business, I'd sit by and see murder done? * * * Murder! Cold-blooded, deliberate, common or garden murder! * * * Can't you hear, you bloodthirsty beast? * * *"

Western's objurgations went on for some time, but his voice was growing weak, and in spite of his indignation the exhaustion caused by his wound mastered him at length, and he fell asleep.

The smoke had ceased to ascend from Barton's pipe, but he had never been more wakeful. From time to time he threw an alert glance at the chained black feet on either side of the sapling. The fire had burned low, and the moon was not far from her setting when he rose. Western was peacefully sleeping, and Barton moved cautiously not to awake him.

Western had served as an officer of mounted volunteers in some little frontier war in India, and it was a fad of his to carry a coiled and pipe-clayed picket-rope on his bridle. Barton detached the swivel and put the rope in the breast of his shirt. He walked over to the sapling and stirred up the sleeping prisoner, making signs for silence. In a minute or two the handcuffs were transferred from ankles to wrists. Ardnamurria made no resistance or attempt to escape. He was sullen, and, even in thought, he probably asked no question concerning the purposes that moved in the mysterious mind of the white man. He had fed and he had slept.

They moved away, and presently disappeared among the shadows of the rocks.

* * * * * * *

In the gray light of dawn Barton again approached the fire, alone. He walked slowly, with bent head, and eyes fixed upon the stony ground. For a few minutes he stood looking down at Western's quiet sleeping face. Then he began to rake together the ashes of the fire—the act that signifies, for the bushman, that a new day has begun. He filled the quart-pots and set them on.

It was a little lighter when Western opened his eyes, smiled, frowned, and tried to sit up. As he sank back against the saddle that had formed his pillow, his eyes again rested upon Barton's face; its expression would have told a less imaginative beholder that something had happened. The policeman flung himself round, gave one glance towards the sapling, saw no prisoner, and with a white face again sank back, clicking his teeth on a groan. "What the * * *"

"I've done it," said Barton, hoarsely.

"For God's sake, don't play the fool. Has he got away?"

"He's dead," answered Barton, quietly; " I hanged him."

Western stared at him, the blood coming slowly back into his face, and belief into his mind. He had known Barton for three years; though they had met only at wide intervals, they were friends. They had tastes in common: tacitly each recognized in the other a man of his own caste. And now they had lived and worked together for a space, had shared the little hardships and adventures of the bush, had been dependent upon each other for the intercourse which keeps men civilized. As a climax, they had shared danger. Western shut his eyes and reviewed the situation.

"You are my prisoner, Barton," he said at last.

Barton nodded. There was silence. The prisoner made the tea and cut open another tin of meat. The wounded man drank, but did not touch the food. The sun came up. Presently Barton moved in the direction of the creek.

"Stop!" cried the trooper; "where are you going?"

"Going for a wash," replied the prisoner.

"Not out of my sight," ordered Western. "Go and sit down under the sapling there." He was fingering his revolver.

Barton looked at him for a moment. "All right, Western," he said. "Don't fidget with that pistol—we want no more shooting. If you want another," he added, slipping the holster off his belt and lying it by the other's hand, "there's mine." He walked over to the sapling and sat down obediently.

This attitude of complete surrender had no mollifying effect upon the man propped against the rock. His helplessness (though he strove to ignore it) and his uncertainty of how he ought to act were conspiring, with the pain and other effects of his wound, and his naturally irritable temper, to work him into a fever. He began to reckon the time at which the blackboys ought to arrive. "With any luck," said he to himself, "they might be here at ten * * *"

He had to admit to himself that if he delayed his departure too long he might be unable to reach Westport at all, but he refused to contemplate the impossibility of mounting his horse unaided. "I'll give them till half past," he muttered. * * *

The bells of the horses were still occasionally audible; they had found a patch of good feed by the creek.

Barton had covered up the corpse of the lubra with some bushes.

At last Western looked at his watch, and found that the hour had come. He made a valiant effort to rise, but it was useless. Sweating with pain, he remained balanced on one knee, the wounded leg stretched out. Barton was beside him in a moment.

"Fetch up the horses," growled Western, unwillingly; "I'm going to start. That'll do! Let me alone!" he added, as the prisoner, with the gentleness of a nurse, lowered him to an easier position.

In half an hour Barton had the horses saddled and ready. Fortunately Western's horse, Moses, a gray who, like so many good Australian horses, showed evidence of the great Godolphin strain both in form and manners, was quiet and had easy paces. The wounded man was obliged to allow himself to be lifted into the saddle; once mounted, he made a shift to ride, leaning most of the time with his arms on the gray's neck. He insisted upon Barton show-

ing him where the corpse of the murderer swung horribly from the limb of a white-stemmed eucalyptus, the feet a few inches from the ground. At the sight Western's anger broke out anew, and he bitterly reproached the self-appointed executioner.

"You must needs take my picket-rope, too!" said he. "Well, there's no time to cut him down and bury him. Get on ahead! * * * Of all the infernal, cold-blooded—— * * * Get on, get on, can't you! * * * Oh, I'm all right; I don't want your help!"

Their course lay something to the east of north. In about a couple of hours they struck an old track, where heavy wagons with machinery had passed two years before on the road to a tin-mine, since abandoned. After this, the way was easy enough to find.

Western grew weaker fast. Once the bleeding broke out afresh, and Barton had to lift him down and renew the bandaging. He swore horribly at the delay, at the pain, at Barton, at his horse. Barton was soon obliged to hold the trooper's rein. The third horse, accustomed to carrying a pack, followed them without leading. They plodded on through the hot afternoon. Barton was extraordinarily patient and gentle; once only did he utter any remonstrance, and then he appeared to be ashamed of his impatience a moment later. Western was querulously repeating his previous words about "cold-blooded murder." "Look here, Western," the prisoner broke out, "you've got me; that is enough. For God's sake, drop it!"

A minute later he had dismounted and was walking beside Western's horse supporting the almost fainting man in the saddle. And something, whether the words or the renewed contact or some obscure process in the mind of the trooper, seemed from that moment to open the latter's eyes to another view of the situation. He suddenly said, "I wish some one else had this job!" and there was a difference in the look with which he returned Barton's anxious glances. There were no more reproaches.

Western was half delirious at intervals as they drew near the outskirts of the township. Of the half-score of houses, the first they came to was the store. Morris, the proprietor, stepped off his verandah as they came up. It was enough for him that here was a sick man; he helped Barton to lift the policeman from his horse, and in a few minutes they had him laid upon a comfortable bed. Morris's daughter, a wild barefooted lass, bred in the country, began to busy herself about the invalid. The first words he said were:

"I want to send a telegram. Where's Spencer?"

"You can send a wire," said Morris, laying forms and writing materials upon the table; "but Spencer's away—looking for Long Charley, I expect."

Spencer was the police officer of the place. Barton took the pen and wrote:

"To Police, Peddlington. Urgent. Long Charley arrested, now dead. I am here, wounded. Please send medical assistance, also man to take charge of Barton, European, arrested for murder of Charley. Spencer absent."

The prisoner held this up before the policeman's eyes. He nodded, and signed the message with a pencil. "I'll take it," said the prisoner.

It was less than a quarter of a mile to the telegraph station. Barton had reached the gate with the fateful paper in his hand before the thought struck him that he was car-

rying what might be his own death warrant.

He stood still for a moment, then saying to himself, "I told Western I would," he walked into the office and paid for the dispatch of the message. The operator was a stranger to him, and probably thought he was in the police.

Night had now fallen. Barton returned to the store and purchased a blanket, a mosquito net, three or four tins of meat, and some biscuits. Under the curious eye of Morris, he bestowed these things in his saddle-bags and on his saddle. Western, it appeared, was now comfortably asleep. In the yard behind the store, Barton put his saddle on the spare horse (which was his), and taking the rein of the other in his hand, he mounted and rode away into the dark. — *Ernest Dawson, in Blackwood's Magazine.*

O'ER THE SEA, MANILA WAY.

By the curved Luneta seawall facing outward from the lea
There's a dark-eyed maiden waiting, and I know she thinks of me;
For a transport's in the harbor, and she sighs as she would say,
Come, my 'Mericano soldier; come you back Manila way.
Come you back Manila way,
Where the fleet at anchor lay.
Don't you see the lights a twinklin'
From Cavité, 'cross the bay?
From Cavité, 'cross the bay,
Where the Admiral that day
Interviewed the Spanish warships—
O, historic first of May!

Her tunico was scarlet, and her little feet were bare,
And she wore a blossom yellow in her jet-black silken hair;
And off her shoulders dimpled fell her 'kerchief fine and gay,
Of pina cloth embroidered, that cost dollars of our pay—
Dollars that we blew away,
Light as thistledown in May.
What to us was our dinero? Fifteen per is princely pay,
O'er the sea, Manila way.

When the moon rose o'er the rice fields and the palm leaves wooed the breeze,
And the Southern Cross gleamed bright on high, and the fireflies lit the trees,
With the perfume of the Ylang-Ylang like the breath from heaven above,
She'd sit and croon a little song of Filipino love—
Croon a song of dreamy love—
La Paloma, woodland dove.
And her eyes, 'neath low-drooped lashes, softly told me of the love
That was mine, Manila way.

But that is all forgotten; I'm a soldier now no more;
We're mustered out and home again from that distant tropic shore.
I change my clothing reg'lar, and draw seconds on my pie.
And always, when it ain't too strong, I back a comrade's lie—
O we sometimes have to lie—
Regulations don't deny
That blest privilege to the hero who has missed his chance to die
O'er the sea, Manila way.

I'm tired of Western smelters and I'm sick of beastly mines;
I've had a taste of Orient life, and this other is hard lines.
We boast of being civilized and cultured up to date.

But the man who says he likes it
doesn't know the other state.
Free and happy other state
With no worry, hurry, hate;
Where mañana is for business and all
business has to wait
Till it comes Manila way.

Take me back to old Manila, with its
fern-clad walls and moat;
Give me fifteen per and rations, cart-
ridge belt, and rubber coat.
There are worse things than the serv-
ice if you're stationed in a land
Where your sweetheart always loves
you
And the air is soft and bland—
Yes the air is soft and bland,
And at night by sea breeze
fanned.
Life is one long Indian summer—if
your head-net works as planned
For mosquitoes close at hand.

R. K. Beere.—*N. Y. Post.*

Choosing a career for young men to follow has always been a matter of interest and importance to parents as well as to the young men themselves. As the great majority of young men entering business life have little to invest except their brains and enthusiasm, the question has always been: What business can be entered with the greatest prospect for future success, requiring the investment of little or no capital at the beginning? United States Senator John F. Dryden, of New Jersey, one of the most prominent and successful business men of the country, and the man who first introduced industrial life insurance into the United States, has written an interesting and timely article on the opportunities which life insurance offers as a career for men starting in business. The article has been printed in a handsome little brochure by The Prudential Insurance Company of America, of which Senator Dryden is the president, and as that company gives employment to more than 20,000 people, Senator Dryden can be said to speak with authority. An important thought in reading Senator Dryden's article is that his remarks apply with the same force to all.

CAPTAIN JAMES EVELYN PILCHER U. S. ARMY.

Military surgeon; was born in Adrian, Mich., March 18, 1857; son of Elijah Holmes Pilcher; was graduated A. B. from Michigan University in 1879, and M. D. from the Long Island College Hospital in 1880; received the degrees of A. M. and Ph.D. from Illinois Wesleyan University in 1887, and L. H. D. from Allegheny College in 1902. Immediately upon his graduation in medicine he became managing editor of the Annals of Anatomy and Surgery, of Brooklyn, N. Y., which position he retained until 1883, when he entered the medical department of the U. S. Army as an assistant surgeon, and passing through the grades of lieutenant and captain in the regular service and major and brigade surgeon in the volunteer service, was retired for disability incurred in the line of duty in 1900. During this period he experienced considerable active service in the field against the Sioux, Crow and Cheyenne Indians and against Mexican insurrectos; was the author of the first system of drill for the United States Army Hospital Corps, published in the United States, and his work on "First Aid in Illness and Injury," the first edition of which was issued in 1892, has maintained its position as the principal text-book for instruction of the hospital corps from its publication to the present time. In 1896 he was appointed assistant secretary of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States, becoming secretary and editor in 1897—a position which, with an interval of two years, he has held to the present time; established the journal of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States as a quarterly in 1901, and as a monthly in 1902; was surgeon of one of the first regiments of the army to be ordered South at the opening of the Spanish-American War, and served in that capacity at Mobile and at Tampa, going thence to Jacksonville as chief surgeon of the forces under Major-General Lawton. When these forces were formed into the Seventh Army Corps, under the command of Major General Fitzhugh Lee, he remained with them in the capacity of executive and medical supply officer until the fall of 1899, when he was detached and placed in command of the Army Medical Supply Depot, established at Savannah, Ga.,—a duty which occupied his attention until failing health required

him to relinquish active service. In addition to this service as military surgeon, he from time to time occupied the chairs of military surgery in the Ohio Medical University, Starling Medical College and Creighton Medical College; also for a time acted as professor of sociology and political economy in Dickinson College and also as professor of medical jurisprudence in Dickinson School of Law. Besides his book on "First Aid in Illness and Injury," which has passed through numerous editions, he is the author of the "Life and Labors of Elijah H. Pilcher," the "Columbus Book of Military Surgeons," the "Seal and Arms of Pennsylvania," and "The Surgeon Generals of the U. S. Army," in addition to many articles in the medical and general press, among which may be noted an illustrated article in *Scribner's Magazine* entitled "A New Field of Honor," articles on the "Transportation of the Disabled," published by the Military Service Institution and in the Reference Handbook of Medical Science, the "Building of the Soldier" and "The Place of Physical Training in the Military Service"; valuable articles relating to the history of surgery—the "Annals and Achievements of American Surgery," "Chauliac and Mondeville," "Mundinus and the Anatomy of the Middle Ages," and a number of popular articles, among which may be mentioned "Outlawry on the Mexican Border," "One Sioux Dance," etc.

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SEPTEMBER, 1904.

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

FOURTH PAPER.

THE OPERATIONS (CONTINUED).

IN the preceding chapter the operations by sea and land, up to the middle of March, were presented in outline, but the available data did not permit of a clear account of all the movements of the land forces either on the Russian or the Japanese side. Nevertheless, the general trend of the operations was indicated.

GENERAL SITUATION ON LAND.

Japanese Army.—Towards the end of March the Japanese had only landed the First Army in Corea, and even this was not complete, since it lacked the First Cavalry Brigade and the Artillery Reserve. The Second Army had been reported as mobilizing for a month past, but its arrival in Corea was delayed, probably on account of the Russian *fleet in being* at Port Arthur, since this Second Army was apparently destined to land in the Liaotung Peninsula, in too dangerous proximity (for its transports) to the Russian warships.

The First Army, under the command of General Kuroki, secured possession of Corea as a line of communication, as a line of retreat in case of reverses, and as an object to be considered in the treaty of peace. Incidentally, of course, the position in Corea also afforded a base for an advance into Manchuria.

The First Army had been advancing slowly along the main road from Seoul to Wiju ever since the beginning of March; on the 7th its advanced cavalry patrols had reached the Cheng-Cheng River (on which Anju is situated), on the 17th its advanced infantry had intrenched itself on the left bank of that stream, on the 18th Pakchen (20 miles west of Anju) had been occupied, and on the 19th Yong-pyang, north of the Cheng-Cheng.

At the end of March, therefore, the main body of the Japanese *First Army* was assembled at Ping-Yang, while its strong advance-guard (a division) had secured the passages over the Cheng-Cheng and the Pakchen rivers. This advanced position also covered the road coming from Gensan and Port Lazaref on the east coast of Corea.

Russian Army.—The order for the mobilization of the troops in the territories of the Far East was issued on February 9th, and on the following day that of the troops in Siberia and in the European districts of Perm and Viatka was authorized; and at the same time the formation of the III Siberian army corps (to be composed of the 3d, 4th and 9th Brigades of Rifles, with their artillery, the Brigade of Trans-Baikal Cossacks and the 3d Battalion East Siberian Engineers) was ordered.

The I, II and III Siberian army corps and the First Infantry Division (composed of four reserve regiments mobolized in the Trans-Baikal) were to constitute the *Army of Manchuria.*

On February 16 the formation of the IV army corps was authorized. This was raised in European Russia from the troops which had been destined to raise the regiments of Rifles of Eastern Siberia to *three* battalions.

Leaving out of consideration the troops necessary to garrison the forts and depots, those required to protect the East China railway against bandits, the 7th and 8th Brigades of Rifles (which were placed under the orders of the commanders of Port Arthur and Vladivostok), and certain Cossack troops of the third ban, the army of Manchuria comprised:

INFANTRY.

	Men.
7 Brigades of Rifles	84,000
2 Brigades of Infantry (sent from Europe last year)	16,000
3 Divisions of Infantry (reserve of Siberia)	48,000
3 Battalions Cossacks (second and third ban)	3,000
Total	151,000

CAVALRY.

1 Regiment Dragoons (Maritime District)	900
9 Regiments Trans-Baikal Cossacks	8,100
4 Regiments Siberian Cossacks	3,600
1 Regiment Ussuri Cossacks	900
1½ Regiment Amur Cossacks	1,350
Total	14,850

ARTILLERY.

Total	272 guns.

ENGINEERS.

	Men.
3 Battalions East Siberia	3,000
Grand Total, about	170,000

These troops were organized as explained above, and the principal units were commanded as follows:

Commander-in-Chief of the Land and Sea Forces, Admiral Alexieff.
Army of Manchuria.....General Kouropatkin.
I Army Corps.....Lieutenant-General Sacharoff.
II Army Corps.....Lieutenant-General Zasonlitch.
III Army Corps.....Lieutenant-General Stessel.
IV Army Corps.....Lieutenant-General Saronbaeff.
Division of Siberian Cossacks.....Major-General Simonoff.
Division of Trans-Baikal Cossacks..Maj.-Gen'l Rennenkampf.
Port Arthur ..... Lieutenant-General Simonoff.
Vladivostok.....Major-General Voronej.
Pacific Fleet.....Vice-Admiral Makaroff.

The oldest of these were Admiral Alexieff (who was 61) and the commander of the IV Corps (who was 60); the others were all between 50 and 56.

As before stated the Russians had planned to effect their first concentration behind the Yalu, which was occupied by their outposts as a defensive line, but subsequent events compelled a change of plan.

The Russian cavalry had advanced by the end of February in large units as far as Auju, while the patrols reached Ping-Yang. In face of the Japanese advance, however, these troops, while retaining

touch with the latter, had retired, avoiding contact with the enemy. Later, however, stronger bodies had been sent out again to oppose the Japanese advance. Thus, on March 20, a body of 200 Cossacks was ordered to prevent the passage of three Japanese squadrons over the Pakchen River, and compelled the latter to retire; again, on March 23, two sotnias were ordered out to determine how many Japanese troops had crossed the Cheng-Cheng, and these, after finding that Pakchen was occupied by two companies and three squadrons, were forced to retire; finally, on March 28th, 5 sotnias were advanced to Cheng-ju, which had been reported as occupied by the Japanese, and met these 5 companies and 4 squadrons, and after an engagement lasting 1½ hours, were forced to retire.

The Russian army at that time was divided into five groups:

1. A line of outposts on the Yalu, to delay the Japanese advance.
2. A force concentrated at Liao-Yang (the point first selected for the concentration of the army), on a line extending to Haicheng, to support the Yalu line.
3. A force assembled at Newchwang, to guard against a landing in the Gulf of Pechili, and to fortify Newchwang, which was becoming free from ice.
4. A force on the Tumen to cover the left flank of the line on the Yalu, and to prevent an invasion of Manchuria in the east.
5. A reserve at Harbin (or Kharbin), where the later concentration was being effected, awaiting development of the Japanese plan of operation.

This was the general situation towards the end of March. Meanwhile, General Kouropatkin arrived on the theatre of war and assumed command of the Russian field army.

Finding it impossible or dangerous to attempt to hold Korea in view of the risk of attack upon their communications, the Russians, after the engagement at Cheng-ju on March 28th, retired to the Yalu, while the Japanese advanced upon the river. General Kuroki's army was thus brought into a position to attempt to force the Yalu whenever and wherever he might choose to strike, but it would seem that, having secured the necessary strategic position, he waited for the second Japanese mobilization before making the decisive move. In the meantime, the Japanese and Russian outposts had been constantly in touch along the line of the Cheng-Cheng river, but, as a rule, they had not come into serious conflict. The weather was improving rapidly, and the Japanese were repairing the roads.

EIGHTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(March 22, 1904.)

After the attack on Port Arthur, on March 10, the Russian fleet under Admiral Makaroff, left Port Arthur on March 12, to drive back the Japanese cruiser scouts. The Japanese main squadron was not met, and after exchanging some twenty or thirty shots with the Japanese cruisers on the 13th, Admiral Makaroff retired to Port Arthur.

On March 16, the Russian destroyer Skori, while entering the harbor at Port Arthur, struck a mine and was blown up.

The Japanese main squadron had retired to Sassebo for repairs, and thither Admiral Kamimura after his unsuccessful reconnaissance of Vladivostok had also repaired. The two squadrons were again united, and once more advanced on March 19, to attack Port Arthur.

In the fight of March 21-22, two divisions of destroyers were outside of Port Arthur. At 2 A. M. the most advanced division (composed of two destroyers) was sighted by the batteries and the two gunboats (Bobr and Otvajny) on duty as guard-ships in the roads, and taken under fire. The destroyers retired, but were under fire for about twenty minutes.

At 4 A. M. the other division (composed of the destroyers) advanced to the roadstead, but was also driven back by gun fire.

At 6.30 A.M. the Japanese main squadron came in sight, off Port Arthur, four dispatch-boats leading, formed in three divisions of six ships each (one of battleships and two of cruisers), with eight torpedo boats. At 9 A. M. the fleet divided, the battleships and torpedo boats moving toward a point between Cape Liautishan and Pigeon Bay, one cruiser division remaining south of the harbor entrance, and the other south-east, at considerable distance. Two of the battleships (the Fuji and the Yashiva) received orders to bombard the inner harbor by indirect fire over the hills of Cape Liautishan.

This time the Russians appeared to be prepared for indirect fire themselves, however, and the Retvizan at 9.20 A. M. opened on the two battleships, her shots falling all around the Fuji, but without hitting her. The Japanese battleships opened fire at 9.40 A. M. meanwhile, the Russian ships—one at a time, on account of the narrowness of the channel—left the inner harbor and formed a line of battle in the roads. Five cruisers and battleships and four torpedo boats constituted the Russian force.

The Japanese battleships fired 100 projectiles at Port Arthur and 108 against the forts. At 11 A. M. the fire diminished in force, and the Japanese fleet began to assemble, and at 12.30 A. M. it retired.

The damage to both sides was insignificant.

The Russians again did not pursue the Japanese fleet, although the Retvizan and the Pallada (injured in the first torpedo attack) had meanwhile been repaired and made fit for service again. On the 26th Admiral Makaroff took the entire squadron out to sea, but merely for the purpose of reconnoitering some islands in the vicinity. On the way a Japanese merchant steamer was taken and sunk. In the evening the squadron returned to Port Arthur.

NINTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(March 27, 1904.)

The Japanese fleet made another attempt to close the entrance to Port Arthur on the night of March 26-27.

At 2 A. M., March 27, after the moon had set, six Japanese torpedo boats with four merchant steamers, arranged to be readily blown up, appeared in the roads of Port Arthur. The torpedo boats preceded the steamers to show them the way and to bring them to their proper places; the steamers were armed with light 3.7 cm. (1.45 in.) Hotchkiss guns, in order to enable them to protect themselves against small vessels, and each had a boat for the crew to escape in. They were filled with explosives and had electrical apparatus for their explosion. They were about 2,000 tons burden, and comparatively new.

At a considerable distance behind the steamers followed the cruisers of the main squadron, which attempted to attract the attention of the defender to themselves by firing on the works. The mechantmen, however, were discovered at 2.15 A. M. by the guard ships Bobr and Otvajny, and fired on the batteries. The guard torpedo boat Silny rushed out at the leading merchantman and struck her with a torpedo, sinking her in the bay. The two steamers immediately following sheered to starboard and ran on the beach under the Golden Hill, while the hindmost steamer went to port and struck on the wreck of one of the Japanese vessels stranded there in the first attempt to block the harbor.

The torpedo boat Silny, which made the successful attack on the leading merchant ship, was fiercely attacked by several of the Japanese convoying torpedo boats, and was considerably cut up. She was rendered unmanageable and drove on the beach under the Golden

Hill, but was repaired and able to return to the harbor by the following morning.

At 5 A. M. the Japanese torpedo boats again came within range, and were fired on by the shore batteries for a short time.

At 6 A. M. the Japanese squadron came into view, upon which the Russian ships left the inner harbor and formed in line in the roadstead. Several batteries opened fire, but soon gave this up as the range was too great.

The Russian squadron, as soon as it had completed its formation, advanced against the Japanese. The leading cruisers Bayan, Novik and Askold came within range of the Japanese squadron and fired a few shots, but the latter retired to the south-eastward out of range, and by 10 A. M. was out of sight. Admiral Makaroff returned to the harbor. In the roadstead a large torpedo was found and rendered inactive.

This attack on Port Arthur indicated the extreme importance attached by the Japanese to the closing of the place (or to the destruction of the Russian fleet), and also showed that they were not yet in a position to make a *decisive* attack on it. The Russian *fleet in being* confined as it had been to comparative inaction, was nevertheless a constant menace to the Japanese transports, and after the arrival of Admiral Makaroff, who changed the passive tactics of the fleet to one of greater activity, this danger was all the more evident. The Japanese landing operations were thus delayed, and every delay was advantageous to Russia; indeed, if the Russian fleet, although inferior to the Japanese, were able to delay the Japanese invasion of Manchuria sufficiently long to enable Russia to bring superior forces to the theatre of war, it would have served its purpose. The new activity of the Russian destroyers subjected Admiral Togo's fleet to great danger, since, under cover of fog or darkness, severe loss could have been inflicted on his force, especially as his projected operations at that time were getting closer and closer to Port Arthur.

The losses of the Japanese navy, up to the end of March, according to the official reports, were 14 killed, 9 died of wounds, 91 wounded (40 of whom had recovered).

The Russian losses were not reported officially.

The successive attempts of the Japanese to block the harbor of Port Arthur had not been successful, consequently the landing of the Second Army had been postponed. As before stated, the most effective landing place would have been Newchwang, since it would afford the nearest approach to Liao-Yang, where General Kouropat-

kin had arrived, and was effecting an advanced concentration of Russian troops, and would threaten the Russian position on the Yalu and command the road leading from Newchwang over the Motienling Pass to the mouth of the Yalu, besides cutting the railroad to Port Arthur.

The Liao River and the harbor at Newchwang were at that time free from ice. The channel had been ruined by the Russians and a state of siege established.

The operations of the Japanese on the Yalu, therefore, would have been greatly facilitated if the Japanese could have effected a landing at Newchwang and sent a force from that point to attack the Russian right and rear, at the same time that the frontal attack was being delivered on the Yalu.

The ability of the Port Arthur fleet to act on the offensive was thus a most important determining factor, and explained the anxiety of the Japanese to render it inactive by closing the harbor. The failure of these efforts still left the Russian fleet free to act, and should the Japanese have nevertheless decided to land troops in the vicinity of Newchwang, the ability of the fleet at Port Arthur to act would practically have decided the success or failure of the undertaking.

A strategic movement on a larger scale from the direction of Possiet Bay, on the east coast, with a view to striking at the Russian communications at Harbin, would have been more decisive, but would also have required a very large force. In any event, the fall of Port Arthur and the destruction of the Russian fleet there would have been a necessary preliminary even to that plan of action, in order to insure the complete command of the sea for such a long continued campaign as that would have implied.

OPERATIONS ON LAND.

The Japanese, in their advance toward the Yalu, found, contrary to their expectation, that none of the rivers had been bridged by the Russians. The movement, however, was practically unimpeded: the most important engagement up to the end of March, that of Cheng-ju, on March 28th (involving a loss of only 1 officer and 4 men killed and 1 officer and 12 men wounded on the Japanese side, and 3 men killed and 4 officers and 12 men wounded on the Russian side), having been a mere outpost affair.

At the beginning of April, however, more serious encounters began to take place.

The Russians retired to the right bank of the Yalu, their cavalry moving off north-eastward over Wunsan.

The Japanese advanced in several columns to the left bank of the Yalu, occupying Wiju on the 30th of March, and Seng-chow and Yongampho (at the mouth of the river) on the 2d of April. An observation station, with a balloon, was surprised near Wiju, during this advance. The Japanese railroad battalion promptly began the construction of a field railroad from Seoul to Wiju.

To assist in the service of security and information at the mouth of the Yalu, several old Japanese gunboats (the Kaimon among them) were detached to that point, and these rendered valuable assistance.

The Russians occupied Antung and Kinliencheng, on the right bank of the Yalu, and fortified these places. Their main reserve was at Feng-huan-cheng (about 70 miles north-west of Wiju). On the river they made use of armed and armored junks to assist in the service of security.

The patrols on both sides were advanced to the islands in the stream, and constant small actions took place there between these bodies of troops. On the 8th of April a Japanese patrol of 50 men was surprised and captured by a Russian patrol on the island of Samolin, and on the 12th an action took place between the Kaimon and several Russian junks.

On April 10, the 4th Division, originally assigned to the Second Army, was landed at Yongampho (near the mouth of the Yalu), so that there were at this time four divisions on the Yalu. The advance guard, which had occupied Wiju and Yongampho, placed these towns in a state of defense, and organized a system of boat patrols on the river to the islands in the stream. The lower broader part of the river was observed by a flotilla of gunboats, reinforced at times by torpedo boats and armored small vessels from the IV Squadron, convoying the transports.

The main Japanese army deployed along the left bank of the Yalu northward, reinforcements arriving being landed under the protection of the gunboat flotilla in the vicinity of Yongampho. Pontoon trains and bridge material, as well as siege guns, were brought up ready for use.

The Russian troops opposed to the Japanese First Army included at first only the Trans-Baikal Cossack Brigade, under General Mishchenko, and the 3d East Siberian Rifle Brigade, under General Kashtalinski, but after these troops retired over the Yalu they were reinforced by the 6th East Siberian Rifle Brigade. These troops, com-

prising five or six regiments, and five field batteries (exclusive of the cavalry) were under the command of Lieutenant-General Sassulitch, who also had other forces in reserve at Feng-huan-cheng.

The Russian cavalry was withdrawn to the right flank, where the flat country was favorable to this arm. The infantry was posted along the right bank of the Yalu, two large bodies concentrated in Antung and opposite Wiju, with a reserve on the road to Feng-huan-cheng. Small boats patrolled the river. The artillery was posted in the two principal positions at Antung and opposite Wiju.

In Newchwang the Russians fortified their position with feverish energy, a state of war having been declared there as early as March 27, closing the port to commerce.

On April 7th Corea was declared evacuated by the Russians.

The relative strength of the opposing armies in the field along the banks of the Yalu at that time, so far as it could be determined from the reports, was probably about 60,000 Japanese and 45,000 Russians, but the latter were far superior in cavalry. These figures include the troops in immediate reserve, as well as those of the first lines.

The Japanese, in seizing upon the river mouth, have gained an important position tactically and strategically. Their combined land and sea forces enabled them to hold the position and utilize it as an immediate base, but, in addition, this position enables the Japanese gunboats to outflank the Russian position.

The Russians, to protect Port Arthur and Vladivostok, were compelled to hold the line of the Yalu. Had they fallen back to Harbin, as originally proposed, the Japanese would have advanced to Mukden to cut the railroad to Port Arthur, thus compelling the fall of this important fortress and port.

COMMENTS.

The general situation, therefore, about the twelfth of April was as follows:

The Japanese navy still had command of the sea, and had suffered comparatively small loss in men or ships, but had not succeeded in blockading the Russian fleet in Port Arthur harbor.

The Russian navy had been severely crippled by the loss of a number of warships, several of which had, however, been repaired and made ready for service again. The disabled vessels were the Czarevitch, Retvisan, Poltova, Pallada, Novik, Askold, Diana, Variag, Korietz, Bayarin and Yenesei, besides several torpedo boats. Of these the Bayarin was again in service.

The Russian fleets at Port Arthur and Vladivostok were still separated, and practically held in check by the superior Japanese fleet.

Early in April Commander Kulezicki reported to the Czar that he would be able to take the Baltic Squadron to the Far East by way of the sea of Kara and the Northwest Passage, reaching the field of operations by the end of August. Rear-Admiral Rojestvensky was appointed to the command of this squadron, which was ordered to be ready by July 15. It consists of the battleships Slava, Borodino, Orel, Kuiaz, Souvaroff, Alexander III, and Osliabia; the cruisers Aurora, Dmitri, Donskoi, Svietland, Almaz, Jamtchug, and Izumrud; and the transports Kamtschatka and Ocean.

On land the Japanese had obtained possession of the whole of Korea, and had established themselves on the left bank of the Yalu perfecting their measures for the passage of that river. A base had been established at the mouth of the stream, so that reinforcements and material could be rapidly brought up to the front by transports, thus relieving the field railroad and the ordinary road transportation, and leaving both open for the use of the troops coming up by land.

Their command of the sea insured the security of this base, and also enabled the Japanese to flank the Russian position on the Yalu, or even to get in rear of it, threatening the Russian line of communications.

A special *Army of Occupation* for Korea had been formed, and placed under General Haraguchi.

The Russians had assembled an army of about 250,000 men between Harbin and the Yalu river, although the force between Mukden and the Yalu was not over 45,000, and that on the bank of the river and in its immediate vicinity was not over 17,000 men. Besides the line along the right bank of the Yalu, Newchwang, at the head of Liaotung Gulf, was strongly fortified and held by a force of about 10,000 men, with some 15,000 in reserve: the object of holding this important point was to prevent the Japanese from landing a force there and taking the Russian defensive line on the Yalu, and along the Port Arthur-Mukden railroad, in reverse, and cutting off all communication with Port Arthur.

The advantages conferred on the Japanese by the possession of full *sea-power* is apparent at every turn in the operations, and this fact combined with the original *preparedness* of the Japanese explains the continued successes of the latter. Their operations indicate unity of purpose and action, a well-developed, clearly defined plan and

system of operations, and the energy of execution which naturally results from these conditions, aided by the power of the *offensive.*

The Russians, on the other hand, both at sea and on land, were forced to the *defensive*, and their single line of supply, the railroad, with its natural limitations, continually interfered with the proper deployment of their far greater resources in troops and war material. The fact that the Japanese had command of the sea forced the Russians to extend their defensive line westward to Newchwang, instead of concentrating all their available forces against the Japanese army on the Yalu, and the weakness of their single line of communications, the railroad, besides detaching a considerable force for its protection, prevented them from assembling a sufficient force on their line of defense.

(*To be Continued.*)

*OUR GREENLAND NEIGHBORS.**

"Scant memories haunt these lands where life ebbs low;
Yet these are sweet to us of later time—
Us, restless-hearted, whom the thirst to know
Lures to this cheerless clime."

To speak of Greenland as lying at our very doors, and of its people as neighbors, with whose affairs we are in duty bound to be somewhat acquainted, may appear at first inappropriate, and altogether a misnomer. That country seems both a great way off, and entirely foreign to our habit of thought. We naturally associate it with far-distant realms of darkness and ice. We can scarcely imagine it peopled by other than fabulous monsters, between whom and ourselves there can exist no common bond of sympathy. The impression that the earliest voyagers thither received has hardly yet been modified in the popular apprehension. The sailors who long ago first touched its black, rock-bound shores, after battling for life with fogs and ice, very unanimously named it "the Land of Desolation." And the few filthy, elfish-looking beings, clad in furs, who came down to the beach to gaze in astonishment on the new-comers, were at first almost as unanimously classed with demons; and in some cases nothing but visible proof could convince the Europeans that the commodious seal-skin boot did not conceal the traditionary cloven foot. Moreover, so long connected by historical relations with the Old World, and the only foreign power there being the Danish, even at the present day, Greenland comes to be regarded as part of the Eastern rather than the Western Hemisphere.

Consideration shows that these ideas, while having some ground for their existence in the exceptional and peculiar characteristics of that land and its people, are in other respects not well founded. That vast country has long furnished harbors and supplies to *our* fishermen in the northern seas, and it has given a base and foothold to *our* Arctic explorers, no less than to those of England and Germany. Again, following the meridian lines, we find it lying entirely this side the limits of Europe, its main bulk being directly north of the eastern portions of South America. So that, by virtue of situation at

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least, and to some extent of community of interest as well, Greenland has a right to be reckoned as a closely-lying territory, and its people in some sense *neighbors.*

It must be owned that until very recently anything more than a fragmentary and general knowledge of its real character was impossible. Our whalers, sealers, and discoverers only touched a few points of its extensive coasts; and, except in the parts almost or quite uninhabited, their visits were extremely brief, the few hours or, at most, days that were spent in harbor being devoted to renewing their supplies, or procuring fur garments, dogs, and hunters for the icy regions beyond. The archives of Copenhagen possessed abundance of material concerning the condition of the Danish colonies; but no single work was accessible giving a systematic account, both in general and detail, of even the extent of coast under the control of Denmark. Dr. Henry Rink, as the crowning work of his long residence of twenty-two summers and sixteen winters, as explorer and Royal Inspector of South Greenland, has given in both Danish and English dress an exhaustive summary of all that is known of this coast. His "Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo," appearing in completed form some four years ago, prepared the way for "Danish Greenland: its People and its Products," issued in 1877. The two works together form a most satisfactory and interesting account of the country, and the customs and primitive beliefs of the natives.

After a brief sketch of early voyages to these shores, we will examine the peculiarities of this singular land and people.

I. The romantic incidents connected with the discovery of this land are familiar, and need not be repeated. We will only say that the Sagas relating these events are in all essentials undoubted history, and cannot be disputed. The story of the sailing away westward of the outlawed Erik Raude, in 982 A. D.; his rounding the southern point of the land previously sighted by Gunbjörn, by whom it was called "Hvidsaerk," or "White Shirt," from its snowy mantle; his finding the rare little patches of green valley far up the fjords; his delight at his fortunate discovery, and his christening it on the spot—partly through joy, partly from policy—by the very name now borne for nearly nine centuries; the immediate colonization of this Green-land from the bare rock-ribbed and rock-incased Ice-land and Norway; the speedy discovery from this new base of American shores; the long and prosperous life of the colonies of the East and West Bygds, both situated up the west coast from Cape Farewell; their sudden extinction, and the awful silence that so long prevailed as to their fate; these events form some of the most interesting and weird chapters in his-

tory. Much that was formerly believed to be either myth or the over-coloring of the Saga-makers has been proved in recent times to be but the sober statement of truth; and the bringing to light of the centres of the two chief settlements, with multitudes of ruins and relics,—walls of houses, fragments of church-bells, tombstones with Runic inscriptions,—all testify to the historic worth of these old stories.

After disaster fell upon the colonies the country itself drops unaccountably out of the memory of men. Only in the persistent search for the Northwest Passage was it again brought to notice; and then a long interval elapsed before any steps were taken either to colonize or Christianize.

Martin Frobisher was among the first of more modern voyagers to steer his ships close past Cape Farewell. On the 11th of July, 1576, he sighted "a range of awful and precipitous summits," even then thickly mantled in snow, and believed he had reached the Friesland of Zeno. Every attempt to touch the shores of this desolate land was baffled by the swirling currents chocked with ice, and by thick and ever-clinging fogs. He pushed still westward, and reached the *Meta Incognita*, ever since connected with his name. Again, in his infatuated search for gold no less than for the Northwest Passage, he nears these shores, and for four days seeks a landing-place; but eternal rocks, ice, and fogs block his way. He sees not a single human dwelling, or sign of life, and passes on to reach the object of his golden dreams. The following year the King of Denmark sent out the bold Mogens Heinson to rediscover the lost colonies. He reached the east coast, but met such an inhospitable reception from unknown currents and frozen ramparts that in absolute terror he turned homewards.

Once more, in 1585, John Davis, of high renown, in search of a water-way to the Indies, fell in with the same "deformed, rocky, and mountainous" coast; the shore beset with ice, making such irksome noise that, in disgust, he rightly named it "Desolation."

Davis had a very amicable parley with the natives, who, however, "raised a lamentable noise," and their shouts resembled the howling of wolves. Thence he crossed the strait, or rather *sea*, still bearing his name. The next year he touched the west coast of Greenland, in about the same latitude as before, and was received by the natives with joyful cries. After a general distribution of presents and many trials of skill and physical strength, the Eskimos became bold, and begun purloining every article of metal they could manage to carry away. Davis on this voyage sought to penetrate one of the larger fjords, and learn something of the interior of the country. But the multiplicity of the islets and channels, and the terrible aspect of the frowning mountains, and

the wastes of ice and rock disheartened him, and he sailed away across the strait, as before, carrying captive with him one of the ringleaders in the thefts and broils that had exasperated his crew. Again, the next year, he reaches the same spot, and running north with the determination of making new discoveries, he reached a point which he named Sanderson's Hope. To John Davis we thus owe some clear idea, even at that early day, of the west coast of Greenland.

Captain George Weymouth, some years later,—1602—speaks truly of the aspect of the country from the sea as that of "a main bank of ice." And now the Danes once more come forward. Admiral Lindenow, in 1605, reached the east coast, and bartered iron, looking-glasses, etc., for valuable fur. The gallant pilot, James Hall, who bore him company in another ship, sailed around to Davis Straits, where he attempted to map the coast. It seems to have been the fashion—a most inhuman and impolitic one—for these old-time mariners to seize some of the aborigines of all newly-discovered countries and carry them off captive. Thus, in this voyage Lindenow captured two of the east-coast men, and Hall three of the west-coast natives, and bore them away to Denmark. The poor wretches essayed often to cross the broad North Sea in their frail kayaks in order to reach their homes, but the tempests drove them back, to linger out a few miserable years among strangers. The next year Lindenow sought Davis Straits; but the memory of their wrongs made the natives so hostile that one of his servants who ventured to set foot on shore was cut to pieces before his eyes. The tragic fate of Hall in his last voyage thither, in 1612, was due to the same cause; "a brother of one of the kidnapped people came up and gave him a mortal wound in the side with a dart;" a shallow grave was dug on one of the islands lying off Holstenborg, and beside it, as mourners, stood Hall's faithful servant and companion, William Huntris and young William Baffin, who later was to visit these waters to some purpose.

Just before this, in 1610, Henry Hudson had passed Cape Farewell, and noted carefully the formation of the coast, and then passed on to the scene of his glorious discovery and heart-rending fate.

In 1616, Baffin made his famous voyage, in which he outlined the great bay named after him. On the Greenland coast, starting north of Disco Island, he discovered numerous waters and head-lands that still retain the names given by the sturdy old navigator. Woman's Group, Horn Sound, Cape Digges, Wolstenholme, Whale, and Smith Sounds, are all appellations given by Baffin. Strange, that when he was in the great North Water he did not push westward through either James or Lancaster Sound; for these wide gateways opened in just the direc-

tion desired to lead to the much-sought Northwest Passage. Even Smith Sound he only surveyed casually from its entrance. But it were captious to quarrel with what the plucky sailor did not do when he accomplished so much. To Greenland "Master Baffin" added a long extent of coast,—not much increased, in truth, in this direction until thirty years ago.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century an event of great moment to that land occurred. Hitherto it had been the policy to seize and transport the poor natives, if possible, to foreign shores, and this, though the love of home and kindred was so strong in these ill-favored children of the North that they would leap from the vessel's deck in mid-ocean and perish rather than be borne away they knew not whither. Anything more than casual barter—where the gain, too, was always largely on the European's side—was not thought of by the first discoverers. And the hope of in any wise benefiting these filthy Hyperboreans, whether physically, mentally, or spiritually, must have seemed almost out of the question. But not so thought a good, Christian-hearted clergyman laboring faithfully at Vaagen, in Norway. The fate of the lost colonies on the great western land was ever in his mind; and as he read the tales of voyages thither, and conversed with sailors who had returned from there, his soul was full of longing to bless even the soil where Norsemen had once dwelt. For thirteen years his entreaties addressed to those high in authority were unavailing. He became the object of derision and calumny, and all for the crime of being a larger-hearted Christian than others of his generation. But his was the true missionary spirit, and Hans Egede was made of the right stuff. He gave up all, and became the first apostle of peace and good-will to the Greenlanders. With his wife, Gertrude, and four children he sailed in 1721 with a colony of forty-six persons in all, and landed at Baal's River, where they made them a home, and called it Godthaab, "Good Hope."

The story of Egede's labors here, as narrated in his "Relation," is that of all similar work among uncivilized peoples,—hindrances arising from misconstruction of motives, poverty of language, indifference, repulsive habits, inability to comprehend spiritual truths. But beyond this, in his case, very serious difficulties arose. In that poverty-stricken country even the natives have ever found great trouble in procuring game and fish sufficient to maintain life. Out of the earth itself no food can grow. Hence Europeans cannot subsist there without supplies from abroad, or, at least, means to obtain scanty food by barter. Delay of the yearly visit of the Danish ship produced want, suffering, and murmurs among the few colonists. The Eskimos, with

the usual iniquity of the natural heart, were prone to look to the main chance, and not seldom withheld supplies when most needed. Shortly after the founding of Godthaab another laborer arrived with the purpose of establishing a mission farther north, but the attempt failed.

Thus ten years passed; and, though there had been enough to discourage, there were also signs of good. But now it would seem all must go for nought. The death of the friendly Frederick IV. was the signal for disbanding the little company, and word is sent that no further aid must be expected from Copenhagen. With thorough Norse pluck Egede remains with ten seamen and supplies for a single year, and in due time his zeal is rewarded by news that the mission will be continued. At this time, 1733, another event all-important to Greenland took place,—the arrival of three Bohemian Brethren, or Moravians, to found a mission after their own peculiar creed in that dreary spot. Free from unworthy jealousy, Egede welcomed the newcomers, and side by side, almost, with Godthaab arose Ny Herrnhut on the same bay. Side by side, too, to this day these two missions, the Danish Lutheran and the Moravian, stand and labor for the good of Greenland. The life of Hans Egede, and his founding a colony in the inclement West, form a distinctive chapter in Arctic annals. His stout-heartedness recovered and retained to his king and to his God a lost continent.

Little by little colonies arose to the south and north of Godthaab: Frederikshaab, founded in 1742; Lichtenfels, the Moravian station near Fiskernaes, in 1754; Sukkertoppen, in 1755; Holsteinborg, in 1770; Julianshaab, in 1775. If to these little settlements we add a few more names, we shall have enumerated all the principal inhabited parts of Greenland even at this day.

We pass on to the early years of the present century, when European wars rendered the high seas unsafe and caused great distress among the colonists, whose supplies from home were thus cut off. This trial safely past, in 1818 Ross and Parry appeared in the western waters, and, running up in the track of Baffin, gave somewhat more attention to the country and people. Ross brought distinctly to view the towering masses of rock that frown down upon Melville Bay, as also the country to the north, which he characteristically—and fittingly too—named the Arctic Highlands. The native tribes here found, differing in many of their ways from those farther south,—though of the same Eskimo type,—from whom they were separated by insurmountable barriers, were approached in a friendly manner and graphically portrayed. Here it was also that *red snow* was observed, that marvel of northern scenery which so long puzzled the scientific. Capes

Alexander and Isabella—the Pillars of Hercules of the North,—the dark propylon to the mysterious sanctuary of the Pole—receive their names from the ships now in these waters; but, with a hasty examination of Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, Ross also sails away. No further discoveries north on the West Greenland coast can be recorded for some thirty-four years. It was often visited by whalers and Arctic voyagers; but they were intent alone on their prey, or on the new lands and waters that were being brought to light in the Northwest.

But the time approaches when the *east* coast begins to be more definitely outlined. The veteran whaler Scoresby, in 1822, in the "Baffin," in pursuit of his calling, approached this coast and named a large extent of it, from what he believed to be Gale Hamke's Land south, say from 74° 30′ to 69° 10′. The next year Captain Clavering visited the coast for the purpose of allowing Captain Sabine to make pendulum experiments, which were successfully conducted on the Sabine or Pendulum Islands, as they are now called. Six years later Captain W. A. Graah, of the Danish Royal Navy, made his very satisfactory voyage from the southern extremity of the land up the east shore to 65° 45′ N., leaving a gap of about three hundred nautical miles of coast-line between his own and Scoresby's discoveries. He was provided with two umiaks—the crews, of course, lady sailors, skillful but intolerably lazy—and five kayaks. The voyage was one of greatest interest, proving the barren nature of that coast, the almost total absence of natives, and the utter impossibility of its ever having been the site of the so-called East Colony of the Norsemen.

Turning again to the west side, no advance in discovery is made till 1850 and 1852, when Lieutenant DeHaven and Captain Inglefield ran into Smith Sound. Then follow the familiar voyages of Kane, Hayes, Hall, and Nares, completing the sketch of that coast to latitude 82° 54′ N. Once more reverting to East Greenland, the noble work of the German Expedition in 1869-70 will ever be conspicuous, when the "Germania wintered under the south side of Sabine Island, and Koldewey examined carefully all the surrounding country, bringing to light many relics of the former Eskimo dwellers there; and when the "Hansa," drifting south, finally sank, leaving her crew to float on an ice-field to South Greenland. Cape Bismarck, stern and grim as the great chancellor whose name it bears, was the utmost northern limit reached by the "Germania's" sledges.

II. We have space to notice only the leading peculiarities of the country; but some reference to these is absolutely essential to an understanding of the people who are so near us and yet so far removed in custom and habit of life.

The northern point of this continent—for such it probably is, and not a cluster of islands compacted by snow and ice—lies in the great Polar Basin, latitude unknown. It has been traced to 82° 54′ N. The southern part touches 60° N., the latitude of Lower Norway. Dr. Kane judged rightly when he based his endeavors "upon the probable extension of the land-masses of Greenland to the far north." He says, "From the alternating altitudes of its mountain-ranges, continued without depression throughout a meridianal line of nearly eleven hundred miles, I infer that this chain must extend very far to the north, and that Greenland might not probably approach nearer the Pole than any other known land." But its southerly extension does not secure much mildness of temperature; for while warm currents from the tropics soften the climate of western Europe, no such welcome influences ameliorate the harsh seasons of Greenland. Through a long winter its shores are solidly locked in ice. During a short summer the ice gives but little on the east side; rather, it floats slowly down in an almost solid mass, while the currents from the Pole fill the waters of Baffin's Bay and Davis's Sea with enormous quantities of the same in the form of bergs, fields, and floes. Thus the land is never free from the embraces of chilling, if not freezing, tides.

Consider, again, that the entire interior is doubtless a vast ice-sheet, throwing off its superflous masses at every available valley-mouth, and we see that Frost is the supreme ruler of the land. Dr. Kane's conception in this instance also was, in general, as true as any that can be formed at present. He knew Greenland only to the upperline of the great Humboldt Glacier; but he rightly, so far as we can yet judge, comprehended the leading features of the vast frozen land. "Imagine now," he writes, "the centre of such a continent, occupied through nearly its whole extent by a deep unbroken sea of ice, that gathers perennial increase from the water-shed of vast snow-covered mountains and all the precipitations of the atmosphere upon its own surface. Imagine this moving onward like a great glacial river, seeking outlets at every fjord and valley, rolling icy cataracts into the Atlantic and Greenland seas; and, having at last reached the northern limit of the land that has borne it up, pouring out a mighty frozen torrent into unknown Arctic space."

It has always been the desire of geographers to learn exactly of what the great interior consists, but to the present moment it remains almost wholly untrodden. In this respect it resembles New Guinea; but, unlike that island, even its marginal line has never been fully traced. During the second German Arctic Expedition, in 1870, Lieutenant Julius Payer, with Dr. Copeland and Peter Ellinger, climbed a

lofty peak on the East Greenland coast, and far away rose another, fitly named by them Petermann Peak, some eleven thousand feet high. The view from their stand-point was grand in the extreme. This same year Professor Nordenskjold, of Arctic fame, pushed forward for thirty miles inland, and saw much of the glacier system of the country. "The grandeur and lovely majesty of this region are most impressive. No living creature is seen; nothing but a white world supporting a blue vault, while from far below there comes up a peculiar subterranean hum, proceeding from rivers flowing within the ice. This moaning noise is varied, at intervals, by loud reports like artillery, when the cleft opens in the surface. . . . The most wonderful sight is one of the glacier-rivers, deep and broad, flowing between blue banks of ice to some vast abyss where the whole immense mass of water rushes down a perpendicular cleft into the depths below, forming a magnificent waterfall. A white pillar of mist rises up into the blue sky wherever these rivers disappear over the still bluer cliffs. Such marvelous sights as these can only be seen in the interior of Greenland." More than a century ago a series of mountain-peaks was discovered far to the east of Frederickshaab. Several attempts have been made recently to reach this lofty range. After great sufferings and much real peril Lieutenant Jensen, R. D. N., at the head of a party of five, climbed the loftiest of the peaks, July 31, 1878, and stood five thousand feet above the level of the sea. Still, on to the east a limitless field of ice extended, unbroken by any mountain. These journeys show the existence of isolated peaks in the interior; but all things tend to the supposition that it is by no means of an Alpine character, and that the greater part is of moderate altitude, sloping from east to west, and covered by a broad ice-sheet. The small number of glaciers coming down on the east coast, and the entire absence of true moraines, both lateral and medial, in every known *mer de glace,* seem conclusively to prove this. All the coast of Greenland bordering Kennedy and Robeson Channels, says Sir George S. Nares, "lies completely imbedded in ice,—in summer as well as in winter,—without one mountain-peak showing itself above the very slightly inclined sky-line of perpetual ice."

Looking now, after this general survey of the land, to its special features, we find nothing but ruggedness and a harsh aspect marking all its explored border. Primitive rocks everywhere jut into the sea, torn into every wild shape, threatening destruction to the unwary ship or lonely kayak. Very few, indeed, are the habitable fjords, and a village in the Greenland sense is little more than a handful of dwellings perched on the rocks or sheltered by cliffs in a position

favorable for fishing. And this is the exact point,—the Greenlander looks to the *sea* for a support; the land furnishes him little more than a firm foothold,—a shelter from the terrible northern storms. Speaking of the Eskimos, Dr. Hayes says, "The sea is their only harvest-field," and most diligently is it worked. The seal, walrus, white whale, cod, and halibut are their chief means of subsistence, and the first is nearly all that is requisite for feeding and clothing and warming the true Eskimo. He may dispense with all the others; he cannot live without the seal. If he was wont to worship anything it would certainly be a sea divinity, with a smooth, intelligent face, eyes almost human in expression, and clad in a sleek seal-skin suit. In the higher latitudes the polar bear is eagerly hunted, and yields a goodly store of meat, together with a shaggy coat that is highly prized. Reindeer, from about 64°, range the coast to the north, and furnish delicious food. Artic hares, foxes, both white and blue, and musk-oxen, confined to the extreme north and the desolate eastern side, give variety to the diet of the natives.

Land- and water-fowl of all the Arctic species abound on various parts of the coast; and their breeding-places in the high north, where they are rarely disturbed by man, swarm with a superabundance of the feathered tribes during the brief summers. The same species that Kane and Hayes had watched with such eager interest at Rensselaer Harbor and Port Foulke were noticed at Polaris Bay, and by Nares still farther north on the opposite side of Robeson Channel. It is pleasant to read how gladly the Arctic traveler welcomes the return of bird-life to the northern waters and coasts with the return of the sun. Brent geese, eider- and king-ducks, the burgomaster-gull, the ivory-gull, the great northern diver, the speckled dovekies, snipe, the little auks, the Arctic petrel, ptarmigans, all by their reappearance give promise not only of food to the famishing, but also of life, companionship and cheer in the very Land of Solitude. How kindly does Kane speak of the little snow-birds making the "sunny night-time musical with home remembered songs!" And Dr. Hayes could not find it in his heart to harm a feather of the forlorn, half-frozen dovekies that came to visit him in the middle of bleak February. To the Eskimos about Smith Sound these multitudes of birds are a perfect boon, for after the ice breaks up they cannot follow the seal and walrus from want of kayaks.

And then as the sun rides a little higher above the horizon, how quickly in warm spots and sheltered valleys along the bit of ice-freed coast the hard earth responds, and, as if by miracle, the few Arctic and sub-Arctic plants wake to life! Mosses grow green beside icy waters

fresh from the glaciers; lichens cover the black rocks with a rich orange mantle; buttercups, poppies, the sweet white and purple lychnis, saxifrages, dandelions, white-starred chickweed, harebells, scurvy-grass, and numerous grasses and dwarfed flowers clothe the waste places with their refreshing and sparkling beauty; while dwarf birches, willows, heather, and alders cling close to the earth, and weave a net-work as of creepers over the rocks. A few of the hardiest of these species are found north as far as man has reached. As we travel in the opposite direction, the varieties and number of course increase. We may well wonder that even these scanty signs of vegetation can appear after the terrible winters within the Arctic Circle. But "no eider-down in the cradle of an infant is tucked in more kindly than the sleeping-dress of winter about this feeble flower-life." Under the kindest skies of South Greenland the willows can only raise their heads in copses from three to four feet high. The tallest tree known to Dr. Rink in Greenland is a birch fourteen feet high, in a snug cleft in the rocks up one of the southern fjords. Cranberries are quite plenty, and are extensively gathered for food. Served up with morsels of blubber, and eaten as dessert after meals, they are considered a great delicacy. Bog and red whortleberries and the juniper-berry are also found, but not used by the natives.

Poor as is the above showing, this land is an Eden compared with Franz-Josef Land, where the crew of the Tegetthoff could find scarcely a square foot of sward,—only the most meagre display of grasses, a saxifrage, a poppy, and one or two other flowering plants, while mosses were rather more plentiful and lichens abundant.

Few words on the climate of Greenland may suffice. Enough has been said to assure the reader that not much in the way of mildness of temperature can be expected. And the breezes that blow over the country are no more spicy than they are soft and balmy, for not a fir or pine sheds its pungent fragrance on the air. Here is a continent embracing not a single rood of forest-land, and all except a few square miles, buried under perpetual ice. And yet in sunny dells on the coast, during the few warm weeks, not only a scanty vegetation but myriads of *mosquitoes*, of the most voracious kind, wake to life and work while it is day, to the perfect torture of the unsuspecting foreigner. Again, the eager tourist setting out hastily on a walk over rocks and along foaming torrents, or climbing inviting heights, soon finds himself streaming with perspiration in his heavy clothing, and believes the Frigid as hot as the Torrid Zone. But these are exceptional experiences; and, as a rule, the climate encourages neither mosquitoes nor perspiration. At Frederiksdal, the most southerly settle-

ment, the annual mean temperature is 33° F.—a single degree above freezing; at Godthaab, 27.8°; at Upernavik, 13.3°. Kane recorded as the lowest—75°, at his wintering-place; Hayes, on his famous sledge-journey,— 68.5°. At Polaris Bay the mean for March, 1872, was—23°; and the lowest for that season,—48.5°. From this it may be rightly judged that actual residence in any portion of the country through the winter must be attended, after the utmost caution, with great discomfort, if not absolute peril. The gales and storms of snow that rage over the frozen land as the sun declines are altogether fearful, even beyond the power of words to express.

The frequent occurrence of hot, dry winds from the east in West Greenland—a phenomenon precisely similar to the *fohn* of the Alps—has caused much speculation among meteorologists.

For the study of many important questions in science Greenland offers unusual and unexpected facilities. Its glaciers move with great comparative rapidity, and here also is constantly seen on the largest scale the formation of icebergs, giving thus to Mr. Geike, for his "Great Ice Age," an actual picture of the very conditions and processes of the far-off time he so graphically reproduces. The geologist may here study the primitive formations under peculiarly favorable circumstances, and note even the effect of molten trap-rock overflowing beds of coal. Fossils in great quantities reward his search. He finds abundant evidence of a former rich *flora,*—the remains of great forests converted into coal. This opens up questions of climate and the distribution of life in remote geological ages, when what is now the Arctic World basked in floods of sunlight, and grew green and luxuriant under warm skies and fertilizing showers. Of the utmost importance to botany, as Sir Joseph Hooker has proved, is the scanty vegetation which we have barely noticed, so easily overlooked and despised by the unscientific eye. By these hardy little leaves and flowerets, just rising out of the earth, some notable questions have been settled, and others may not improbably be answered. Again, the aborigines of this land, who have been so thoroughly studied in their habits and traditions, may form an important factor in determining the migrations and position of the Arctic peoples among the families of man. We can only hint at these things; but sufficiently to indicate that even ignored Greenland,

> "Whose white inhospitable splendors trend
> Away to the Unknown,"

may yet be worthy the great world's notice and study.

III. From the peculiarities of the country we come to consider the peculiarities of its people. If Greenland is exceptional in physical features and characteristics, no less are the inhabitants a singular race exactly fitted to their home-land.

The primitive settlers, so far as known, were Eskimos. As early as the days of Erik Raude they were doubtless in North Greenland, and some four centuries later they came into contact with the Norse colonists, whom they eventually exterminated. As to the origin of this great race, while some things are in doubt many points are tolerably clear. Lapps, Finns, Samoyeds, Ostiaks of the Ob, Yakagiri, Kamtskadals, Tchuktches, Alaskan Eskimos, and Innuit, or Eskimos proper, all these nations are closely allied in feature, presenting a strongly marked Mongolian type, as seen in the straight black hair, prominent cheek-bones, small noses, eyes more or less obliquely set, wide mouths, yellow complexion. Their languages are dialects of a single tongue. They have advanced steadily from west to east, on and above the Arctic Circle, till the two extremes almost touch. Dr. Rink would seem to be in error when he traces the Eskimo race only to Alaskan America, making them spread thence both west and east. They are not an inland people. All their instincts prove that their ancestors were shore dwellers. As we leave the Lapps behind and turn eastward we see this feeling growing stronger and stronger. These people shun more and more decidedly the interior, and find their life and comfort in following the frozen shores of the Polar Sea. Thus, the Samoyeds have strayed north till they occupy the Yalmal Peninsula, thrust into the very heart of the icy Kara Sea. The Yukagiri, now settled on the sea east of the Lena, formerly extended over to the New Siberian Islands. The Kamtskadals live by fishing, and harness dogs to sledges. The Reindeer Tchuktches are most skillful sailors in their boats framed of whalebone and covered with leather, and draw their daily food from the Frozen Ocean. And thus, step by step, we come to the true Innuit,—"Men,"—who build the sledge, harness the dog, spear the seal and walrus, single-handed destroy the Polar bear, and handle the kayak with a strength and skill that no other race can imitate.

The Innuit now dwell along the northern and northeastern shores of the American continent, in Greenland, and a few in Ellesmere Land on the west side of Smith Sound. At present they are not found on the numerous islands lying north of the mainland of America. But their footsteps can be traced through all these outlying lands to the extreme north. How long they tarried on the way, till Greenland gave them a sure foothold, though it proved the end of the earth to them, we cannot know; but doubtless they pressed rapidly forward till

Smith Sound and Kennedy Channel were reached. Secretary Markham, so well versed in Arctic lore and observation, speaking of the stone-circles, graves, and domestic implements, assures us that there exists "a continuous chain of such vestiges from the westernmost extremes of Melville and Banks Islands to the Cary Islands, within sight of the coast of Greenland." The English expedition of 1875-76 found recent as well as ancient traces of Eskimos on the coast of Ellesmere Land, and with these natives the Arctic Highlanders are known to have communication. Here doubtless was one main highway from the west into Greenland. As the "Alert" and "Discovery" passed along to the north, hugging the shore of Grinnell Land, there were found in every favorable locality the ruins of ancient dwellings, once the homes of Innuit wanderers. This strange people were traced to Cape Beechey, six or seven miles short of the eighty-second parallel, and here all signs of human kind ceased entirely. At no point higher than this, to the west, north, or on the Greenland side, could the footprints of an aborigine be found. And it is noteworthy that in Hall Land, on the opposite shore, a trifle south of Cape Beechey parallel, where the channel is narrowest, traces are again found of the primitive dwellers. This, then, must be absolutely the most northerly crossing-place of the Innuit into the continent of Greenland.

But these stone circles, marking the position of summer-tents, as the bone-rafters of winter-dwellings, and the multitudes of bones, the refuse of meals, and the fragments of domestic or hunting implements, are in all cases covered thick with black lichens and moss, marking great age, and showing that centuries may have elapsed since man found a home here. At present the Whale Sound tribes range only as far north on the lower edge of Humboldt Glacier. Their permanent dwellings now extend only from Melville Bay to Etah, in the way of scattered huts along the coast, either singly or in groups of two or three. All about Rensselaer Harbor, Kane found many ruins. These facts prove that once both shores above Smith Sound were thickly settled, a truth still attested by the traditions of this people. And, again, their present desolation doubtless indicates a change from milder to severer climate; for permanent residence now, though far south of Cape Beechey and Hall Land, would be impossible even for the iron-sinewed Innuit. They find it hard as it is to live on the sheltered shore, and seal and walrus-abounding waters, and bird-haunted coasts of Whale Sound and Melville Bay. Again, there is no longer communication open for the untamed natives of the Arctic Highlands to the *south*. From the vast accumulation of ice the way is effectually

barred to them to milder climates,—they are shut in as by gates of iron and doors of brass.

Here, then, is the true Eskimo type. No foreigners have settled among them, either traders or missionaries; for their life is the hardest of any people on the face of the earth, as their miserable huts stand nearer the Pole than any others. They have been somewhat humanized and enriched by the presence of explorers in their neighborhood. In the stories of the "Advance," the "United States," and the "Polaris" we become well acquainted with the real Innuit. With the peculiar features we have already described, many of them are men of large stature and most powerful build. Dressed in bear-skin trowsers and boots, with socks of dog-skin, mittens of seal-skin, a shirt of bird-skins, the feathers inside, and a capacious jumper of fox-skins, often blue and white alternating, attached to which is a close-fitting hood,—thus arrayed in the spoils of his prey, the swarthy hunter is ready for any conflict, wild beast or wilder tempest may prepare for him. His wife, the partner of his hopes and sharer of his hardships, is very similarly accoutred, not excepting a very thick coating of grease and dirt, covering the face and hands at least, which, as washing is unknown, remains from year to year. In winter they bury themselves in huts of snow, or stone and turf, half under ground, and only bestir themselves when driven by the pangs of hunger. Then, when the lamp burns low in the dismal hut, and the frozen seal-carcasses are picked clean, the man of the North goes forth in the darkness and waits patiently for his victim eight hours or forty-eight, as the case may be, and is often forced to return home empty-handed. If successful, the neighbors, if such there be, are invited in, and a single night of feasting prepares for many days of fasting. In the summer they wander more at large, living in seal-skin tents, enjoying whatever the sea or earth or air may bring them of flesh or fowl. In all, the dog, half wolf in his nature, is their indispensable companion, but one whose appetite is never appeased. They cannot live without him; they can hardly live with him. And, to tell a further truth, the poor, hard-worked, half-starved brute can hardly live with *them*. He would not mind the long journeys, sore lashings, or cut feet, if he could but fill his empty maw occasionally with enough of the toughest walrus-hide. One writer most justly calls attention to the invaluable services of the Eskimos in aiding Arctic exploration. To seamen imprisoned for a long Polar night, with the approach of a band of these men "it seems as if the portals of the Arctic prison-house were opened by a friendly hand. Like assistants in the darkness appear beings of our species, whose cheerfulness is unaffected by cold and obscurity, and who contentedly

wander and range over regions in which nature seems armed with all the horrors of one of the circles in Dante's hell." This is wholly just; only the team of faithful Eskimo *dogs* cannot be left out of the estimate.

The household utensils of this people are the simplest that can serve the wants of human beings. The one great comfort of the *igloo*, or winter-hut, is the *lamp*, which serves both for fire and light. A small shallow dish of soapstone, or even the shoulder-blade of a walrus, to hold the blubber, dry moss laid around the edge for a wick, and the essential article of furniture is provided. Over the lamp can be arranged a snow-melter,—a flat stone inclined so that the water from the softening block of snow may run down into a seal-skin cup. A good drink of water in winter is a rare thing here, and highly prized. The lamp also serves to partially dry the fur clothing of the inmates, who when in-doors retain but little in the way of dress. Moreover, it warms the seal-soup, which is highly relished; though raw frozen seal, walrus, and reindeer meat are standard dishes. Especially are the bits of blubber from the seal and the tallow from the haunches of the deer enjoyed. A raised bench, of snow it may be, around by the wall of the hut, and spread with furs, serves for chairs, table, and bed; and with the lamp brightly burning, with plenty of raw meat in the *igloo*, or *cached* in the rocks near by, out of the reach of bears, dogs, wolves, and foxes, the Innuit's heart is at rest, and he knows not a care. His tinder is a handful of dry moss and the silky down of willow-catskins; his flint a piece of quartz or granite; his steel, it may be, a bit of meteoric iron. The lady of the mansion tends the light, and provides for its continuance by occasionally chewing blubber and spurting the oil into the basin. Her implements for sewing are a few bone needles and the fine sinews of animals; and with these simple articles, together with a knife shaped like a chopping-knife, she can, if so disposed, do some very substantial work and neat withal.

The *igloo* contains nothing more in the way of furniture except the implements of chase. Here both ingenuity and the greatest care are shown, for these are the people's life. The lance and harpoon, with shaft of narwhal horn, or pieces of bone and wood lashed firmly together and tipped with walrus tusk holding a sharp blade of iron, are most effective for their work. The tough line, some fifty feet long, is made of the hide of the great thong-seal—*Phoca barbata*—by a continuous cut. A knife, formed of any available piece of iron, and carried in the boot, completes the hunting apparatus, except where a gun has been received from the whites as a reward for distinguished services. The sledge, formed of bone and bits of wood neatly and strongly united by raw seal-hide, and the runners shod with polished

ivory, are the northern Eskimos' only conveyance by dog-team, and enable him to journey hundreds of miles in a very short time. The bow and arrow seem to have been unknown to the Arctic Highlanders until introduced some ten or twelve years ago by a small party of Eskimos who crossed to Etah from Cape Isabella. Is the bow a more recent acquisition from the North American Indians? or an old one again partly fallen into disuse? Undoubtedly the latter, for tradition is full of the use of this primitive weapon.

Such is the "unbaptized Northlander" of Hans Hendrik's "Memoirs;" such were the Skraelings, who eight or nine centuries ago, at least, passed into Lower Greenland, and finally met the advancing Norsemen and exterminated them; and such, in all essentials, is the Eskimo of Danish Greenland to-day. Dr. Rink has given in his fascinating works a full account of their mode of life, and we see that in principle it is but slightly modified by European influence. It cannot be otherwise. The harshness of the country and clime makes imperative demands, and there is only one way to meet them, unless one would be fed constantly from the Danish store-houses. Even the poorest now obtain many little comforts this way, such as tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco; but the kayak, and harpoon, and bird-spear, and a strong and cunning arm are still the chief stock-in-trade for obtaining a livelihood. The half-breeds, of which there are many,—the offspring of Danish laborers who have married native women,—conform more to civilized ways and are more dependent on foreign support. The few Europeans, of course, look to the visits of ships for supplies. All, to a greater or less degree, adopt the true Eskimo style of dress, —the best that can be devised for the climate.

One striking distinction may be noticed between the two extremes of the land. North of Melville Bay the kayak and umiak are not in use; all transport is by dog-sledges. In Lower Greenland the reverse is true. Midway between, both are used to some extent in common. The difference in climate and the conditions of the ice necessitate this. The kayak is a most ingenious piece of work. It is about eighteen feet long, gracefully curved, and sharp-pointed at each end, framed of light strips of wood, and covered with seal-skin specially prepared. A small opening just permits the kayaker to sit in the unsteady craft, his jacket closes tightly around the rim of the opening, and not a drop of water can enter the boat or touch the skin of the hunter, except upon the face. With his double-bladed paddle, his harpoon, lance, line, and bladder-float, he is master of the ice-encumbered sea and its many forms of life. The umiak, or woman's boat, is also wood-framed and skin-covered; but is much larger, from twenty-five to thirty-seven feet long, five broad, two and a half deep, and flat-

bottomed. When of ordinary size it will easily carry over three thousand pounds. It serves for all purposes of transport, whether of goods or pleasure parties, and is rowed exclusively by women.

At Godhavn, on Disco Island, is the residence of the Inspector of North Greenland; at Godthaab that of the Inspector of South Greenland. To the former territory belong seven districts, and to the latter five. It is, of course, understood that Danish Greenland embraces only the west coast and islands from Cape Farewell to a short distance above Upernavik. Each district has its chief trading-post with its outposts. Thus are gathered the products of one thousand miles of coast,—the furs and blubber that are to be stowed in Danish ships in exchange for goods from Denmark, under the provisions of the Royal Trade Monopoly, now in operation a little over a century. In this way a moderate net profit goes every year to the Danish government for its trouble and care. Dr. Rink gives minutely the working of the system, with facts and figures in abundance. At present we are more interested in the mode of life of the people.

At the chief stations are a few dwelling-houses in the European style. But the utmost caution must be used to make them impervious to the frost, whether stone or timber is employed. The inside is fitted first of all for warmth, and civilized stoves are in requisition. The few European settlers furnish their neat little rooms with home-like furniture; not forgetting some bright, cheery flowering plants for the window.* The outside of the house is designed for durability rather than beauty. What with the black color of the tarred roof and sides of the timber houses,—although relieved in some cases with a little red and white paint,—and the total absence of shrubbery and the abounding presence of gray and black rocks, a Greenland colony presents a rather sombre appearance, as Dr. Rink is forced to admit. Beside the dwellings, at such points are to be found store-houses, work-shops, an oil-factory, an inevitable flag-staff, and a little church. The huts of the natives are grouped around, mere piles of stones with one or two openings, and altogether likely to be overlooked by the stranger or confounded with heaps of rock. At many of the fishing-stations the presence of offal and refuse on the beach adds not at all to the attrac-

*This passage from Dr. Hayes' "Land of Desolation" is so characteristic we cannot omit it: "I never shall grow weary with recalling the tender love of flowers that I witnessed everywhere in Greenland. I never saw there a Danish house without them. They would not bear, throughout the entire length of any single day, exposure to the open air; but then, dear souvenirs of love and love's sweet offices, they keep them safe behind the glass, and nurse them as they nurse within their hearts the kindly ties that bind their lives and memories to sunny skies and summer gardens far away."

tiveness of the place. It was at Pröven that Dr. Hayes was greeted with the sight and smell of these and "every other conceivable accumulation that could exhibit a barbarous contempt for the human nose."

Among the natives there are different degrees of comfort and cleanliness. Some of them, as colonists, become thrifty and well-to-do, and have habitations roomy enough, warm and tidy. Others are outrageously shiftless, and untidy in person, dwelling, and surroundings in the extreme. As before stated, even in Danish Greenland, their lives are on the same plan as when uncivilized, only more or less modified by foreign influence. It is contrary to all the instincts and traditions of the race for one to acquire property and become much better off than his fellows. His natural thriftiness is heavily taxed. If he has more than the set of hunting implements in daily use, they may at any time be borrowed by the veriest lounger, the most careless vagabond of the neighborhood, and refusal to lend will be social death. These tools may be lost or broken: the owner has no redress. He soon comes to give up the unequal struggle, and barely gains a livelihood through life. Such being the case,—accumulation of property being almost an impossibility,—it may be doubted whether foreign interference has been of real benefit to the native Greenlander. It prevents entire reliance on his own resources, and cannot easily give an adequate return. That the natives are possessed of good natural abilities and are quick to learn is abundantly proved. Both "Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo" and "Danish Greenland" are copiously and most graphically illustrated, in the former instance by plates drawn and engraved by native artists, and in the latter by exact copies of drawings made by them, giving a clear idea of their life in all its aspects. It may be interesting to know that the single printing establishment in Greenland is worked by a native, a young man who when a lad spent a winter in Copenhagen, under the eye of Dr. Rink, and during that time learned enough of printing, book-binding, and lithography to set up a successful business at Godthaab on his return. The half-breeds, indeed, are said to be especially apt in learning new ways.

The old fashion of training boys for kayaking was most commendable, and tended to make them self-reliant. At the age of ten or twelve the child was given a little kayak and taught carefully to manage it. For several years he would help maintain the family by spearing fish and birds, and by the time he reached his nineteenth year he was expected to have killed his first seal with harpoon and float, and a great feast honored the occasion. With such native capacity and energy it is sad to read of a poverty and shiftlessness among the

people, in any way gendered and fostered, that admit such sights as this: "Children are seen in rags which scarcely hide their nakedness, their boots being frozen quite hard and stiff on account of not being taken off for several weeks." Men are also seen in winter not much better protected than the people of southern Europe. While extreme hardiness is the result of such a life, over-exposure also induces diseases of the lungs, which quickly carry off the victim. Medicines are furnished by government to the various stations for free distribution, and three physicians are employed, so that each chief station is visited at least once a year. This certainly is not overdoing the thing. The chief difficulty at all times is to persuade the natives to take medicine properly or submit to any rational hygienic rules. The educational and religious interests of the people are far more thoroughly provided for. Besides the four chief Moravian stations at Ny Herrnhut, Lichtenfels, Lichtenall, and Frederiksdal, with eight regular missionaries and various assistants, the Danish government provides liberally for the same purpose. Indeed, the field now seems overworked, and Dr. Rink thinks the United Brethren might withdraw from the country without prejudice to the welfare of the Greenlanders, something of jealousy in these later days having crept in, owing to the numerous sheepfolds and the limited number of sheep.

Space forbids our entering, even most superficially, on an examination of the native traditions and scanty religious beliefs as kept alive in pagan days by the angakoks, sorcerers, or priests. The volume devoted to the ancient tales and legends of this people is filled with stories shedding light on this curious subject, as "Danish Greenland" is packed with the minutest information on the present life and ways of all the inhabitants from Tasinsak to Cape Farewell. With these two volumes in hand we may understand our Greenland neighbors as it was never possible to understand them before, with their hardships, their innate strength of character, their dexterity, their simple wants, their amiable dispositions, together with a world, real and imaginary, all their own. They are altogether a peculiar race on the face of the earth, and the strange actual world about them is but transferred, somewhat distorted, to the fairy world in which their imaginations love to wander.

We gain still further light in regard to this interesting people from the series of sketches published in the *Geographical Magazine* for 1876 and 1877, and written by Mrs. Rink. Herself born in that land, her own amiability also leads her to sympathize most heartily with all the good both in the people and country. Her sketches show a deep love for the brown, desolate coasts, with their gales and storms, and no

less for the warm-hearted, simple-minded natives. Under her guidance we spend, during the summer days, an afternoon in the little garden of the inspector's mansion at Godthaab, with its humble greenhouse, its diminutive vegetables, and, above all, its green sward starred with veritable daisies and dandelions; or seat ourselves on the slopes of the hills looking seaward, and listen to the merry music of the kittiwake-gulls and the chirping of the snow-bunting. We look off down the long colony-road and watch the many groups of girls romping as girls are wont to do; and, later, listen to the call of the successful kayaka to make ready on shore for dividing his spoil. Now the cry, "Posts! Posts!" is heard, and we see two kayakas side by side shooting between the pieces of the ice-floe. In a moment they raise their oars aloft like masts, and we know that a ship is on the coast.

Again, in these same summer days, we spend a fortnight in tents up some sunny fjord where the ground is carpeted with brown heather and green mosses; feast on wild fowl and fresh salmon; laugh at little Magida R. when she comes in "black to her very ears with the juice of berries, laden with flowers and more berries in cups, bottles, perhaps even adopting the national mode of filling a *boot* with them;" and are finally lulled to sleep by "the roaring of the sea and the foaming cascades, the rippling sounds on the mossy ground, and the gentle murmurs of far-away streams." Mrs. R. never once mentions mosquitoes! Mayhap we take a long journey down the coast in umiaks, and learn what ice-navigation really is as we touch station after station.

With the same chatty companion we visit the sober but kindly-hearted Brethren and their families at Ny Herrnhut, pass an afternoon in their neat and cosy quarters, and listen to the church-bell for evening prayers; and as winter comes on we don our heaviest furs and take long walks in the frosty air, and look forth on the majestic scenery of sea and land, iceberg and mountain, as the world puts on its snowy mantle; or turn in-doors, and see with a woman's eyes the domestic life of a well-ordered Greenland household.

These descriptions by Mrs. Rink of her "cherished Northland," her "dear native country," are delightful reading to supplement the volumes we have here noticed; and we trust that many of our readers will take the opportunity thus afforded to become thoroughly acquainted with our neighbors and their little domain just over the sea. If troubled with *ennui*, we would remind them of the homesick remark of the venerable returned Moravian missionary, that "while in Saxony one day ended like another, in Greenland there was always some variety and some news astir."

S. J. DOUGLASS.

HOPE.

THERE is a star that shineth
  Above the thickest gloom,
And the sorrowing heart divineth
  Its light beyond the tomb.
With steady, constant ray it gleams
  Upon the paths of Youth,
And tingeth all its golden dreams
  With the colorings of truth.

Far out upon the ocean
  Its cheering light is shed,
Yet hath no mortal seen this star,
  The living nor the dead;
But in the heart and in the soul
  Where death and danger cope,
Assuring with a firm control
  Doth shine this Star of Hope.

By the late T. H. STEVENS,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. N.

*JAPAN'S ASPIRATIONS AND INTERNATIONALISM.**

"WITH regard to matters of national defence, a single day's neglect may involve a century's regret." In this short sentence the Emperor of Japan sums up the national policy and feeling of his country. It must, however, be clearly understood that by national defences in Japan there is not meant the mere naval and military bulwarks which European nations have been content to rear around themselves, and which, in their point of view, constitute the national defences. In Japan the term has a much wider, and, it must be confessed, a much truer meaning; it is taken to include the preservation to the country of everything that might be threatened by foreign influences. The safeguarding of Japanese trade by an efficient consular service, or of Japanese maritime entrprise by a navigation bounty, is just as much a part of the national defences as the prevention of invasion by a foreign foe. To properly understand what the Japanese consider to be their "national defences" we have to go back to the very early days of foreign intercourse. Then it was that the Japanese realized that to properly defend their country they must be prepared to meet the outside world on every point, not merely physical defence, and be submerged by none. And it is to this interpretation of the meaning of the Emperor's phrase that must be attributed the wonderful progress of that country. For although the world now admits that there is this new first-class nation arisen in the midst of the older nations, these latter are full of suspicion and full of fear as to what may happen as a result of Japan's coming to her full strength. They watch her very much as Jason watched the sprouting of the warriors from the dragon's teeth, and fear the worst, knowing so little of this new force that they have been instrumental in bringing into being. The very fact that it is by her military and naval exploits that Japan has forced recognition from the world, makes the nations fear that they have to do with a warlike and aggressive Power, instead of realizing the right interpretation of her position. The readiness of the

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acceptance of this belief is a sad commentary upon the sentiments and beliefs of the nations of the world, as is also the fact that it was necessary for Japan to win battles before she was at all recognized as a serious Power. By the present war Japan has convinced even the most reluctant of her great qualities as a belligerent without dependence upon whether she obtains the full terms of peace she may demand or not. And the nations of the world are reckoning their own imperfections and shortcomings with a dread of the future developments. For now is the time to ask the question, What are the aspirations of the new Power, and have we to look for peace or for war from the victorious Japanese, to whom a successful termination of the present conflict means the domination of the Far East? This is the question that all those nations who have torn fragments from the living carcass of China must face, and the fear that a warlike Japan may mean danger to their stolen property must cause apprehension, and has already caused the German Emperor to give tongue to the cry of the Yellow Peril. Although this crusade is ostensibly to be directed against an Asiatic menace, in reality it resolves itself into a question of the safety of Kiao-chau and German concessions. And as it is with Germany, so it is with the other nations. Must all the plans of the chancelleries be revised in order to meet a possible danger to possessions in Asia? To answer all this it is only necessary to turn again to the utterances of the Japanese Emperor on the all-important subject of the future of his country; in these there is ample reassurance for the most apprehensive. And in reading the Imperial words, it must never be forgotten that these are no impromptu speeches or telegrams, such as we are accustomed to from the lips of European monarchs or American presidents. They are something far more serious than that, partaking of the nature of proclamations, for the very position of the Japanese Emperor in the eyes of his subjects is so different from anything that can be found in Europe. Besides his position, there is his character to be considered, and also the powers granted him under the Constitution. It is no exaggeration to say that as a monarch the Japanese Emperor stand pre-eminent at the present moment. And he has had to accomplish his great work of making Japan what she is now without any of that preparation for kingship which falls to the lot of Western monarchs. Everything was against him, and yet, at the time of the Restoration, he gathered all the threads into his hand, and for forty years has been the motive-power for progress in every department of his Empire. Situated as he is in isolation, he is not able to touch all the thousand

and one details of national existence; but the broad lines of policy, the essential foundations for success, are due to him. There is no statesman in Japan, however great, not even the wonderful Ito himself, who does not acknowledge that he is but the instrument of the Emperor, and that all his work would have been unavailing had it not been for the Imperial impulse. Speaking little, thinking much, the Emperor is one whose utterances must carry weight with his subjects above anything. And by the Constitution he is granted the greatest powers to enforce his utterances, and to see that the policy he lays down as the best shall be carried out. The Ministers of State are responsible to the Emperor alone, and are dismissed or retained at his pleasure. The Emperor is head of the army and of the navy. As regards foreign relations, he is also supreme. By the thirteenth article of the Constitution, it is held that the conduct of diplomatic affairs forms a part of the Imperial prerogative, and lies entirely outside the rights of the Imperial Diet. Thus the utterances of the Emperor on foreign relations are those of the man who decides those relations, not merely those of one who suggests them. The following extracts from speeches and Imperial edicts allow of no misunderstanding as to the Imperial policy towards foreign countries. In an Imperial proclamation of April 21st, 1895, occurs the following:—

"We deem it that the development of the prestige of the country could be obtained only by peace. It is our mission which we inherited from our ancestors that peace should be maintained in an effectual way. The foundations of the great policy of our ancestors have been made more stable. We desire that, together with our people, we be specially guarded against arrogance or relaxation. It is what we highly object to, that the people should become arrogant by being puffed up with triumph, and despise others rashly, which would go towards losing the respect of foreign Powers. Since the development of the nation can be obtained by peace, it is a divine duty imposed upon us by our ancestors, and it has been our intention and endeavor since our accession to the throne to maintain peace, so as to enjoy it constantly. . . . We are positively against insulting others and falling into idle pride by being elated by victories, and against losing the confidence of our friendly States."

The war with China was entered into in no spirit of aggression, and the results showed that the actions of Japan bore out her avowed intentions as expressed in the following quotation from an Imperial Edict:—"Devoted as we unalterably are, and ever have been, to the principles of peace, we were constrained to take up arms against China for no other reason than our desire to secure for the Orient an endur-

ing peace." At the time of the putting in force of the revised treaties with foreign Powers in 1899, an Imperial Rescript was issued enjoining upon the Japanese people such conduct as would lead "to the end that subjects and strangers alike may enjoy equal privileges and advantages, and that, every source of dissatisfaction being avoided, relations of peace and amity with all nations may be strengthened and consolidated in perpetuity."

From these it is abundantly evident that Japan is for peace and not for war, and, indeed, the whole of her past history confirms this belief. Never invaded, Japan has, in comparison with other nations, known few wars during the two thousand odd years of her existence as a State. The lengthy prolonged negotiations with Russia before the present war showed that the Emperor of Japan was steadfast in his determination to cling to peace. Long before the breaking off of negotiations, the Imperial Diet and the people of Japan had been clamoring for war, and it would have been to Japan's advantage to declare war earlier, but peace was kept, and effort after effort was made to prevent the outbreak. In this connection the following statement of Baron Suyematsu is of considerable interest:—

"It was just one day after the rupture of diplomatic relations with Russia that I met with General Count Katsura, the Premier of Japan, when he told me that during the long-protracted negotiations with Russia not one of our military or naval officers or men had come to him to disturb him with their opinions on diplomacy or politics."

That the war was necessary to secure Japan's very existence does not prove that the Imperial desire was changed, but only shows that there was no peaceful means by which the situation could be solved. It remains true that so long as there are two alternatives Japan will incline to peace.

"Peace at any price," however, does not form a part of the Japanese national policy, nor has there been any lack of wakefulness in the matter of military and naval preparation. One of the first lessons Japan learnt from the Western world was the absolute necessity of possessing an efficient army and navy if she wished for peace. Admiral Fisher, when a delegate to the Peace Congress at the Hague, wrote, as an autograph, "The stronger the British Navy the greater the certainty of peace," and this may be taken to represent the sentiment implanted in Japan by her foreign mentors.

Less than forty years ago Japan was a feudal country under the sway of militarism. The soldiers were all and the merchants were nothing. Now everything is changed, and it has come to be recog-

nized that it is by peaceful means, by the development of commerce and of industries, that the future of the nation is to be made great. Slowly, but surely, this truth was borne in upon the Japanese people by the influence of the Emperor and advanced thinkers, and now, as a nation, they are convinced that, while wars may be necessary to secure permanent peace, they do little good and much harm to the nation. In the words of Baron Shibusawa, the great Japanese financier, when writing of his travels abroad:—

"The President of the United States praised Japan because of her military prowess and fine arts. Are not Germany, France, and England praising Japan up to the skies upon the same ground? If the warm reception I received abroad is based upon the feeling that I came from a country known for its military exploits, I must confess that that reception is a death-blow to our hopes. Because too much militarism, I am afraid, will sap the very life of a nation."

Which is a remarkable demonstration of the change wrought in Japan since the time when she was a feudal country. It is in a nutshell, the new policy of Japan, in her action as a State, just as the Imperial utterances give the policy of Japan towards foreign nations. And since both these policies consider peace and international good-feeling as essential elements in ensuring national progress, it may safely be assumed that there will never be a time when all the weightiest influences of the country will not be thrown into the balance against a possible war. Against this view it may be argued that these are elements which are essential to every nation, and that the welfare of every State is in reality bound up in the maintenance of peace. That may well be so, but in Japan this fact has been recognized and acted upon, while in other countries it is at most a theory.

One part of the rôle that Japan looks to play in the future is shown in an interview with Baron Kaneko Kentaro in America. He said:

"Japan must be the big salesman and the middleman for a trade, the limits of which cannot be at present appreciated by Americans. They will learn more of its possibilities before the present war is ended, and when it is ended, whether to Japan's advantage or to her disadvantage, there will be a rush of commerce to the Far East quite unprecedented in the history of the trade of the world. And America, which is to have the lion's share of this trade, cannot handle it to advantage without Japanese assistance."

What is true of America is also true of the other countries of the world. Just as Hongkong has in the past become the distributing centre for foreign trade in the Far East, so Japan will be the agency

through which foreign countries will do business in the Far East. Not that Japan does not expect to ultimately obtain a large share of the trade for herself; but until she is able to supply the whole demand she is ready to act as middleman for others. This is a policy which is based upon sound common-sense, and which will do much to bring into the country the wealth necessary for national development, and later secure for Japan a premier place in the trading nations of the world.

To be a successful middleman it is absolutely necessary to be on good terms with all nations, which is another argument in favor of the pursuance of a peaceful policy by Japan. But the greatest of all reasons, from her point of view, is that Japan has realized the necessity of the drawing together of the world, and stands as the apostle of internationalism as against the common idea of individualism among nations. It has been recognized that in the future the greatest successes are to fall to those who are international in their conceptions and not insular and individual. This spirit of internationalism breathes in every line of the Emperor's speeches, and can be traced in every page of the history of Japan's foreign relations. It has always been considered bad policy to insult or provoke another nation, even if that action would result in concrete benefit. Thus Japan refused to act with France against China, although at the time it seemed a most opportune method of settling several vital diplomatic questions. With regard to Australia, whose legislation in excluding the Japanese was enacted without consulting the Japanese authorities, though it is regarded as a national insult, Japan recognizes the unpleasant duties of internationalism as well as its benefits, and passes over the affront until such time as England herself shall right the question. It is interesting in this connection to note what the Japanese Consul-General in Sydney has to say upon the subject of Japan's position:—

"We think (he says) we are entitled to recognition as a first-class Power, and to treated with proper respect. Our position, viewed even from a Western standpoint, entitles us to this. . . . We have, during the last half century, made such advances in industry, commerce, literature, science, art, medicine, law, and politics (to say nothing of our army and navy) as to claim equality with Europeans. And we are treated as equals by such nations as Great Britain and the United States of America in all international matters, yet Australia, which is but a part of the British Empire, affects to regard us as inferior."

The Consul-General expressed himself very clearly upon Japan's self-imposed friendship towards other nations:—

"There is nothing to justify the suspicion that should we be successful in any warlike enterprise which, as in the present case, we have been compelled to undertake, we should suffer from "swelled head," and attempt by force of arms to thrust ourselves where we should be unwelcome. . . . It has been suggested to me by several Australians, who are not in favor of restricting the Japanese, that Japan should retaliate by excluding Australians. I do not understand the logic of such a proposal. If Australians are narrow-minded, that is no reason why the Japanese should not be broad-minded."

This declaration would seem to indicate that the Japanese consider their policy of international rectitude so excellent that they are not to be tempted into imitating the faults of other nations even to reach results necessarily delayed by the perfecting of that system. This international sense was strikingly demonstrated during the last visit of Marquis Ito to Europe. Asked why he was anxious to make an agreement with Germany as well as with England, he replied that Japan wanted nothing from Germany in the Far East. But since nearly all great questions, even if they had their origin in the Far East, came to Europe for settlement, he considered it valuable to have Germany as a friend, since that State controlled three votes in the concert of Europe. And it was from this international standpoint that he thought Germany necessary. Evidences of the existence of this international spirit might easily be multiplied. Japan has joined herself with zest to all the great international institutions, and has brought vast improvements to not a few. No great international congresses are to be found without Japanese delegates, who contribute much to the success of the various movements. The Japanese took a deep interest in the formation of the Arbitration Tribunal at the Hague, and it is worthy of remark that they have already submitted a case to this body for decision. Japan has, during the war, adhered scrupulously to the rules of the Hague Convention. This has been testified to by the American Minister to Japan in a remarkable report to his Government. One special point may be mentioned with regard to this, and that is, that whereas the Japanese military authorities have furnished regular reports of the prisoners of war taken from the Russians, which was laid down as an international necessity, there has been practically nothing done on the Russian side in this way, thus causing a great deal of unnecessary anxiety and suffering amongst the families of soldiers in Japan. And this point is only typical of

hundreds of others which might be cited, to demonstrate Japanese loyalty to those rules and regulations to which her delegates subscribed at the Hagne. A very remarkable exposition of Japan's international feeling and actions was given in an interview which Count Katsura, Japanese Prime Minister, accorded to an American missionary recently. In this he said:—

"I do not think that any Government in the world at the outbreak of war ever took such pains as the Government of Japan has taken to emphasize to all the duty of conducting the war in strict accordance with the principles of humanity and the usages of International Law. Immediately upon the opening of hostilities, communications were sent to all the Governors of Prefectures, reminding them of their responsibilities, and especially with regard to any Russians that might be residing within their jurisdiction. Under the authority of the Minister of Education, directions were issued by which all the students in the Empire, from the young men in the higher institutions of learning down to the children in the Primary Schools, have been instructed as to the principles and duties to be observed. In addition to this, communications were sent to the recognized representatives of all the religious bodies in the country—Buddhists, Shintoists, and Christians alike—asking them to take pains to discountenance any wrong tendencies among the more ignorant of the people. Among the points emphasized by the Government are these: That the war is one between the State of Japan and the State of Russia; that it is not waged against individuals; that individuals of all nationalities, peacefully attending to their business, are to suffer no molestation or annoyance whatever; and that questions of religion do not enter into the war at all."

A truly remarkable contrast to the actions of Japan's adversary!

In the early days of the new era in Japan, Baron Shibusawa, who abandoned his official career in order to develop the commercial side of the country, soon discovered that an individual had much less force than a combination of individuals. "I soon came to the conclusion that the capital of an individual was not large enough to accomplish very much, and I then became the means of introducing the company system into Japan." What Shibusawa did in internal national affairs, Japan is determined to do in international. The Japanese have recognized that acts of one nation which affect other nations are matters of general international interest, and should be announced to the world as such. The war with Russia has been regarded in this light, and no efforts have been spared to present to the world a full account of the progress of the war, just as official *communiqués* gave a ré-

sumé of the negotiations preceding it. The somewhat unusual course was taken of transforming all the Japanese legations throughout the world into centres for disseminating news of the war. So admirable were the results that it is probable that in the future similar methods will be adopted by combatants. All the world is interested, is bound to be interested, in a war, and so every effort should be made to supply them with accurate news. This system involves a new standard of national morality, since it is no use taking the world into your confidence if afterwards you do things diametrically opposed to your protestations. It is necessary to be truthful in diplomacy, and to abandon the old policy of *suppressio veri,* as well as the outright deception often considered as one of the essentials. Absolute frankness in international matters is considered in Japan the best policy, but prediction, even when results are morally certain, has no place in a policy of fact. Thus, in the case of the rumor that an ultimatum was to be sent to General Kuropatkin, giving him the chance of surrendering rather than of being annihilated, there is absolute certainty that such a step would not be taken, or the text of the ultimatum sent to the Powers, unless the Japanese commanders in the field knew that they were in a position to annihilate the Russian army, should the ultimatum be refused. It is this definiteness and certainty about the Japanese announcements which make them of such very valuable assistance to the national cause; for Internationalism is useless unless it be accompanied, or rather founded, upon international morality.

The war goes on its even course impeded somewhat by the heavy rains and torrid heat of this season of the year. Perhaps the most significant event is the dispatch of Marquis Oyama to Manchuria as commander-in-chief, with Baron Kodama as his chief of staff. Public attention will soon be riveted upon Baron Kodama, and rightly so, because to him belongs much of the credit, so far, of the successful prosecution of the war. The fact that the Emperor presented him with his favorite charger before his departure to the front is a clear indication of the importance the Emperor attaches to his ability. There are not wanting those who declare that even the great Admiral Togo is but carrying out, in the most praiseworthy style, to be sure, the plans and intentions laid down by Baron Kodama. The Baron's presence in Manchuria is conclusive evidence that the culminating point of the Japanese strategy is at hand, and that rainy season or no rainy season, the great movement against Kuropatkin is on the point of reaping its harvest of success. In the Chinese war in Formosa and in Japan, Baron Kodama has shown his ability, and it is no rash

assumption to say that in him will be found a worthy successor to that other Japanese military master-mind, Marquis Yamagata. Slowly, but surely, the Japanese circle around Port Arthur has contracted under the able generalship of General Nogi, who was second in command at the taking of the fortress from the Chinese. The pressure on the land side and the courage of despair forced the Russian Fleet to sally out of the harbor, but the sorties accomplished nothing, and only gave the Japanese torpedo-craft another opportunity of displaying their skill. This Russian uncertainty it is that has lost so many battles for the forces of the Czar; even General Kuropatkin has fallen so far under its spell as to allow himself to be out-maneuvered at every point by the Japanese. That the Russian Fleet was able to make a sortie at all, after the efforts made to block the harbor, testifies abundantly to their perseverance and engineering skill. It must be regarded, to a great extent, howver, as skill thrown away unless the fleet, when outside, can display greater dash and determination.

The Vladivostok Squadron has repeated its sorties, with more damage to shipping than interruption to the maritime lines of communication of the Japanese. Admiral Kamimura has been the recipient of much blame from foreign and Japanese critics, but there is little doubt that he is carrying out his share of the naval campaign in refusing to be drawn away from the Straits of Korea. Sooner or later the Vladivostok Squadron must succumb or be frozen in or out of their harbor by the approach of winter. The fall of Port Arthur will mean an end to the annoyance of the squadron under Admiral Skrydloff or Admiral Besobrasoff.

Some idea may be gained of the opinion in British circles as to the chances of Port Arthur being able to resist the Japanese attack, from the fact that already negotiations have been begun with China for the purchase of Wei-hai-wei, and possibly some of the adjacent territory. The British lease of Wei-hai-wei is granted only for so long a time as Port Arthur was in the hands of the Russians, and the desire for a more permanent tenure of this harbor is apparently the cause for this opening of negotiations. The Japanese authorities have not failed to press upon Great Britain the necessity for this step. So strongly are they convinced of the value of the place that were the British to relinquish it, the Japanese would feel bound to occupy it themselves. The value of Wei-hai-wei has always been recognized by the Japanese naval and military authorities, and these cannot understand why the British have never fortified the place.

Perhaps, after the purchase of the territory, the British Govern-

ment will not persist, in the face of expert opinion, in making of the place a mere health resort. China—at least, the Pekin officials—are so full of trust in Japan's good faith as to be discussing the administration of Manchuria and selecting the officials to replace those who have fallen hopelessly under Russian influences. Their confidence in Japan's promise to restore the province to them is strengthened by the fact that whenever the Japanese Army occupies a Manchurian town, the Japanese troops are preceded by a Chinese mission bearing Chinese banners. The occupation of Dalny by the Japanese was announced by the hoisting of Chinese and Japanese flags. If the Chinese, who are the most vitally interested party, are prepared to trust the Japanese promises, it should not be difficult for the other Powers to do the same, having so much less at stake.

ALFRED STEAD.

*FIELD MARSHAL SUVAROFF.**

"Attack at once with the first troops to come up."—*Discourse under the Trigger.*

THE military talent of Russia was developed in a marked degree during the reign of Catharine II. That queen was to her country somewhat the same as Louis XIV. was to France, Frederic II. to Prussia, and Charles V. to Spain. It was her policy to encourage accomplished generalship, and the greatest of her generals was the illustrious Count Alexander Vasilivitch Suvaroff, Prince Italiiski and field-marshal-general of Russia. In the eighteenth century, Frederic the Great, Charles XII., Prince Eugene, and Marshals Saxe, Villars, Münich, Laudon, and Schwerin, were the foremost masters of the art of war in Europe; and, with the sole exception of Frederic of Prussia, Marshal Suvaroff may be ranked at the front of these generals in capacity to plan and ability to prosecute the most daring, hardy, and difficult campaigns. Nor did he lead his troops to victory so often because the conditions and circumstances were favorable to his triumphs, but for the reason that he drew his inspiration from a genius seasoned by experience and the practical and perilous instruction of the field. His lessons were from life, and as such the soldier reads them.

Alexander Suvaroff was of Swedish extraction. When Peter the Great acquired Livonia, Suvaroff's grandsire entered his service and was well received. Basil, this senior Suvaroff's son and Alexander's father, was employed by the court in diplomatic negotiations; but his pecuniary resources were small, a fact which proved to him the necessity of qualifying his son by an excellent education to rise in his own profession. He had experienced the vicissitudes of courts, and deemed those of the camp less desirable. But his son had felt the strength and scope of his own powers, and early made choice of a calling for himself, that of the sword, the bayonet, and the battle. Expostulation was lost upon him; his mind was made up; he would be a soldier at whatever cost. Finding this resolution irrevocable, his father gave him every aid to follow out his chosen career. Young Suvaroff had read and heard much of the great soldiers of Europe of his day, and of course, boy-like, had idols and heroes of his heart.

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He had grown familiar with the campaigns of Cæsar and Hannibal among the ancients, and knew of Charles of Sweden and his reckless battles; but the general who commanded his highest admiration was the Italian, Raimondo Montecuculi, that calculating strategist of the Austrian service, and author of several military treatises of merit.

Basil Suvaroff rose to be a general and senator in the Russian service, and his influence enabled Alexander to enroll himself at the age of thirteen, in 1742-43 (old and new style), in the Semenov regiment, in which he nominally remained two years, while *living* (not serving) an apprenticeship preparatory to receiving a commission. The elder Suvaroff had neglected to nominate his son, at his birth, as a soldier of the empire, a privilege allowed to the nobles to insure high rank for the young officer when he attained an age adapted to his assuming it; so that the younger Suvaroff was obliged to pass in person through the under grades of private, corporal, and sergeant before attaining the rank of subaltern. He was nineteen, therefore, when promoted to a lieutenancy in the guards, during the reign of the Empress Elizabeth. Despite the delay of this novitiate, however, Alexander lost little, having the advantages of nature and tradition in being of the military and heroic race of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII., at a time, too, when the arms of Finland had conquered for themselves the respect and admiration of Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, that young Suvaroff is found at the age of twenty-six (1757) a lieutenant-colonel in the regular army. From private to lieutenant-colonel in the course of a dozen years by regular steps of promotion was a rapid ascent, though the process served to graduate into thorough soldiership the ambitious young Finn.

At that hour, Europe was in flames. The fourth campaign of the Seven Years' War was just begun, that weighty coalition of Russia, France, and Austria against the hero of Prussia, single-handed. It is needless for the purpose of this personal sketch to enter into the causes of this giant conflict. An analysis of its merits belongs more to the historian than the biographer. Its battles are now enough for us. The engagement of Künersdorf, in the campaign of 1759, was the first actual field-fight of consequence in which Suvaroff bore a part. This battle was distinguished by its dreadful bloodshed and destruction of life. A few hours before the battle, an aide from Ferdinand of Brunswick arrived at Frederic's camp with the account of the French defeat at Minden. "As I intend to attack the Russians presently," was the great captain's reply, "wait here for a short time, that you may carry to the duke a piece of news as important as that which he has sent to me." The aide, however, went back with a dif-

ferent story. Here young Suvaroff saw the realities of war indeed, and for gallantry in action was made a colonel, in no sense shrinking from the duties and dangers of the field, a field which reduced to sixty thousand exhausted men the magnificent forces of Prussia, and which if it had but been duly followed up would have placed Berlin at the mercy of two hundred thousand allied troops flushed with victory and thirsty for revenge. But Soltikof was unequal to grasp the fortunes of success, Frederic easily escaped to rouse and rally his kingdom to meet the dark emergency, and Prussia was saved for the nonce; but in 1760, the Russians under Todleben and Tchernichef marched triumphantly to Berlin. Suvaroff was also in this last expedition, and bore himself well,—as usual. In fact, it was his wont to let himself be heard of on every field of battle where he was present. Among his minor engagements at this time stands out his attack on General Schenkendorf, in the environs of Stargard, at the head of eight squadrons of hussars, and the routing of the Prussians with heavy loss; and likewise his desperate skirmish with Colonel Courbieres in command of the advance of Plathen's division, where he turned the tide of defeat by a charge of his Cossacks, repulsing the grenadiers, and compelling two battalions of infantry to lay down their arms, thus largely contributing to the Prussian discomfiture and thwarting the relief of Colberg. These furious affairs obtained for Suvaroff the colonelcy of the brave regiment of Astrachan, then in garrison at St. Petersburg (August, 1762), which command he held at the commencement of the glorious reign of Catharine II., a period largely signalized by his own martial exploits.

The Empress Elizabeth died, and Peter III. succeeded to the throne; but Catharine, his wife, was more of a man than he, and soon took from his puerile hand the sceptre and pusillanimous brow the crown. No more ambitious woman ever held sway than this. She was a thorough Russian. She stood afar up in the north, and looked calmly but not without the deepest concern upon the strifes of the rest of Europe. The dissensions of Germany and indifference of France filled her with the idea of profiting by their dismemberment. She might even acquire control of the balance of power in Europe. At any rate, it was a political stake worth playing for. The maxim she accordingly adopted in furtherance of her ends was, "*Divide et impera.*" Her first victim was Poland. Her next was to be Turkey. The former fell,—the latter stood firm.

Catharine at once began the game with system. She concluded a peace with Prussia, recalling her armies from Germany. A corps of fifteen thousand, however, halted in Courland, while the rest marched

to the borders of Russia. Another body of two thousand troops also stopped to garrison Graudentz, a small town in Poland. The Poles were in a chaotic state relative to the choice of a sovereign, and Catharine had determined to decide the matter for them by the partition of the country, herself to have the lioness's share. Imprudent Poland guilelessly held out her hands to the fetters craftily forged for her. We will not here go into the subject of Poland's wrongs and ruin further than its military bearings warrant. The war of the Confederation had begun.

At that moment Suvaroff was quartered with his men at the capital. In November, 1769, he received imperial orders to march into Poland with his Astrachan regiment and another, with the rank of brigadier of battalion. Count Weymarn had supreme command of the army, a subtle, intriguing man, though an officer of experience. On reaching Warsaw they found the Poles as usual, about equally divided, in array against each other. Weymarn cut up his army into numerous bodies, and detailed these among the various parties of insurgents, irrespective of sides, so that thus the spirit of resistance was shrewdly checked and kept from spreading. General Suvaroff was sent to Lublin, near the centre of the land, with an important force, consisting of his own two regiments of infantry together with the regiment of Narva, the carabineers of St. Petersburg, a regiment of cuirassiers, and another of Cossacks, the whole forming a division of which Suvaroff was major-general. The duty assigned him was to break up the small armies of Poles in every direction surrounding that position. This part he well performed, and finally almost all the important operations of the Polish war were planned and put into execution by him, to his personal credit with the queen and great popular glory. Indeed, his name had by this begun to be known over Europe as that of a very skillful strategist. Among Suvaroff's triumphs here worthy of special mention was that over Sava in Lithuania, April 26, 1771; that over Dumouriez (who was sent by France to interfere in behalf of Poland); and that over Viomenil (our Yorktown hero) at the town and fort of Cracow. On the 5th of August, 1772, a treaty was signed at St. Petersburg between Russia, Austria, and Prussia which annihilated the liberties of Poland. General Suvaroff returned, a hero, to the feet of the empress, to receive distinguished honors (the decoration of the military order of St. George) and the tributes of the capital. Suvaroff is said to have been peculiarly proud of receiving decorations and marks of royal favor, though seldom wearing them, except when their absence would be noticed,—perhaps a pardonable vanity, when won by excellence. This soldier's next cam-

paign was against Turkey, Catharine's second subject of attention after her successful subjugation of poor Poland, and one in which her doughty champion was not less able gallant laurels to achieve.

After severe illness, which incapacitated him for active service for a season, Suvaroff rejoined the army in April, 1774, with the rank of lieutenant-general, the empress having thus properly promoted him. Catharine was a wise judge of character, and read her favorite general aright. He assumed command of a division of twelve thousand men. But little, however, was gained during this campaign, excepting the victory won by the Russians near the hamlet of Koslondje. General Kamenski, strengthened by Suvaroff with a part of his force, was attacked by the Turks under Rais Effendi, their object being to drive the Russians from the right bank of the Danube. Suvaroff bore the brunt of the assault, but repulsed the Turks, and assailed them in turn. The Russians engaged numbered fifteen thousand, the Turks forty thousand; but the latter, notwithstanding this vast inequality, were completely routed, driven from one post to another, their camp and artillery captured, some three thousand of their men killed, and many prisoners taken. Its effects were decisive, but the Empress Catharine suspended operations at this point, being satisfied with her easy gains (of the territory of Asoph, the right to the navigation of the Black Sea, a free passage of the Dardanelles, and an acknowledgment of the independence of the Crimean and Kuban Tartars), and peace was concluded at Kainardji the same year.

In truth, Catharine had other motives in abstaining from the conquest of Turkey than mere humanity, however. She had fears for her own safety at home. Internal dissensions had grown up to an alarming extent among the Russian provinces, subjects and sovereign were at loggerheads, the queen required her best soldiery about her to preserve peace in her own realms, and Catharine was too well acquainted with the character of her native grumblers to wish to lose an opportunity of securing the faithful and valuable services of General Suvaroff to guard the sanctity of the throne. He was, accordingly, detailed with his victorious division to dispose of the celebrated Don Cossack insurgent Pougatchef. But Russian gold did what Russian valor had no time or opportunity to do, Pougatchef was betrayed and delivered up by three of his followers, and put to death at Moscow in penalty for his crime. After this, the army went into winter quarters at Sinbirsk, Suvaroff's corps being stationed in the departments of Penza and Kazan.

General Suvaroff was now often at Moscow, and a very natural consequence of his commingling in social circles there resulted. In the

winter of 1775 he married the princess Barba Joanovna, daughter of the prince and general Prosorovski, his old companion in arms both in Poland and Turkey. This marriage, however, turned out unfortunately. We may at this point take a rapid survey of some of Suvaroff's personal characteristics while the famous soldier is resting for a moment from his wars. The general was small of stature, being but five feet one inch in height, but closely knit of frame, and extremely active. His features were firm, but harsh of expression. Although so short, he was manly and military of bearing, priding himself upon his soldierly appearance and deportment. In conduct he was odd, and even uncouth and brusque, to eccentricity. He allowed himself no self-indulgence or luxury of living, his daily habit being to rise at daybreak and rouse his camp by crowing like a cock at the entrance of his tent. If he failed to awaken before sunrise, an orderly had directions to throw a pail of water over him in his bed as a deserved punishment for laziness and a lesson thereafter to be less tardy in getting up and setting about the duties of the day. At table, if he lingered longer than ten minutes, a soldier was to come in, and, saluting the general, say, "It is time to stop eating and drinking." "By whose order?" was the general's wonted inquiry. "By that of Marshal Suvaroff," was the reply. "Then," the general would say, rising, "he must be obeyed."

That his oddities had some express end in view, even if concealed at the moment, is seen from the following anecdote: During the Polish campaign, finding himself with a very small body of troops face to face with a strong force of the enemy, he discovered a spy among his suite, and, with his usual quickness of resources, instantly resolved to make use of him to extricate his command from the perilous situation. He straightway issued an order of the day, to the effect that at the first cock-crowing he should march to the attack. The spy at once went over to the other side with the information. The same afternoon, however, Suvaroff started up and ran through his camp crowing lustily, whereat his troops sprang immediately to arms and rushed against the enemy. The Poles were taken by surprise, not expecting an assault before next day, and underwent a complete defeat. The story goes on to say that the spy was made prisoner and brought to the general's presence for an order for his shooting, but that, on the contrary, Suvaroff directed him to be set at liberty, with thanks for his involuntary contribution to the good fortune of the enterprise. In the art of hood-winking an adversary Suvaroff had no superior.

The general enjoyed excellent health in the field, the reward of temperance, regular exercise, and hardihood of habit. His life was

simple. He rose at dawn; buckets of cold water were thrown over his body; and he dressed himself. At eight or nine in the evening he dined on the same fare as his army, coarse or sour bread, broth or gruel of oatmeal or barley, slices of salt meat, and a scrap of cheese. His ordinary drink was a beer made from fermented wheat (called by the Russians kislichtschy), and a glass of brandy at meals. As soon as he had dined, he slept for two or three hours in his chair, then woke to work, and only lay down for a couple of hours before morning. He usually performed his devotions, after each meal and at night when going to bed, before an image of St. Nicholas, Russia's patron saint. Often he preferred the floor to a camp-cot. In the field he would sleep on the bare ground. He had no guard about his tent, saying, "My whole army are my guard." The common soldier he held as a friend, and was perfectly approachable to him at every hour of the twenty-four, generally himself adopting his mode of living from choice while campaigning. These ways of life, for a noble who had been indulgently brought up under his father's roof, were thought to be evidences of genius and good will by the soldiery, and greatly appreciated and applauded. Consequently, although the sternest of martinets, Marshal Suvaroff was by all odds the most popular commander in the Russian army.

He was charged with cruelty by his enemies, who gave him the title of the Cannibal. In his Turkish wars he was obliged, being far from reinforcements and supplies, to put to the sword troops who might have been made prisoners of war in the heart of Europe; but such events he regarded as but the accidents and fortunes of war, and entirely governed by exigency, with no fanciful or sentimental privilege of expediency. War was a game of blood and death, and he asked of his captors, *if they could take him*, only the same treatment he had exercised towards his own opponents. But, probably, he was correctly nicknamed, being a native of the land of Charles XII., and a soldier of the country of Peter the Great, neither of whom are celebrated for mercy or pity to the fallen. Poland cannot be regarded as a signal monument of Russian clemency, and Suvaroff was the chief agent or instrument made use of by Catharine for the dismemberment and destruction of the nation of Pulaski, Sobieski, and our own Kosciusko. He performed his task thoroughly, and if success is the sole criterion of military merit, discharged no other than a soldier's duty.

Suvaroff was literally devoted to the death to his empress, Catharine: her service owned him, body and soul. Said the old marshal, in his last moments, with fervor, "I was but a simple soldier; she saw

the zeal I had to serve her. I owe her more than life; she gave me the means to make myself illustrious. Tell her son that I accept his imperial pledge. Look at this portrait of Catharine; it has never quitted me. The favor I demand is that it may be buried with me in the grave, and remain forever on my heart." Fidelity and gratitude are none too common qualities of character to be passed over lightly in estimating the true and inmost nature of this man. The distinction of Suvaroff began mainly when he became commander-in-chief, dating, perhaps, from the year 1787, when the second Russian war with Turkey commenced. In that high grade the independent thought and action of his genius more fully asserted itself, not only in battle, but among the political measures of the nations, and his power was felt more fully by himself, and impressed the stronger on those whom he controlled or opposed in council or the field. With him the interests of Russia were pre-eminent, and not to yield to those of all the rest of Europe put together,—a thoroughly patriotic principle.

Suvaroff's eccentricities have been supposed to have been the result of method and purposely adopted. "He plays the fool," said Prince Potemkin to the Austrian general Jordis; "but with all his follies he is full of spirit and versed in stratagem. He deserves high notice." This was when Suvaroff was a young officer. Catharine herself is stated to have said of him, "Almost all the greatest men spoken of in history had some peculiarities of habit which neither their own exertions nor reputation, nor time itself, was ever able to destroy. A man of so great a soul, deeply occupied with his designs, no doubt disdained to seriously labor in the reformation of slight shades of conduct which were of small consequence, and which served, if they were not intended, to distinguish him from the ordinary crowd." This remark of the empress is reported to have become, to her general, the subject of profound reflection, and to have confirmed him in his desire to be conspicuous, even by reason of singularities. The author of a Russian sketch of Prince Repnin writes of Suvaroff's strange mannerisms:—

"Constancy in their pursuits is the characteristic of great minds. From the moment that Suvaroff adopted his resolution until his last sigh he was faithful to the system he had chosen. His prophetic mind foresaw that as soon as success had crowned his efforts the singularity which at first excited the astonishment, would finally acquire for him the confidence of his soldiers. Experience soon established what his genius had predicted, and confirmed him in his system by showing the influence it produced." Such is believed to have been the origin of those habits and ways of life by which Marshal Suvaroff acquired over his soldiery, who had learned little else than how to obey, an

ascendency which often led them on to victory and conquest. They were expedients which would have been contemptible in a small mind, but in a great man even assume the proportions and appearance of genius. A Suvaroff might well do what only a successful hero dare attempt.

Returning to our story of Suvaroff's remarkable career, only the merest mention may be made of some of his initial achievements before promotion to the commandership-in-chief of the Russian army. The Kuban was an extensive province lying between the Sea of Azof and Caspian Sea and the mountains of Caucasus. It was inhabited by Tartar tribes, similar to those of the Crimea. The possession of it would assure to Russia control of the seas in question and command of a vast extent of territory densely populated.

Catharine coveted that province, and, accordingly, dispatched her favorite general to the Kuban, at the head of an imperial army of invaders. Desultory fighting ensued everywhere, but Suvaroff, always accustomed to success, took complete possession of the country. It was indeed a memorable day when the savage descendants of Genghis Khan, the old conqueror of the Russias, were constrained to bow the knee to their former slaves and become the subjects of the colossal empire of Catharine. After this signal conquest Suvaroff remained some time in the Kuban, building forts, swearing the natives to fealty, and drilling new recruits for his flag. He was thus occupied from 1777 to 1779, a couple of years most profitably spent for the advantage and commendation of his imperial idol, whose applause came gratefully to him from St. Petersburg. In 1783, Suvaroff was given command of a fleet equipped at Astrachan for contemplated interferences with the English and French occupation of India, but before engaging in action with those powers the proposed project became no longer desirable and was abandoned. From that period until the year 1787, when the next Turkish war broke out, Suvaroff passed his life in unavoidable quiet. But the time thus lost to practice was devoted to the acquisition of more perfect theory in his profession.

When the Crimea was subdued, Catharine undertook a journey thither for the purpose of duly impressing its people with the power and grandeur of the Russian empire and its sovereign. She was pioneered through her visit by Prince Potemkin, and the whole Russian army was set in motion to swell the train of the empress, being posted in divisions all along the route from Moscow even to the Crimea, with the best-known generals at its head. Suvaroff received command of the Krementschug division on the Dnieper, a corps consisting of twelve thousand infantry and three thousand Cossack cavalry, all

newly equipped for the occasion. But a higher honor was in store for him, for before he set out from St. Petersburg for Krementschug the empress created him first commander-in-chief. This was in November, 1786. Catharine herself began her journey from the capital January 18, 1787, but did not reach Krementschug until April, when everything was in the most gorgeous readiness for her reception. A palace had been built, with superb gardens and graded walks, and the whole division performed its maneuvers with precision on a grand parade-ground. Before her departure from this point the queen distributed her marks of favor with a liberal hand. Suvaroff stood apart from the group of recipients, but the empress straightway summoned him to her side.

"And you, general," said she, "do you ask nothing?"

"Madame," answered the grim warrior, "I have only to request you to pay for my lodgings." The sum total was but three rubles, and the bill was duly paid, and the marshal's eccentricity lightly pardoned. It was intended as a direct snub to the cupidity of the courtiers who crowded about the throne for plunder.

We need not follow the empress farther on her route. She passed over her road safely, returning to St. Petersburg in July. At this time Turkey was aflame with jealousy at Russia's success in the Crimea,—always a fruitful branch of contention,—and was ripe for hostilities. War was accordingly declared August 18, 1787, by Mustapha III. Suvaroff was dispatched to Pultowa in the Ukraine to assemble the army, and Catharine went thither to wish them Godspeed on their way to the war. The Turks were in possession of Oczakof, with a considerable fleet, their intention being to sally forth from there and harass the coasts of the Crimea, which were very vulnerable to their assaults. Suvaroff centered his forces at Cherson in the month of August. The Turks were eighty thousand strong at Oczakof, while ninety thousand more marched to the Danube under command of Capudar Pacha.

It was in this campaign that Suvaroff first brought the bayonet into prominent use among the Russians. It became his chief reliance and the main weapon of his "children," as he called his troops. Said he in his "catechism:"—

"Push hard with the bayonet. The ball will lose its way, the bayonet never. The ball is a fool, the bayonet a hero. Stab once, and off with the Turk from the bayonet. Stab the second,—stab the third,—a hero will stab half a dozen. If three attack you, bayonet the first, fire on the second, and bayonet the third. Work with your bayonet, my children!"

Of the Russian army extending from the Ukraine to the Kuban Prince Potemkin was generalissimo, having under him Suvaroff, chief-commander, and Generals Repnin, Soltikoff, Galitzen, Koutousoff, Kaminski, and Paul Potemkin, with others. Prince Potemkin took charge of the army of Bessarabia in person, a force alone of one hundred thousand men. A coalition had been formed with Austria, and the Prince of Saxe-Coburg was also in the field with some thirty thousand Austrians. The destruction of the Turkish empire in Europe was decreed upon a grad scale, as it was the uniform opinion over Christendom that it was "the duty of Christian princes to suffer the Turk to be in Europe no longer," and it was solemnly declared by the "powers" that while sharing the spoils of those infidels the main ends in view were the furtherance of the cause of true religion and the avenging the wrongs of mankind. It was a holy war. Joseph II. straightway laid siege to Belgrade, invading Servia with one hundred and ten thousand men. Everything prognosticated the ruin of the Ottoman power, poor, forlorn Turkey, the land of the "Moslem dogs," against the then best troops of the north. However, the Turks, always plucky in fight, struck the first blow, and Suvaroff had the sole honor of repulsing them. The little fortress of Kinbourn stood on a peninsula in front of Oczakof, commanding the entrance to the harbor. It was an important position to both the Turks and Russians. The pacha of Oczakof embarked six thousand men, with orders to his officers to land on the sand-bar out of gunshot of the fort. Suvaroff *chanced* to be on the spot. He had a strong garrison in Kinbourn, and a body of soldiery stationed behind it in its shadow. He offered no obstacle to hinder the Turks from landing, which they did, the boats returning to Oczakof for reinforcements. Six thousand Turks marched towards the town to carry it by storm, thinking that they had taken the defenders by surprise. But, at the word, three regiments of Cossack horse and a regiment of infantry sallied from the fort and charged the assailants with fury. The Turks stood firm, and a bloody battle ensued, both sides evincing desperate courage, amid great carnage from gun, sabre, and bayonet. Largely outnumbered the Russians could hardly keep their ground, and their position was rapidly becoming critical. Writes De Laverne, in his fine work on Suvaroff, "The superiority of their tactics was at this moment of no service, for every maneuver was impracticable. Crowd was opposed to crowd. The intrepid Suvaroff fought in the midst of his soldiers, sword in hand. His horse was killed under him, and he himself at last received a musket-ball in the shoulder. The wound was washed and bound up by a Cossack, and he returned to battle. His

aspect, his voice, inspired his sinking troops with fresh courage. Reanimated by his presence, they persisted in the fight until time was afforded to a reinforcement of ten squadrons of light dragoons and some infantry, which had been sent for by Suvaroff, to arrive upon the field of battle. The cavalry decided the contest. The Turks, already in confusion, were not able to sustain the shock of a body of horse which charged them in column without giving the smallest time for preparation. Flight was impossible, and they fought in despair, dying bravely on the ground. The few that escaped to the water-side not being able to find their boats, were driven by the Cossacks into the waves or cut to pieces on the shore. The loss of the Russians was of course considerable, and an immense number of them were wounded. On the occasion of this victory, which was the first in the war, a *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted at St. Petersburg, and the empress wrote with her own hand a flattering letter to Suvaroff." So severe a loss and lesson was this action to the Turks that they made no more descents of that sort for the rest of the war. The cost was too great. It was during this campaign, and in the spring and summer of 1788, that John Paul Jones, our American commodore, in command of part of the Russian fleet under the Prince of Nassau, gallantly flogged the Turkish navy at Oczakof, which stronghold finally fell on the 6th of December of that year.

General Suvaroff had a severe siege with his wound, the surgeon's knife having to be used so freely that a fearful fever followed upon the removal of gangrene, and brought him to the brink of dissolution; but the hardihood of his constitution carried him past the crisis, and in the course of some weeks he was able to make a journey to St. Petersburg and receive the gifts and gratulations of the empress in person. Catharine, as she could not increase his rank, presented him a plume of diamonds for his helmet. Here the hero spent the winter, but in the month of March again returned to the army, then at Jassy. He was ordered to co-operate with his corps in the offensive movements of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, who with part of the Austrians in Moldavia was co-operating with the force in Servia commanded by Marshal Laudon. The object of these operations was, first the subjugation of Servia, next of Wallachia, then of Moldavia, and last of Bulgaria, if the season allowed. But all of these plans failed, and Suvaroff could but cover the Austrian provinces themselves from invasion in turn by the exasperated enemy. He had learned in the field to fight the Turks with effect; indeed, he and they were natural-born foes judging by the fruit of their intercourse. In his discourse "Under the Trigger," drawn up by him just after this war, a copy

of which "catechism" was transmitted by the Russian government to every regiment in the service, says he:—

"Stab once, and off with the Turk from the bayonet. Even when he's dead you may get a scratch from his sabre. If the sabre is near your neck, dodge back one step and push on again.

"Booty is a holy thing. If you take a camp, it is all yours. If you take a fortress, it is all yours. At Ismail, besides other things, the soldiers shared gold and silver by handfuls.

"The attack *behind* is very good only for a small corps to get round. Heavy battle in the field against regular troops. In squares against Turks, and not in columns. It may happen against Turks that a square of five hundred men will be compelled to force its way through a troop of six or seven thousand, with the help of small squares on the flank. In such a case it will extend in a column.

"The Turk has also hands, but he knows not the Russian bayonet. Draw out the line immediately and instantly attack with cold arms. . . Cossack cavalry will go through anything.

"In the last campaign the Turk lost seventy-five thousand well-counted men, perhaps not less than one hundred thousand. He fought desperately and artfully, and we lost not a full thousand. There, gentlemen, you behold the effect of military instruction. Officers, what a triumph!"

On the 21st of July, 1789, the battle of Forhani was fought and won by the Russians and Austrians over the Turks,—the former being commanded by Suvaroff,—the only noted event of the summer; and in September the bloody battle of Rymnik took place. The Turkish centre, under the grand vizier in person, was covered by the village of Boscha, but was cut by Suvaroff, who thus separated the massed main body from one of its flanks, rendering useless the formidable artillery train which had been gathered at that point. Upon Suvaroff's arrival at the front, the Turks, already demoralized by the Austrian attack, broke in flight to the forests back of their position and a little to the right of their camp. The general at once saw, with his marvelous intuition, that the field was already won, but that the Austrians had failed to secure their victory by following it up in force. He accordingly marched straight on the wood where the Turks made their stand. His infantry advanced in column, animated by the voice and gestures of their general.

"My children," shouted he to his soldiers as they charged the enemy's intrenchments, "look not at the eyes of your foe, but at his breast,—it is there that your bayonet must rest."

His cavalry supported the infantry, and, while the latter were em-

ploying the attention of the Turks, rode through the wood and galloped in behind the earth-works. In the meantime the Austrians had arrived to the support, and the simultaneous assault of both forces was made. The enemy, after an hour's hard fighting, gave way; the cavalry charged them with vigor, and the slaughter became dreadful, as it was necessary to thus diminish the superior numbers of the Turks. Twelve thousand were slain or driven into the river Rymnik and drowned; the camp fell into the hands of the conqueror, an immense booty being secured, and the Turkish forces fled or were made prisoners of war. That army amounted to one hundred and ten thousand and the Russians and Austrians together to about thirty thousand. The results of the campaign were signal. Bender and Belgrade capitulated, the Russians went into winter quarters at Berlat, while the Turks, disheartened, painfully rallied their resources for another struggle in the spring. Suvaroff was rewarded with honors. Catharine bestowed upon him the surname of Rymnikski, presenting him with a splendid sword and a laurel branch of diamonds for his casque. She also created him a count of the empire and sent him the grand military order of St. George. Joseph II., of Austria, gave him the dignity of count of the German empire likewise.

In April, 1790, active hostilities were resumed, with small success. Potemkin laid siege to Ismail, on one of the mouths of the Danube (that "beautiful blue" river so often reddened by men), but this stronghold of the Moslems, well stored and garrisoned, was as firm at the end of half a year's siege as when it was first begun. It was regarded as the last bulwark of the "infidels," a post to be equally well attacked and defended respectively by Russian and Turk; and the Russians, in despair, were about to give up the attempt and go into winter quarters after their six or seven months of failure, when Suvaroff was suddenly ordered to move in front of Ismail with his army corps and assault the fortifications at the point of the bayonet. From Galatz he instantly set out, passed the Pruth with what force he had with him, sending out scouts to order up any and all troops in the vicinity at the quickstep. Ribas, general of the Russian fleet, was at the mouth of the Danube.

This final achievement of Suvaroff in the Turko-Russian war of that date was the one which gave a predominant coloring to his reputation in Western Europe, affording a fine display of the great captain's military powers and prowess. He advanced promptly with a few regiments, marching to the front at a moment's notice in strict obedience and conformity with his own familiar precept of "attack instantly with whatever arrives," thus enforcing and illustrating the

supreme importance in war of the exercise of energy, enterprise, and the do-*something* principle in the face of the foe. Suvaroff's trigger-discourse is a very essential primer for the professional soldier. The drill-officer is told to thus instruct his squad as it is drawn up in line before him:

"Heels close,—knees straight! A soldier must stand like a dart.

"A soldier's step is twenty-eight inches; in wheeling, forty-two inches.

"Join elbows in front,—first rank three steps from the second,—in marching, two! Keep your distances well!

"Give the drum room!

"Fire seldom, but fire sure! Be sure your ball's in your gun. In the attack there's no time to load again.

"When you fire, aim at their guts, and fire about twenty balls. We lose not one ball in thirty,—in light and heavy artillery, not one in ten.

"If you see the match on a gun, run up to it instantly. The ball will fly over your head,—the gun is yours, the gunners are yours. Cut them down on the spot.

"To the yielding give quarter. It's a sin to kill without reason. They are men like you.

"Die for the sake of the Virgin,—for your mother (the empress),—for the royal family! The church prays for those that die, and those who survive have honor and reward.

"Bully not the inoffensive inhabitant! He gives us meat and drink. The soldier is not a robber."

On the 11th of December, 1790, when Suvaroff was sixty years old, he fought the famous battle of Ismaïl. On the 9th he sent a summons for surrender to the pacha commandant, who coolly counseled the Russians to retire and not encounter the inclemency of the coming season. On the 10th a last demand was made, when the Turk replied in anger,—

"The Danube shall stop its course and the heavens bend to the earth sooner than Ismaïl surrender to the Russians."

Suvaroff then gave notice that if a white flag was not hung out the same day he pledged his word that he would take the town by assault and put the garrison to the sword. He next assembled his generals and arranged the plan of attack. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the morning of the 11th, a musket was fired from the general's tent as a signal to prepare for action. At four a second musket was fired, a signal to form for the advance. And at five a third musket was fired, the signal to march to the assault. At the sound the whole army was

set in motion in six columns. The squadron under Ribas was formed in three lines and pushed on towards the town. The Russian force was thus commanded: left, three columns, Paul Potemkin, the prince's cousin; right, three columns, Sanroilof, lieutenant-general; at the centre was the commander in chief, Suvaroff, a host in himself. Many strangers of eminence were with the fleet, Prince de Ligne, Count de Langeron, and Duke de Fransac, each having the honorary rank of colonel in the Russian service.

The Turks permitted the six columns to approach their outlying breastworks to within a hundred yards unmolested, when they saluted them with a general cannonade of grape-shot, which cut them fearfully to pieces but did not stop their onset. They came to the banks of the wet ditch, steadily under fire, threw in their fascines, rushed across, and reached the defenses, where they swiftly raised their ladders, and ran rapidly up the works with fury. At half-past five o'clock the second column, under Major General Lascy, was upon the ramparts; and at six o'clock the first and third columns were on the walls. The sixth column, under Major General Kutusof, was detained by the effort to help on the fourth and fifth columns, which were made up of raw recruits. By eight o'clock, however, all the Russian columns had mounted the walls of Ismaïl.

The fighting thus far had been desperate and deadly, but desultory. Most of the fourth and fifth columns consisted of young peasants who had never seen real warfare before (and Suvaroff's was *very* real), and not knowing the valor of the Turks, had been cut down by their cimeters in the ditch at the foot of the earth-works, the Turks having sallied out on seeing their confusion. But now a different kind of conflict was to be waged. The Russians flung themselves from the walls within the fortifications, and fought the enemy hand to hand in turn. The Turks made a most obstinate resistance, even the women striking with short swords at the soldiers, and mingling wildly in the ranks among the men. So desperate, indeed, was the courage of the Turks that it was noon before the Russians were able to cleave their way over the heaps of killed and wounded to the square of the citadel. And here they found their steps arrested by a strong body of Crimean Tartars under the brother of the khan, who would not yield, but fell to the last man with wounds upon the stones. But by 2 P. M. the Russians were masters of Ismaïl. The Turkish commander was killed, with almost all his officers and three-quarters of his garrison. By four o'clock the slaughter of armed citizens by the cavalry had ceased, but, as agreed, the town was given up to the brutality of the soldiery during the space of three days. Suvaroff

was victorious and Ismaïl had fallen. Said the conqueror in his report of the success to his sovereign,—

"The haughty Ismaïl is at your feet;" and to Prince Potemkin he wrote,—

"Glory to God and your excellency, the town is taken. *I am in it.* The Russian flag is waving on the minarets of Ismaïl. All is ours."

The loss of the Turks summed up to thirty-three thousand killed and wounded and ten thousand prisoners of war. The Russian casualties were two thousand killed and two thousand five hundred wounded. Some six thousand women and children were carried off to Russia to augment the population of that empire.

Says a Frenchman, an officer of dragoons, speaking of Suvaroff and Ismaïl, "As Suvaroff began to be celebrated throughout Europe just as the revolution broke out in France, and as the noble and loyal warrior declared himself firmly opposed to the principles of the revolutionists, it is amusing to contemplate the rage of our writers against him. If we credit their account, he was a barbarian, a cannibal with the manners of a Calmuck, who obtained his victories merely by a profusion of blood. They say that he was guilty of so many cruelties at Ismaïl that he received the title of Muley Ismaïl, in allusion to Muley, the emperor of Morocco, the most cruel of men. But we should like to hear their reply if they were asked to relate some instances of his cruelty. What! Is a general cruel because, to excite his troops to perform an action requiring almost supernatural courage, he promises them the plunder of a town, and keeps his word? Is he cruel because he cannot in an instant arrest the fury of his soldiers against an enemy who had just exposed them to a thousand dangers? To whom can such idle tales be told? Not to military men,—not to men acquainted with the history of all ages,—not to philosophers. All these will tell you that war is a scourge, and that if there is any way to alleviate its horrors it is by carrying it on with energy. This cruel savage, this Tartar, had really a thousand good traits of character. He treated his prisoners with humanity,—he was adored by his soldiers—he was religious, frank, honest, magnanimous, and, above all, fair-minded. But he had one inexpiable fault. He despised the new constitutions and new men of Poland and of France."

The fall of Ismaïl led to the preliminaries of a peace, in spite of the warlike tendencies of the prime minister, Potemkin; and a treaty was definitely concluded at Jassy in December, 1791, with the concession and accession of the Kuban, the Crimea, and the territory to the Dniester to Russia, or all that country formerly known as Little

Tartary. Suvaroff was appointed governor of the freshly acquired provinces. He had reached the acme of glory and pre-eminence in his native land. His queen had showered every honor in her gift upon the doughty captain of her armies. In an age of a Hoche, a Moreau, and a Wurmser, he was in the front rank of warlike veterans in Europe. But, like Blücher, many of his greatest triumphs were to be won when he was in the neighborhood of threescore years and ten. This hero of Spartan simplicity of habit, at seventy, was still a hale and hearty man, able to bear the hardships of the field and the responsibilities of campaigns. With Washington and Wellington, he was made of iron. Truly, there were giants in those days.

Suvaroff's military knowledge and skill as a general were heartily laughed at as empirical by the old-fashioned tacticians of a date before him and Napoleon. "This young man," said the European marshals of General Bonaparte, "has not the first rudiments of strategy. He is wholly ignorant of the art of war. He does not advance by rule or even the elementary principles." Suvaroff was also thus superiorly criticized until *success* earned him respect and recognition for soldiership. Suvaroff was wont to declare that "all military tactics could be expressed in three words," namely, Forward and Strike (*stoupai i bi*). His career, however, shows him to have been possessed of every needful knowledge in his profession to a remarkable degree. He hated mere maneuvering for no practical purpose, but believed in striking hotly and heavily *home* with the least possible loss of time and wind. He was a quick and hard hitter. Ingenuity of inception, promptitude in execution, celerity of plan and action, and great boldness of movement "under the trigger" constituted his chief code of war.

"A battle in the field has three modes of attack," says he, in his "cathechism,"—

"1. *On the wing*, which is weakest. If a wing is covered by wood, it is nothing,—a soldier will get through. Through a morass it is more difficult. Through a river you cannot run. All kinds of intrenchments you may jump over.

"2. *The attack in the center* is not profitable, except for cavalry, to cut them in pieces,—or else they'll crush you.

"3. *The attack behind* is very good. . . . There are God-forgetting, windy, light-headed Frenchmen,—if it should ever happen to us to march against them, *we must beat them in columns.*

"*The battle upon intrenchments in the field.* The ditch is not deep, —the rampart is not high. Down in the ditch! Jump over the wall! Work with your bayonet! Stab! Drive! Take them prisoners!

Be sure to cut off the cavalry, if any are at hand! At Prague the infantry cut off the cavalry, and there were threefold and more intrenchments, and a whole fortress,—therefore we attacked in columns.

"*The storm.* Break down the fence! Throw wattles over the holes! Run as fast as you can! Jump over the palisades! Cast your fagots (into the gap)! Leap into the ditch! Lay on your ladders! Scour the columns! Fire at their heads! Fly over the walls! Stab them on the ramparts! Draw out your line! Put a guard to the powder-cellars! Open one of the gates! The cavalry will enter on the enemy! Turn his guns against him! Fire down the streets! Fire briskly! There's no time to run after them! When the order is given, enter the town! Kill every enemy in the streets! Let the horse hack them! Enter no houses! Storm them in the open places where they are gathering! Take possession of the open places! Put a capital guard! Instantly put pickets to the gates, to the powder-cellars, and to the magazines! When the enemy has surrendered, give him quarter! When the inner wall is occupied, go to plunder!" This, under the direction of Suvaroff, must have been a very spirited performance. And now came up a new war, or rather, the revival of an old one.

Poland, though subjugated, was still unsubdued. She looked upon Russia as her worst enemy notwithstanding the apparent amity between them promised by treaty. The Poles were about to make another bold dash for freedom and nationality. Austria favored this project almost openly, and Prussia was far from disapproving the design. It seemed as if every nation of Europe had some selfish end in view in the matter, though jealousy and fear at the magnitude of the Russian empire predominated. And Catharine again determined to annihilate the liberties of Poland forever. She accordingly encouraged the assembling of the confederation at Grodno in April, 1793, its object being ostensibly to revoke whatsoever had been done at the convention of Warsaw in 1791. Both Russian and Prussian troops were poured into Poland in numbers irresistible. Unfortunately, the foremost Polish patriots at the moment were in exile. Thaddeus Kosciusko was in Germany. Joseph Poniatowski was in Italy. Others were in various foreign countries.

In the month of March, 1794, however, Kosciusko rejoined his companions in arms, himself an officer of high reputation, having received a practical education in a school of heroism and military virtue flushed by success,—that of Washington,—and Poniatowski made homeward haste to cast in his fortunes with his comrades of

old. Five thousand men were in the field, and with Poniatowski and Kosciusko at their head a gallant victory was won over the Russians at Cracow, which glorious event fairly intoxicated the Poles with patriotic and military ardor. General Ignovelstrom, in command of the Russians at Warsaw, was attacked, and the garrison, two thousand strong, was put to the sword. Everywhere this example was imitated, and throughout the provinces the Russians were overcome, and either massacred or captured. Then Russia arose to the emergency, hurrying Suvaroff to the front with an ample army of revenge. In May he set out from Cherson with ten thousand troops, and by forced marches hastened forward to the scene of slaughter. He hedged in the insurrection, and began operations by quelling its violence as peaceably as possible. In fifteen days he disarmed over eight thousand men within an area of six hundred square miles without loss of a single life. This vigilant process was pushed on through the summer with success, when Suvaroff issued a general order to the various Russian corps commanders scattered among the provinces to meet him with their forces at Varkovitz; and he himself left Weimerof, August 14, 1794, for the rendezvous with eight thousand five hundred men in his command. He is described, during this march of eight days, and of over two hundred and fifty miles, through a continuance of rain, after the following fashion: "Always at the head of his army, lightly clad, mounted on a little Cossack horse, eating what his soldiers ate, and sleeping in the midst of them, he taught them that it was necessary to brave every difficulty for the service of their sovereign and the honor of their country, and that this duty was so imperative that their general did not think himself exempted from fulfilling it in all its severity." They duly arrived at Varkovitz, where a month's rations were served to the soldiery. Leaving Varkovitz, the army proceeded to Koval, eighteen miles off, where the last of the expected corps joined them, when the whole force under Suvaroff amounted to about twelve thousand men. His purpose was to find and fight the Polish general Sirakovski who had a force of twenty thousand combatants in the field.

During the march in search of Sirakovski, Suvaroff's command was pioneered by a fine body of eight hundred Cossacks, for whom the general had a particular esteem. He evidenced this partiality by frequently adopting their dress, by riding one of their steeds, by speaking their tongue, and by being surrounded by them. Above all he admired their coolness and courage in the charge, their endurance and fortitude in the field, their fidelity and zeal in executing the commands of their chief, and their perfect horsemanship in battle. Suv-

aroff knew that he had no better soldiers for the discharge of all the duties of army life in camp or in action than they, and the Cossacks were grateful to their chosen general for the value he put upon them and the prominence he had given them in the Russian service. They were mutual friends.

General Sirakovski was near Kronperizc with a division eighteen thousand strong, and posted in a very advantageous position behind a wide marsh, with woody hills on both wings. Suvaroff soon ascertained where the Poles were resting in readiness for battle, and marched towards them. He saw at a glance that he must either turn their flank, for which he had not enough force, in order to hold them in check where they stood, for which he had not the time, or to withdraw. But Suvaroff never retreated. So he decided to advance to the attack. A volume printed in Germany, called "Campaigns of the Austro-Russians in Italy in 1799," contains the best account of Suvaroff's double conflict with Sirakovski. The following is an abstract of the action as there given in full:

The Russian infantry crossed the marsh under the enemy's galling fire. Their impetuosity knew no check. From some adjacent cabins they tore planks and beams, using them as foot-bridges over the slough. Only four pieces of cannon could be got over, and these had to be carried on the shoulders of the men. Three squadrons of hussars and all the Cossack horse passed over, to hurl themselves upon the wings as the infantry engaged the centre. The enemy stood firm in line of battle.

When the word was shouted, the Russians formed with what order they were able, climbed the hill, and advanced to the assault at the quick charge. They were warmly welcomed with grape-shot. Discharging a few volleys in return, the Russians fell upon the adverse lines with their favorite weapon, the bayonet. The Poles defended their position with great gallantry, but were soon thrown into disorder, with heavy loss. Sirakovski was reduced to a retreat. Forming a solid squad of his infantry, with his cavalry on both flanks, he retired slowly and in close column. At this movement the Cossack horse came up from back of the woods, having waded the marsh up to their haunches in mire, and charged either flank of the enemy with their accustomed ferocity. The Poles were sabred, speared, and driven off to the forest in disorder, when, luckily for them, night fell and put an end to the pursuit, although they had left upon the field three thousand of their officers and men. The Russian loss was only a hundred and twenty-five killed and less than a couple of hundred wounded. In this little action the bayonet was the chief weapon

used, though sabres and lances were likewise brought to bear. Suvaroff was again a victor, but not a captor, so at midnight his army was again in motion to seek the foe, who were falling back on Brzesc, some fifty miles off, a town on the river Bugg.

The Polish general here brought a battery to bear on the bridge, which was also protected by a regiment stationed upon it. But Suvaroff found it practicable to ford the stream, which he did, and threw his forces at once forward into fight. General Schewitsch was sent with cavalry against the Polish left wing, and General Islinief, with infantry and cavalry, against the right, while Suvaroff marched on the centre, sheltered somewhat by the scanty settlements of Koroschin. Schewitsch charged, with twenty-four squadrons, the left flank of more than three thousand men, cutting it completely to pieces. Islineif, at the same instant, stormed the masked batteries on the Polish right, while Suvaroff advanced on the centre, after sending a strong force of Cossacks and chasseurs to cut off the retreat of the foe. So active were the operations that the battle was over by two in the afternoon, after a struggle of six hours. Of all the Poles (thirteen thousand in number, of whom three thousand were mounted) not more than three hundred escaped, while only five hundred were made prisoners. Some twelve thousand were killed or wounded, and all their artillery of twenty pieces was taken, together with their standards and small arms. In this action the Russians lost five hundred and fifty killed, but many wounded, though most, inconsiderably. Of this battle, says the writer of the work on which I have drawn:—

"Suvaroff repeated at Brzesc before Sirakovski, as an old and experienced general, the same maneuver which he had performed at Landskron, before Dumouriez, as a young warrior entering upon service. It was attended with equal success." It was a severe blow to the Polish arms. The Prussians had defeated Kosciusko at Maciejowice, and Makranovski was flying before De Fersen, who was soon enabled to join Suvaroff, and take part with him in the engagement at Kobylka. There the lines were laid for the final and famous battle of Praga, so fatal to the freedom of Poland.

Suvaroff was now at the head of twenty-two thousand victorious troops, fifteen thousand of whom were infantry and seven thousand cavalry, the flower of the Russian forces. Makranovski had intrenched himself at Praga with thirty thousand Poles and a hundred cannon and mortars. Praga is an extensive suburb of Warsaw, on the right bank of the Vistula. It was defended, outside the city walls, by a triple row of intrenchments.

Suvaroff possessed himself of a plan of the place and its defenses,

and prepared for the assault (for he seldom stooped to a siege) by issuing the following order of details, which merits being given in full:

"1st. The army will march from Kobylka for Praga in three distinct columns, the 22d October (1794), at five in the morning, and arriving by different roads, will encamp in a circle around the town.

"2d. The right wing will be commanded by Lieutenant-General Derfeldan, the centre by Lieutenant-General Potemkin, and the left wing by Lieutenant-General Baron de Fersen.

"3d. In the course of the night, after the army shall have formed its encampment, there shall be erected in front of each corps, batteries, which are immediately to play upon the enemy. The object of these batteries is to lead the enemy to believe that a regular siege is intended, and to afford to officers and chiefs of columns an opportunity to reconnoitre, under the protection of the cannon, the places of rendezvous of the columns and the points of attack.

"4th. The assault will be made in the night of the 23d-24th October, in seven columns. Four columns will bear upon the right, two on the centre, inclining to the left, and one column on the left to the bank of the Vistula.

"5th. Each column shall be preceded by one hundred and twenty-eight sharpshooters and two hundred and seventy-two pioneers. The first will carry the outposts of the enemy without firing, protect the pioneers, and engage with the enemy on the ramparts while the approaches to it are cleared. The pioneers will clear the way of obstructions, and carry fascines, hurdles, and ladders. Besides these pioneers, about thirty workmen with intrenching-tools shall be attached to each battalion.

"6th. The first column of the right wing, so soon as the intrenchments are forced at the point of the bayonet, shall cut off communication and retreat of the enemy by the bridge.

"7th. The second and third columns, as soon as they have taken the batteries and works, will draw up in order of battle in the great square.

"8th. The fourth column, having overcome all obstacles in its way and taken the two *cavaliers,* will take possession immediately of the park of artillery.

"9th. The three last columns shall attack half an hour later, that the enemy, who is known to be more numerous on his right, may be called off to the other wing, and thus insure the success of the operation. The seventh column is particularly ordered to march to the

assault in the direction of the island in the river, and to send a detachment, if it is possible, to the left along the bank of the Vistula, to aid the first column in cutting off the retreat of the enemy by the bridge.

"10th. Immediately upon the columns clearing the intrenchments, they will form on the open space within and fall upon the enemy with the sabre and bayonet.

"11th. The reserves of each column, composed of two battalions and two squadrons, and the conductors of the artillery of regiments forming the columns, will march in line one hundred and fifty paces in the rear of each column, will form immediately on the parapet of the outer intrenchment, and clear a passage with their laborers and pioneers for the cavalry.

"12th. As soon as the columns have carried the second intrenchment they will scour the streets of Praga and disperse the enemy with the bayonet, without stopping for trifling objects or entering houses; at the same time the reserves shall occupy the second intrenchment in the manner and with the same purpose as directed for the first.

"13th. At the same time all the field artillery, composed of eighty-six pieces of cannon, shall occupy the outer intrenchment, supported by a third of the whole cavalry; the remainder of the cavalry will be posted on the wings, observing their proper distance.

"14th. The Cossacks will preserve the stations assigned them behind the columns. Those between the fourth and fifth columns, at the commencement of the assault, will approach to the rampart, shouting *hurrah!* And those stationed on the banks of the river will maintain their respective posts, forming a semi-circle.

"15th. It will be necessary to act with great energy against all those in arms; but the inhabitants, all those without arms, and those who demand quarter, must be spared.

"16th. As soon as resistance is over, a spot will be selected proper for the erection of batteries, on which the artillery will be mounted, and a cannonade immediately opened upon Warsaw."

Suvaroff had arrived before Praga at eleven o'clock on the morning of October 22. On the succeeding night the Russian batteries were planted, and at daybreak on the 24th they began to play upon the defenders, and were instantly answered by a rapid and steady fire from the intrenchments. On the 25th, at five in the morning, the Russians advanced to the assault in their seven columns as designed. They rushed on, scaled the works, and charged the infantry and cavalry within, slaying two thousand on the spot, and making as many more prisoners. A thousand Poles flung themselves into the Vistula

and were drowned. The inside intrenchments were then carried at the point of the bayonet with great bravery. Between two and three thousand Poles were here cut to pieces, among them a regiment of five hundred Jews, with the sole exception of their colonel, Hirchko. The bridge was seized. The Russians then ran into the town, filling the streets and public squares with slaughter. Many thousands were slain on the banks of the Vistula, while many more thousands were captured. Three thousand five hundred men perished by fire and water under the affrighted eyes of the inhabitants of Warsaw, who hopelessly read in the event the doom, destruction, and desolation of Poland. Praga was fired, and much of it burned to ashes, amid the consternation of its people. By nine in the morning of the 26th, after five hours' fighting, the battle was over, and the capital at the mercy of the conqueror, a helpless mass of humanity! Thirteen thousand Poles were dead in the trenches of the town, two thousand five hundred were drowned in the flood, and the number of prisoners was fourteen thousand five hundred and eighty-three. The flower of the youth of Poland had perished. The Russian loss was as usual under Suvaroff's precipitancy but about five hundred and eighty killed and nine hundred and sixty wounded. All of the Polish artillery was taken. Says De Laverne of the victor after the action:—

"Suvaroff established his headquarters just outside the intrenchments, adjoining the park. His generals and superior officers repaired to him, and after mutual congratulations the general caused a light refreshment to be served on the spot, to which he invited the Polish generals who were taken prisoners. After the repast he reposed some hours upon some straw, and the simple tent of a common soldier was pitched for him for the next night." It was a triumph of fate for Russia. By the 7th of November, 1794, Poland was prone at the feet of Catharine II., her armies scattered and her liberties gone. Early in December the conqueror again arrived at St. Petersburg, to be received by his empress with illustrious distinction. She gave him the Taurida palace, and servants from the royal household to attend upon him. No hero has ever been honored with greater favors by his sovereign than was Suvaroff. But he was now near the end of his highest elevation, at a moment, too, when his own ambition, and that of his queen, sought its gratification in further warfare.

"*Matouchka soudarina* (Lady and Mother)," said the resistless soldier, "let me march against the French."

On the 6th of November, 1796, the Empress Catharine, after a sound night's sleep, a comfortable breakfast, and cheerful conversa-

tion at the table, without any observable symptoms of sickness, was found in her chamber by her ladies-in-waiting on the floor in a fit of apoplexy, and died in the course of the next night. So sudden an event was a shock to Europe. She was an eminent woman of commanding abilities, an empress not only in name but in fact, a marked and masculine character whose weight had been felt and strength well known by all the courts of Christendom.

When Catharine died Suvaroff lost his best friend and ally. Paul I., her bastard son, who now ascended the throne of Russia, as much of a woman as his mother had been a man, was no admirer of either Suvaroff or martial glory. Made a field-marshal by Catharine, the old hero was slighted and insulted by Paul. The new czar at once began to belittle his army, abolishing the Russian and adopting the Prussian regulations,—a mere whim of a light mind. He dressed up his troops in German uniforms, tried to give his officers the step of a Prussian corporal, and made his soldiers wear buckles and queues.

"Hair-powder," exclaimed Suvaroff on reading the regulation,—"hair-powder is not gunpowder, shoe-buckles will not do for sabres, nor queues for bayonets." Such a miserable innovation excited ridicule and contempt in the breast of the scarred veteran of a hundred battlefields, and his soldiers caught up these expressions of his wrath and re-echoed them throughout the camp. He was relieved by Paul of his command and ordered into private life. The old marshal's blood fairly boiled in his veins at this imperial insult. He drew up his soldiers in ranks and ranged them in line of battle. Then, in full uniform, he presented himself before them and made them a short speech.

"Comrades," said he, "I quit you, probably for some time, perhaps forever, after having passed fifty years in your midst without even leaving you but for a few moments. Your father who ate, drank, and slept among you, must now eat, and drink, and sleep separated from his children, the thought of them, and how dear he is to them, his only consolation. Such is the will of our emperor and master. Still, he may some day relent and wish to once more honor my old age. Then, when old Suvaroff shall reappear among you, he will resume these trophies, which he leaves as a pledge of his friendship and a token to you not to forget him. Remember that he wore them in battle in the victories which he gained at your head. My children, adieu!"

Taking off the decorations of the different military orders of his command, he deposited them with his men, and strode proudly off the stage of tumult and indignation at so deep an affront having been

put upon their beloved general. Learning of this scene, Paul, with pitiful malice, sent a policeman to the veteran with an order for his exile to a remote district of the empire.

"What time am I allowed to make my arrangements?" asked Suvaroff.

"Four hours," was the answer.

"That," said the general, "is too indulgent; one hour is sufficient for Suvaroff."

Down he stamped to the door, and saw a common carriage in waiting in the street. Again he fumed at the indignity.

"Suvaroff going into banishment," said he, "does not require a coach. He can make use of the conveyance which carried him to the court of Catharine and bore him forth to lead her armies. Bring me a *kibitka* (cab)."

Thus at the age of sixty-eight the hoary hero so loved and glorified by his empress was driven forth by her son and successor in disgrace because he would have for Russia her own well-tried regulations in place of the more effeminate and fantastic system in use in the Prussian court and camp, a sort of thing which he had been taught by the baptism of battle to despise. He thought the whole affair a foolish and wretched piece of puerility on Paul's part, as indeed it was to most minds.

It was English influences which restored Suvaroff to his old post after a year's absurd exile. France was in the field and sweeping everything before her. England had worked up a coalition between Austria and Russia for the ruthless checking of French progress and independence. She had not yet forgiven France for helping her American colonies to republican enfranchisement. She owed her one. Accordingly, she agreed to take into pay an army of a hundred thousand Russian troops in two bodies, one for Italy, the other the Rhine, to try and trip up the French forces. Of course it was all the work of William Pitt, and he meant to win if he could; so he selected the redoubtable Suvaroff to take charge of the united armies bought with British gold. Paul readily acceded to the request, as he had no one else to offer in whom he had much faith. Suvaroff he knew to be as staunch as steel wherever Russian interests were at stake. The chafing warrior was up in the country, filled with disgust at the state of affairs, when he received by a courier of the czar the following letter:

"I have determined to send you into Italy to succor his majesty the emperor and king, my ally and brother. Suvaroff has no need of triumphs or laurels, but the country has need of Suvaroff, and my

desires are conformable to the wishes of Francis II., who, having conferred upon you the supreme command of the army, requests you to accept that dignity. It depends, then, only upon Suvaroff whether he will be given to the wishes of his country and the desires of Francis II.

"PAUL I."

The marshal, who was getting old, acted rather childishly when he read this tardy communication. He laid the letter on his heart, touched it to his scars in succession, and cried out that the sight of it gave him new life. He accepted the invitation without delay, but before departing for St. Petersburg, devoutly performed his devotions in a neighboring Greek chapel. At St. Petersburg his stay was short, for Paul was none too glad to see him, and in a few days he hurried on to Vienna, where Francis II. received him warmly, perhaps thankfully. He gave him the rank of field-marshal, with an income of twenty-four thousand florins. Suvaroff, gratified with such munificence, grew ecstatic over the *tout ensemble* and equipment of the Austrian army, which was well pleased and highly honored at his assumption of its leadership. Elegant Vienna showered upon the hero every species of gratulation and gratitude, and, with his self-respect restored with interest, Suvaroff pocketed his fresh field-marshal's *baton* with thanks. The sunny days of Catharine had dawned again in the smiles of the young Austrian emperor, so appreciative and so generous towards the aged soldier. Full of hope and courage, Suvaroff set off for Italy, arriving at Verona, the headquarters of the assembled forces, on the 14th of April, 1799.

At Verona, Suvaroff was welcomed by the populace as the deliverer of Italy, but the veteran soon started for Vallegio, where General Melas was lying with a corps of the army, which he immediately gave up to the marshal. Said Suvaroff to General Kray on that occasion, "It is to you I shall be indebted for the advantages which I hope to obtain over the enemy. It is you who have opened and pointed out to me the road to victory. We shall surely win." The first Russian column, ten thousand strong, here joined the Austrian squadron, to the delight of Suvaroff. These troops were the conquerors of the Turks and Poles. They were the soldiers who had fought at Rymnik, at Forhani, at Oczakof, at Ismaïl, and at Praga. When all of these auxiliaries had come up, Suvaroff, with a compact force of eighty thousand under him, left the borders of the Adige April 18, and by the 25th stood before the French upon the banks of the Adda. Mantua and Peschiera were besieged by the enemy, but

the open lands had been evacuated, as were Cremona, Bergama, and Brescia, after their storming.

Suvaroff gave to the Austrians the same instructions which he had afforded the Russians during the Turkish war. Said he,—

"There are three military talents,—

"1st. The *coup d'œil.* How to place a camp; how to march; where to attack, to chase, and to beat the enemy.

"*Swiftness.* The field artillery must march half or a whole *verst* in front, on the rising ground, that it may not impede the march of the columns. When the column arrives it will find its place again. Downhill, and on even ground, let it go on a trot. Soldiers march in files, or four abreast, on account of narrow roads, narrow streets, narrow bridges, and narrow passes through marshy and swampy places; and only when ready for attack draw up in platoons, to shorten the rear. When you march four abreast, leave a space between the companies. Never slacken your pace! Walk on! play! sing your songs! beat the drum! When you have broken off ten versts, the first company will cast off their load and lie down. After them the second company, and so forth one after the other; but the first never wait for the rest. A line in columns will on the march always draw out. At four abreast it will draw out one and a half more than its length. At two abreast it will draw out double. A line one verst in length will draw out two; two versts will draw out four; so the first companies would have to wait for the others half an hour to no purpose. After the first ten versts an hour's rest. The first division that arrived (upon the coming of the second) takes up its baggage and moves forward ten or fifteen paces; and if it passes through defiles on the march, fifteen or twenty paces; and in this manner division after division, that the hindmost may get rest. The second ten versts, half it and rest three-quarters, half, or a quarter of an hour, that the children may soon get to their kettles. So much for the infantry. The cavalry marches before. They alight from their horses and rest a short time and march more than ten versts in one stage, that the horses may rest in the camp. The kettle-wagons and the tent-wagons go on before. When the brothers arrive the kettle is ready. The master of the mess instantly serves out the kettle. For breakfast four hours' rest, and six or eight hours at night, as the road proves. When they draw near the enemy, the kettle-wagons remain with the tent-wagons, and wood must be prepared beforehand. By this manner of marching soldiers suffer no fatigue. The enemy does not expect us. He reckons us at least a hundred versts distance, and when we come from afar, two hundred.

or three hundred, or more. We fall at once upon him, like snow on the head. *His* head turns. Attack instantly with anything that arrives, with what God sends. The cavalry instantly fall to work. Hack and slash! Cut, stab, drive! Don't give them a moment's rest.

"*Energy.* One leg gives strength to the other! One hand supports the other! By firing many men are disabled. The enemy also has arms, but he knows not how to use them. Assault with cold steel. If there is not time to draw out the line, attack from the defile, the infantry with the bayonet, and the cavalry must be at hand. If there be a defile for a verst and cartridges over your head, the guns will be yours. Commonly, the cavalry charge first and the infantry follows. In general cavalry must attack like infantry, except in swampy ground, and there they must lead their horses by the bridle. When the battle is gained, the cavalry pursue and hack the enemy, and the infantry are not to be far behind. In two files there is strength—in three files *strength and a half.* The first rips up, the second upsets, and the third goes over all and ends the work."

Suvaroff was in the habit of beginning the battle as soon as the colors arrived, even if he had but half a regiment in the advance. Impetuosity and no quarter were his strong cards. In this style and language he was accustomed to make use of the familiar modes of expression of the soldiery, so that no mistakes or misunderstanding might be had as to his meaning. He made his orders plain. The marshal was by no means averse, among his men and in the camp it must be confessed, to play on occasions the jolly part of a buffoon. It pleased them and gave him popularity. The Russian peasant is fond of fun, and in the army sport sometimes ran riot. Suvaroff often ended his harangues by endeavoring to excite laughter (in which he generally succeeded) among his soldiers, and his way of forming a climax is a striking characteristic of the conversation of the Russian boors. It is quite after the following fashion:

"This is a great fault, indeed, and not only of boors but of the gentry—and not only of the gentry but of the nobles—and not only of the nobles but of the grandees—and not only of the grandees but of the czar himself." The Russians do not believe with the English that "the king can do no wrong," but it is a little dangerous to speak of the emperor's foibles and shortcomings. It is said that Suvaroff had so strong an aversion to any person's saying "I don't know" in reply to a question, that he would become almost beside himself with anger at such an answer. So well aware of this fact were his officers and even soldiers, that they would hazard any answer in a hurry, accurate or inaccurate, rather than venture to exasperate him and

incur an explosion of his wrath by confessing ignorance on any subject under the sun as to which they might be questioned, however hastily.

Marshal Suvaroff's field operations against the French are pronounced by military writers to be very brilliant. They were chiefly these: He compelled Moreau to retire beyond the Adda with immense loss. He defeated Macdonald, after a three days' fight at the Trebbia, and again at Novi. Says an author, "His campaign in Switzerland, which promised to bring him face to face with Massena, then regarded as the first general in Europe, was rendered abortive by the tardiness of the Austrians in obeying orders, and accordingly the Russians were withdrawn from the campaign in spite of his remonstrances. His escape from the Schackenthal, where he was hemmed in by the French, is considered to be the most daring retreat ever executed." Let us look at these last operations of his career more in detail by such light as we can find from Russian sources, but loosely translated and construed by encyclopedic biographers. Suvaroff was then in his seventieth year, but with faculties and energies undimmed by age.

The French were concentrated closely by Cassano. General Moreau had established his headquarters at the village of Inzago near that town. At the centre were posted the infantry (about headquarters), and the cavalry were stationed on the right flank of the line. The river Adda covered the whole French army, on whose right bank they were intrenched, and whose steep shore they had lined with batteries, having burned all the bridges. Lake Como, in the vicinity, was guarded by Serrurier's division. It was a good position.

The Russians and Austrians advanced in three columns of attack to the left bank of the Adda, on the 26th of April, in the evening. Suvaroff saw with a single glance that success depended wholly on the secrecy and celerity with which the allied army should cross the swift, deep stream of the Adda, over which a new bridge had to be quickly thrown. He sent for the quartermaster general of the Austrian force, the Marquis de Chasteler, and asked him how long it would take to throw a pontoon to the other side of the river.

"One night," said the engineer.

"Then do it to-night," said Suvaroff. The bridge of boats was duly constructed without the knowledge of the French commander.

Next morning, at cock-crow, the enemy were suddenly attacked with spirit by a division of the Austro-Russians which had already crossed, a division which favored the passage of the other *corps*

d'armée to their support. The allies were precipitated in force upon the French position, and a desperate engagement ensued. The Austrian and Russian infantry began the work, and the Cossack cavalry ended it, with the usual result. Two thousand French were killed, as many wounded, and more captured; standards, cannon, the magazine, and all the munitions of war fell into the hands of the allies, whose whole loss in killed and wounded amounted to but fourteen hundred. The Austrian hussars in this action emulated the Cossack horse in charging with effect the French dragoons. General Serrurier was forced to capitulate to General Vukasovitch. The entire course of the Adda was clear to the allies, with Lombardy, which the French precipitately evacuated, when Suvaroff immediately marched into it, and by this precipitate movement made himself master of all the posts of offense on the Po, cutting off the French reinforcements, coming from the south, from Parma and Tuscany, and thus preventing any succor from that source reaching the army of the north or any chance of retreat towards the French frontier. He then marched to Milan, which he entered on the evening of April 28 in great state. A vast crowd of citizens filled the street to see the Muscovite barbarians, so strange to the sense of the refined and delicate Italians. The papal archbishop was in waiting at the city gates.

"I come," said Suvaroff, kneeling for his benediction, "to re-establish religion, restore the pope to his throne, and bring back the nations to the respect due to kings. Your holy office engages you to assist me in this laudable design, and I count upon your cordial co-operation." A *Te Deum* was then sung, and the city was grandly illuminated at night. Next day Suvaroff issued his proclamation, *a la* Bonaparte:

"Italians! To arms! Unite yourselves with us! The victorious army of a powerful emperor comes to succor you, and to restore your religion, your government, and your rights. Espouse freely this noble cause—victory is attached to it. We come in force from the bosom of the north to effect your deliverance. Will you not do for yourselves what we so generously attempt in your favor? Certainly no good citizen can hesitate as to the side he should take in this great conjuncture. All those who remain attached to the enemy, and in any manner aid and abet him, thereby declaring themselves unworthy citizens and traitors to their country, shall be summarily shot without distinction of rank, office or birth. People of Italy! we expect from you love for your legitimate and ancient sovereign, that we shall have occasion only to applaud your zeal, and by no means to exercise undue severity."

The business was settled in this particular portion of Italy, and Suvaroff was at liberty to turn his arms in any other direction demanding his immediate attention. Macdonald was in his rear with the army of Naples, and quickly bringing up his reserves by forced marches, through Tuscany, to the plains of Parma and the banks of the Po. Suvaroff was on the horns of a dilemma. He had either to march against Macdonald or Moreau *instanter,* for each could come to the assistance of the other were there any delay, and both were ready and right willing to crush the Cossack conqueror. Moreau and Macdonald were no insignificant adversaries under any circumstances apart, and when they were likely to co-operate jointly in a combined movement against a common centre their united weight of metal would become appalling. Says De Laverne, "Any other than our hero would have found himself in a critical dilemma, and repented his daring march. But Suvaroff had calculated on a solid basis when he depended on himself; and the circumstance which proves so strongly the genius and boldness of this campaign is that, when he advanced to Milan with a determination to enter Piedmont, he understood very well that it would be necessary to return again and oppose Macdonald. He knew that he could not by any means avoid fighting him—that it was naturally and morally impossible that any other general or army than his own could be charged with this operation. It became absolutely necessary that one movement should be entirely finished before the other was begun, and Suvaroff was perfectly aware of this alternative."

The distinguishing features of this eminent commander, as has been seen, were his audacity and impetuosity. He "struck while the iron was hot," and with a force commensurate with his fervor. *Dash* is ever a great element of power with the general acting on the offensive. Hard and heavy hitting was the quality most valued by this noble Russian soldier, as by our own American Suvaroff in the late war of secession, and effectively brought to bear by him in his emulation with the seasoned warriors of Europe, men trained in the Napoleonic school to an almost superhuman degree of military skill and sagacity.

Marshal Macdonald would be obliged to cross the Apennine chain to get into Parma. Suvaroff immediately detached General Ott to seize the mountain passes. He then himself made a march to Pavia (May 3). Moreau had shrewdly fallen back on Tortona and Alexandria, throwing out his right towards the Apennines as far as Genoa, so as to connect with Macdonald upon his upward march. Suvaroff, however, had a superior force to Moreau, and could reach beyond

his position into Piedmont and "bottle up" Moreau in the Appennines. This he promptly did. And now the chessboard was held by excellent players, and a very good game ensued. Suvaroff ordered General Vukasovitch to ascend the left bank of the Po and halt under the walls of Turin, he moving his own troops to the support of his general at the same time. His object was to force Moreau, by pushing him on his left and threatening to attack his rear simultaneously, to abandon his position at Alexandria. But Moreau was sharp enough to see his danger and promptly endeavor to extricate himself from so perilous a post. Tortona was then being besieged by the allies, and the town had surrendered, but the citadel still refused to capitulate. General Moreau pressed on for that place with all haste, both to relieve the citadel and check the onward march of the Russians and Austrians against the advancing columns of Macdonald. On the 18th of May, before daybreak, Moreau threw a bridge of boats over the Bormida, crossed that river, and, in order of battle, proceeded over the plain of Marengo against the Austro-Russians. The Austrian general Lusignan, in charge of the siege, had most luckily received Russian reinforcements (Prince Pancration's division), and at once determined to anticipate Moreau's attack by advancing to meet *him*—a movement which deranged Moreau's well-laid plan of making the assault at the gates of Torona, and thus throwing the besiegers into complete confusion. He was outgeneraled, and he knew it.

With quick change of plans, he decided to try and turn the flanks of the Austrians by sending on strong bodies of men along the banks of the Bormida and Tanaro. At this Lusignan attacked the French force with spirit, cutting the centre of the main army; Pancration extended himself to turn their right, Suvaroff being already far in front on their left. The allies marched into Trino, Casal, and Valentia; Moreau evacuated Alexandria, precipitately retiring upon Coni; while all communication between the French in Italy and the French in Switzerland was severed. The campaign was concluded at a blow, and the Austrians and Russians had again flogged the French, owing to Suvaroff's superior energy and keen insight into the enemy's slower movements.

All the French garrisons left on the way by Moreau fell into the hands of the allies—Peschiera, Ferrara, Ravenna, Rimini, Pizzighettone, Milan—with their supplies and equipments of powder, provisions and arms. It was a rout. The French were broken, and Suvaroff, with the Austro-Russian army, was free to turn his undivided efforts against the approaching columns of Marshal Mac-

donald. By this Italian triumph Suvaroff had laid bare Switzerland to Austria, the French withdrawing hastily from both sides of the Alps.

Turin, in a military point of view, was the key of Piedmont. Thither Suvaroff instantly marched (May 26), General Vukasovitch having already begun its siege. When Suvaroff arrived, however, he decided on a bombardment of the city. It was a signal success. The people arose *en masse,* drove the garrison to the citadel, swung back the city gates, and anxiously submitted to the conqueror. Six hundred and sixty cannon, bombs, balls, and six thousand quintals of powder (six hundred thousand pounds) changed hands, while but thirty killed and fifty wounded were the price of victory. The citadel gallantly held out, however, and a cannonade had to be instituted for its reduction. Force and firmness of character, *decision, will,* dexterity, thus gave the scarred veteran all the fruits which even the fire of youth could purchase.

Moreau had retired to the Col de Tende, with the wish to unite himself with Macdonald at Genoa, but the latter had other plans on foot. He had left Naples with the bulk of his force there, picking up in the Roman States and Tuscany the various French corps spread over Italy, so that he reached the frontiers of Modena with a force of thirty-five thousand able-bodied men. If he could have joined Moreau, he would have placed the allies between two fires on the plains of Parma; but as he could not do this, he fixed upon a subtle scheme of his own, the execution of which, however, he was made to postpone by the lion-like vigilance of Suvaroff. This expert in projects had turned the siege of Mantua into a blockade, so that he might utilize the main body of his army in thwarting any designed junction between Macdonald and Moreau. He decided, therefore, to take each French force in turn before their possible union.

As soon as Suvaroff learned that the French had reached Modena, he quitted the siege of the citadel of Turin, leaving it to Marshal Keim, and set out by forced marches toward Alexandria. He there heard that Macdonald had repulsed Generals Hohenzollern and Klendu beyond the Po, and was hurrying by way of Reggio to a point between Parma and Placentia to attack Marshal Ott. Suvaroff determined to put a stop to the French march with expedition. He accordingly quickened his steps, and succeeded in reinforcing Ott on the 17th of June (1799), in the afternoon, when the latter was on the verge of a retreat. The Russian vanguard had hardly joined the Austrian right when Suvaroff gave the word to begin, and ordered on his Cossacks, who charged the enemy's left wing with *vim.* These

were followed by the Russian line giving the French the bayonet, *a la* Suvaroff, and driving them off. The Austrian left then charged the French right, and the Cossack reserve and Russian infantry hurled themselves, under Gorjakoff, Suvaroff's nephew, in conjunction with the Austrians under Ott, against the French center, forcing it to the right bank of the Lidone, with the loss of eight thousand five hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners by the unfortunate Frenchmen. Notwithstanding this disaster, Macdonald bravely stood his ground with his old invincible determination bred of his Scotch stock. On the 18th of June, sixteen years before the battle of Waterloo, Marshal Suvaroff resolved to give a general action, and the battle of Trebia was fought.

The Russian army, thirty-five thousand strong, was ranged half a league from the river Trebia. The French army, some thirty thousand strong, occupied ground thickly intersected by trees and swamps, and was well placed for action. At ten in the morning Suvaroff marched to the left bank of the Lidone, assuming the offensive without hesitation. It was the field of battle on which the great Hannibal had vanquished the Romans two thousand years before. What a coincidence! "In fine," says the panegyrist, "he was the Hannibal of his age; in him were united bravery, perseverance, immovable firmness of character, fruitfulness of resource, severity to himself, and ascendency over others—all the brilliant qualities, in a word, which distinguished the illustrious Carthaginian."

Suvaroff assaulted the enemy in three columns,—his favorite mode of onset, using the bayonet everywhere, as usual, as his chief weapon. The victory was certain, but Macdonald sold it dearly. The armies were of almost equal size, the field of action was narrow and close, and but small room was left to maneuver. Consequently, the mode of attack was simple and straightforward. Suvaroff charged the centre with the bayonet, broke it, and flung into the chasm his cavalry. The French were driven, with large loss, to the right bank of the Trebia. It was decisive; but Macdonald, with great gallantry, urged on by desperation, on the next day, the 19th, made a strong stroke for revenge. Could he hold his ground until the arrival of Moreau to his assistance? He would try. This time he was himself the assailant against a victorious foe. At ten o'clock in the morning Macdonald endeavored to cross the river Trebia with his left wing to the assault, and in another hour he made the same attempt with his center and right wing. It was a forlorn hope. Charged by the horse, under Prince John of Lichtenstein, the right wing was fearfully mutilated and hurled into the river, with a loss of two thousand left lying on

the field. The center and right of the allies resisted, defeated, and drove the French across the Trebia again. Macdonald now thought only of retreat, so thorough was the rout. Next night he retired, stealing a march on his foe, flying to the Apennines, and leading thither twenty thousand men less than when he descended into Italy. The brave marshal and many of his generals had been severely wounded in these bloody engagements. Suvaroff wrote thus to Vienna of these glorious events:

"The officer charged with this dispatch will inform your majesty of the details of the triple battle of Trebia. The fine courage which the French evinced was only a stronger motive to the allied troops to manifest superior bravery. Our success is due to the brave army I commanded. As to myself, I have no other merit than to have executed the orders of your majesty. You directed me to deliver Italy from the enemy. He has been driven out. Italy is free." Both Moreau and Macdonald, with the whole force of the French, were signally repulsed by this old soldier of seventy, and thrust across the Apennines. Turin citadel, Fort Urbano, Bologna, and all Tuscany, together with Alexandria, surrendered to the aged warrior in charge of the Russian and Austrian armies, and nothing remained to be reduced but Mantua, which fell nineteen days after its investment. Writes a military critic, "It was constantly the system of Suvaroff, during this campaign, to cannonade with an immense artillery in his sieges." Mantua was bombarded by six hundred pieces of mortars and cannon. There were ten thousand men in the garrison captured, eight hundred cannon, thirteen thousand muskets, with a vast train of munitions and implements of war of every description. What a fall was there! Even the strategy of Napoleon and Wellington never surpassed that of this white-haired hero of Catharine II. in his campaign against the French in Italy. But Genoa yet remained to be reduced, the sole refuge and rallying point of the French in Italy, thence keeping open communication with France by the way of Nice. Genoa, so important a post had it now become, was freshly reinforced by the French.

Between the Russians and Genoa, however, lay Novi and Serravalle, heights crowned by the enemy, under Joubert, to the number of fifty thousand men. Suvaroff resolved to storm these heights at once. It was done on the 16th of August. Says an author, "That day exhibited the spectacle of an old man of seventy showing more ardor for battle than a young man of twenty-five, and, confiding in his long experience and a fortune which had never forsaken him, bursting impetuously upon an adversary, who on his part burned with impatience

to meet him." Joubert had rested his right upon Serravalle, on the Sorivia. Here there was a castle garrisoned by the allies. This, in consequence, was the weak spot of the defense, and General Melas, with his Austrians, was accordingly sent by Suvaroff against Serravalle, while a co-operative assault was made at the same moment on Novi, the French center, and Pustorana on his left. Joubert, a young general who had never commanded in chief before, wisely concluded to cover, with what strength he could, his right wing. The allied attack on his left was repulsed, so, with troops drawn from his center and right, the brave youth put himself at the head of his columns to charge the Austro-Russian line with the bayonet. At the instant Joubert was wounded mortally by a musket-ball, falling on the field. The French stood firm despite this calamity, so that Suvaroff in person directed an advance against their centre at Novi, which duly broke it, but the French sold their defeat very dear, although victory perched upon the banners of the Russians. A deadly carnage ensued along the road of retreat to Genoa, every French gun being taken by the pursuers. Suvaroff said of this action, that "it was the most obstinate he had seen in his life." It is told that the assaults of the Russians on the French centre were repulsed with so much energy that Suvaroff for a brief space was doubtful of the result. In his excitement he is even said to have shouted,—

"Shall I, then, be beaten at the end of my career?"

The allies, however, could not invade French soil until Genoa should be reduced. That was the remaining problem. Suvaroff thought of attacking it by sea, and thus wrote to Admiral Nelson:

"I hope that the Baron of the Nile will be very soon Duke of the river Ponento." But Genoa *la superba* did not fall, but in 1802 became the chief town of a department of France under the crown of Napoleon.

The French general Dumas closely criticises Suvaroff's conduct of this Italian campaign. "If," he writes, "after having passed the Adda and separated the army of Moreau from the places of Mantua, Ferrara, and Bologna, the marshal had employed all his forces to pursue Moreau and outflank him, the latter would have been unable to maintain for so long his position between Alexandria and Valencia, and perhaps been driven from the State of Genoa. In this manner Suvaroff could have detached a corps to watch the movements of Moreau, embarrass his marches by arming the Piedmontese, and thus reserving to himself time and means to appear in force against Macdonald, he would have deprived him from the first of all hope of effecting a junction with Moreau. It will be objected in vain that

the sieges of Peschiera, Mantua, Ferrara, Pizzighettone, Milan, Tortona, Turin, and Alexandria employed more than half the army of the Austro-Russians; for, in fact, there was no necessity to beseige those places, and by merely blockading them and preventing their communication with each other, or with the French army, they would have all fallen by a general capitulation, as happened to Prince Eugene in 1706."

To these severe strictures, L. M. P. de Laverne, an officer of dragoons, in his excellent sketch of Suvaroff, printed in 1814, thus replies: "In answer to this we will ask, whether it would have been right in Suvaroff to have penetrated into the interior or south of Italy, having the army of Moreau immediately before him, and in a situation to receive any reinforcements from France? whether, notwithstanding the obstacles the fortified towns already gave him, he should have interposed the Apennines also between them? Had Suvaroff been guilty of that improvidence, Macdonald would have retreated as he advanced and led him on even to Naples. He would have drawn on his enemy until, from want of magazines, places of refuge, and support, he must have been totally ruined. But further, what would have been the conduct of Moreau? Would it have been impossible for him to force the corps of observation, raise all the blockades, and posting himself on the Apennines, have kept Suvaroff prisoner in the lower part of Italy? Those who will weigh these considerations attentively will be convinced that Suvaroff ought by no means to have been uneasy at the march of Macdonald upon Tuscany, since his measures were taken to receive him on his arrival. It was certainly better to leave the French to evacuate the south of Italy voluntarily, than to have detained them forcibly in it. But, in adopting this bold calculation, ought he therefore to have joined to it an extreme imprudence? Although he did not think proper to hinder Macdonald from advancing, yet he was bound to prepare to meet him; and for this reason besieged, and spared no pains to take, the strong places in the duchy of Parma and Lombardy. Eugene, when he neglected or disdained to make himself master of those places, had no army arriving in his rear from the south of Italy."

Before engaging with Suvaroff in the final campaign of his marvelous career, it may prove of interest to the medical staff of THE UNITED SERVICE to read his views upon sanitary matters. In his comprehensive "Catechism" these suggestions are given:

"*Rules for Diet.*—Have a dread of the hospital. German physic stinks from afar, is good for nothing, and rather hurtful than otherwise. A Russian soldier is not used to it. Messmates know where

to find roots, herbs, and pismires. A soldier is inestimable. Take care of your health. Scour the stomach when it is foul. Hunger is the best medicine. He who neglects his men, if an officer *arrest,* if a sub-officer *a stick,* and to the private *the knout,* if he neglects himself. If loose bowels want food, at sunset a little gruel and bread (tea and toast). For costive bowels, some purging plant in warm water, or the liquorice root. Remember, gentlemen, the field physic of Doctor Bellypotski. In hot fevers eat nothing for a dozen days, and drink your soldiers' *quas,* that's soldiers' physic." (*Quas,* a sour beverage made of fermented flour and water.) "In intermittent fevers neither eat nor drink. It's only punishment for negligence if health ensues. In hospitals the first day the bed seems soft; the second, comes French broth; and the third, our comrade is put in a box, and they draw him away. One dies, and ten of his comrades stand around and inhale his expiring breath. In camp the ill are kept in huts and not in villages, and there the air is pure and sweet. Even without a hospital, however, you must not stint yourselves in money for medicine if it can be bought, nor even for necessaries. But all this is nonsense; we ought to know how to keep life in ourselves. Where one dies among a hundred others, we lose not one in five hundred *alone* in the course of a month. Contact and contagion!

"For the healthy, drink, food, fresh air; for the sick, fresh air, food, drink; it is the same. Comrades, the enemy trembles for you. But there is a worse enemy than the hospital—the damned *I don't know.* From the half-confessing, guessing, lying, deceitful, palavering equivocation, squeamishness, and nonsense of *I don't know,* many disasters originate. Stammering, hesitating, hemming-and-hawing, it's shameful to relate. A soldier should be sound, brave, firm, decisive, true, upright. Pray to God, for from Him comes miracles—and victory. God leads us. God is our general. For *I don't know,* an officer is to be put in the guard-house; a staff-officer may be served with a warrant at home.

"Instruction is *light;* instruct not darkly. 'The task fears its master' (a Russian saying). If a peasant knows not how to plow, the corn will not grow; if a soldier knows not how to fight, the enemy *will* grow. One wise chap is worth three fools: even three are not enough; give six, and even six are not enough; give ten or twelve, if you choose. One clever fellow will outwit them all,—flog them, upset them, and circumvent them."

In order to spare the Austrians and distinguish his Russians the more, Suvaroff had been less prodigal of the blood of the former than the latter, so that his own army, at the end of the Italian cam-

paign amounted to but twelve thousand men, having been originally some forty thousand, and it was with that depleted number that he engaged in his last onslaught. England had made a plan, indorsed at St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, by which the Russians under Suvaroff should carry on the war in Switzerland, while leaving the conduct of affairs in Italy to the Austrians. The idea was a blunder, formed in the cabinet, not the camp, and replete with impracticability in the open field. The Alps would have to be crossed in the face of most constant and courageous resistance. Says a writer on the subject, "In the painful and difficult passage of the Alps, having continually to fight their way, they would lose at a moderate calculation, even if successful, four thousand men; there would remain therefore only eight thousand men, harassed with fatigue, to join an army already worn down, in a country entirely new to the general, and in face of an enemy persistently pressing on him. To send the Russians to such a conflict was almost certainly to sacrifice them; or if it had been foreseen that Suvaroff would have extricated himself from the difficulty, it was at least assuredly to disable him from acting with effect against the enemy. Austria, advantageously situated for that purpose, should alone have had the burden of recruiting her army in Switzerland; and, instead of ordering Suvaroff to join Korjakoff in Switzerland, it was Korjakoff who should have been commanded to join Suvaroff in Italy." The fact was that, hearing that a French corps had crossed the Rhine and menaced Germany, the Austrian archduke moved to Manheim with the body of his forces, leaving in Switzerland but about twenty-five thousand indifferent recruits under General Hotze to await the coming of the Russian reinforcements. Suvaroff bade good-by to the Austrian army of Italy on the 8th of November (1799), and set off from Asti for the Alps with the doughty remnant of his countrymen, perhaps to be precipitated into a fatal pit planned for his destruction. Says an author, "It is clear to us that this conduct on the part of Austria was a manifestation of ill-humor and spite, a project to humble the Russians, and even a secret pitfall designed to entrap and destroy their envied chief." With forty thousand men after the battle of Novi, what might not Suvaroff have accomplished in Switzerland? whereas his escape from the snare at Schackenthal was only a wonder of strategy and genius. His vigor during this trying scene amply shows, however, that he had lost none of his early energy with age. It was a triumph of military skill and training under the direst of difficulties, and should be estimated aright.

Suvaroff marched with promptitude toward the heart of Switzer-

land, but to find matters in a very discouraging condition. Korjakoff had been badly defeated. His short control had culminated in disaster. Marshal Massena had advanced upon Zurich in force and encountered this youthful favorite of Paul I. and crushed him. Writes De Laverne, "After some efforts badly directed to arrest the descent of the French, this school-boy general imagined a manner to receive them by forming his troops in solid columns, and thus foolishly and awkwardly imitating the maneuvers he had seen practiced with success by the greatest generals of his country against the loose and irregular cavalry of the Turks; he thought by it to overpower a brave and well-trained infantry, expert marksmen, and a numerous and well-served artillery. He had taken every measure to be destroyed completely,—and he was so." The victory was so overwhelming on the part of the French that any remains of the Russian army were not to be found to give the conquerors further fun, and Massena fell back upon Zurich in short order to await the coming of Suvaroff. The old marshal reached Bellinzona with twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred Cossack cavalry. The Austrians had engaged to provide him here with a thousand mules to carry his stores over the mountains, but not a single mule or Austrian was there to meet him. Ten days were spent in waiting for these transports, which gave Massena plenty of time to collect and concentrate his resources. For the first moment in his life the veteran hero suffered the pangs of discouragement. He perceived the noose so treacherously thrown around his neck. His whole character, it is said, became soured and embittered by the untoward circumstances surrounding him. But he lost neither heart nor head. He resolved on a scheme fraught with dangers and difficulties, but decisive, namely, to force in person the passes of St. Gothard, while General Rosenberg should turn the posts of the mountain by crossing the country of the Grisons. Rosenberg accordingly advanced and attacked General Lecourbe, driving him over the Furca pass to Altorf and the Rhone, and afterwards joining himself with Suvaroff at Ursen, whence the Russians pushed on triumphantly to Altorf, Lake Lucerne, and, by the Muttenthal, to Schwitz. Here the ancient chieftain learned the particulars of the defeat of Korjakoff, the death of Hotze, and the overwhelming rout of the Russians. His position was one of the greatest peril. He was hedged in by victorious enemies on every hand; his provisions were running low; he had but small means of transportation. He must strike or sink.

"With my men about me," said he, "I may defy the foe and yet answer for everything. But they must be kept together. If they are

detached they will be turned and cut to pieces, and the army thus destroyed by degrees."

He had relied upon meeting General Hotze at Schwitz, and Hotze was dead. He had counted on Korjakoff keeping the French in check till he came up, and Korjakoff was a routed fugitive, unable to help *himself*, let alone his chief. Says a writer, "In the first impulse, dwelling upon the honor of his country, and willing to save that honor at any price, he dispatched a courier to seek Korjakoff, with the command to return against the enemy, whatever might be the state of his army, and holding him answerable with his head for every backward step he took. As for himself, regarding any retreat as dishonorable, he decided to take the offensive, and looked around to see on which side his blows should fall."

Europe fixed its eyes upon this point, expecting to see the capture or destruction of the Russian hero, for escape seemed out of the question. Lecourbe had retraced his steps to Altorf. Molitor held Glarus. Massena was hurrying towards Schwitz. Delay, inactivity, was ruin; and yet, which way was the veteran to seek escape? He hurled himself upon the head of Massena's approaching column without an instant's hesitation, drove it back with heavy loss, and gained a moment's breathing spell as if by magic or a miracle. Then a first faint ray of hope lighted up the gloom. There was a little mountain path leading to Glarus, a way so narrow that it could only be ascended single file, and so abrupt that men had to climb it like cats, on all-fours, and almost by tooth and nail. To add to the general inaccessibility, the French had strewn the pathway with rocks and trunks of trees, while the opposite shore of a mountain lake on a summit to the right (Kloenthaler) was fortified by their artillery. Thus, while fighting the enemy in front along the steep acclivity, the assailants would necessarily have to weather and withstand the whole fire of this battery across a deep, broad body of water. To add to the responsibilities and embarrassments of Suvaroff, he had with him the young prince, Constantine, son of the czar, to save from ignominious capture, as well as the imperial battle-flag of Russia. Yet the risk had to be run, and promptly taken.

The slow and painful march or climb up the rugged path was ordered. With remarkable audacity, impetuosity, and determined bravery the long line crept up, step by step, round by round, surmounting every obstacle, and forcing off the enemy at the point of the bayonet. The French, after hours of unavailing effort, finally gave way, and the energy of the pursuit was such that ambuscade after ambuscade was broken down by the crowding enemy itself

thrown back upon its own defenses. The pass was carried, the French were in full flight, and the Russians again bore aloft a victorious banner. Suvaroff arrived at Glarus, gathered his army together, and retired with rapidity through the Grison country and over the Alps, reaching Lindau in safety on the 10th of October. Satisfied of the unwillingness of the Austrians, by reason of jealousy, to support or serve under his generalship, he made known his intention to proceed home, and very soon began his march through Germany to Russia. "I have been misled once," said he, "but there would be too much shame at my age, and with my experience, to expose myself to be duped again. They have broken their word and been false to me in every respect. In Italy they refused to furnish me with the essential means to accelerate my march through Switzerland. They left Korjakoff exposed before it was in my power to sustain him. They compromised the honor and existence of a brave army, thus insulting my sovereign even more than myself. And now I owe it to his honor and to my own sense of duty to carry back to him at least the feeble remnant of the force he confided to my command, and which has but too well served the cause of the allies."

In fact, Suvaroff had been taught by bitter experiences to dislike and despise the accustomed Austrian system of red-tape. "Conferences," he cried, in this campaign, "treaties, negotiations! An Austrian officer receives a flag of truce, and enters into discussion. And during this time the French pass the Rhine, and beat his division. Indeed, the general is still parleying when the enemy makes him a prisoner. Cæsar said, 'You must not parley with the barbarians.' *I say the same of every enemy.* Like Cæsar, I make no plan of details. I see things only on a grand scale, because a crowd of events always interfere to modify and altogether alter the best concerted plans."

During this withdrawal in disgust the marshal preserved an almost unbroken silence. Sitting and lying, by turns, in the bottom of his *kibitka,* with his military cloak about him, concealed from view, and repelling interruption, he thus made the journey among his troops as far as Augsbourg, which city he reached on the 7th of November, and where he fixed his headquarters until he could receive the ultimate orders of the czar. A fortnight afterwards he left Bavaria, at the emperor's command, and took up his winter quarters at Prague (December 20, 1799). On the 21st of January, 1800, an abrupt summons came from St. Petersburg to Suvaroff for him to bring his army back to Russia without delay, which he duly did. Thus his military career ended.

And now he had to undergo a series of slights and insults from his worst enemy, Paul I., which undoubtedly resulted in killing him. Ungrateful republics? More basely ungrateful sovereigns, forsooth! The great Suvaroff died of a broken heart at the cruel injustice of a mean-spirited monarch. And what more wounding and galling to a noble soul than the contemptible persecutions of malicious natures? That is the very refinement of torture, indeed.

When on the Russian frontier the royal deviltry began. The illustrious warrior was refused the ordinary honors due to his rank, let alone his services. At the capital he was denied a military reception, and Paul himself treated him with studied neglect. He spoke not a word concerning the late campaign; he asked not after the veteran's health; he turned his back upon him without apology. Says De Laverne, "This fresh affliction, after all the trials of the last few months, and at his advanced age, was more than he could bear. At the end of his eminent career, this undaunted character, whom no passion but the thirst for glory had ever completely swayed, was unable to resist the chagrin of this attempted stab at his reputation. He was soon taken dangerously ill. All medical advice and assistance were unavailing, for the seat of disease was in a wounded spirit, not in the body. Suvaroff had received many wounds, but this one was mortal." Catharine's grandsons, Alexander and Constantine, covered with confusion at their father's shameful conduct, on hearing of their old friend's fatal illness, rushed to his bedside and encircled him in their arms. Said he to them, pathetically,—

"Suvaroff has lived too long."

And pressing the portrait of his empress, which he wore on his heart, to his trembling lips, he breathed his last. He died May 17, 1800. His remains were accorded a magnificent funeral; and the Czar Alexander, a few years afterwards, raised to his memory a superb statue on the *Champs-de-Mars* of St. Petersburg. Only a great soldier can gauge his great qualities.

The following is the ukase or edict of her imperial majesty, the Empress of all the Russias, issued to the senate, relative to Suvaroff's promotion to the rank of field-marshal: "The commander-in-chief, Count Suvaroff Rymnikski, already recommended by the numerous and valuable services he has rendered us, having been appointed by Field-Marshal Count Romanzoff Zaduneiski to the command of the troops against the insurgents of Poland, has acquitted himself of the commission with which he was charged to our great satisfaction by defeating the enemy in several engagements, and particularly in that of Brzescia, on the 3d of September (1794). As soon as he was

informed of the total overthrow of Kosciusko, the leader of the insurrection, he instantly marched to Warsaw, defeated the enemy's troops on his way, and took Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, defended by strong entrenchments and a numerous garrison, by assault. He carried the works by storm at the head of our victorious troops, engaged the insurgents, and after a most severe conflict obliged Warsaw, the capital of the kingdom, to submit her destiny to the hands of the conqueror. After taking possession of Warsaw, the arms and prudent measures of the above-named general speedily obliged the numerous bodies of Poles who had effected their retreat, but were vigorously pursued, to surrender, with all their artillery and ammunition. The success of this expedition has entirely extinguished the flames of insurrection in Poland. In consideration of these services which General Count Suvaroff Rymnikski has so recently rendered us, and which are no less advantageous than acceptable to Russia, we have appointed him, this 19th of November, 1794, our general field-marshal, and at the same time presented him with the staff of field-marshal. We order the senate to expedite a diploma which shall be signed by our own hand, and in which all his military exploits shall be particularized.

"CATHARINE.

"NOVEMBER 6, 1794."

The presentation of a piece of property to Suvaroff, in further recompense and recognition of his military offices, by the grateful empress is hereinafter expressed. This ukase is likewise addressed to the Russian senate:

"As a recompense for the remarkable services which General Field-Marshal Count Alexander Suvaroff has rendered us by the different victories he has gained over the insurgents of Poland, and especially by the complete defeat of their united forces at Praga, which immediately occasioned the submission of Warsaw, the capital of Poland, and the general termination of the insurrection, we have given, by virtue of our plenary authority, to him, his successors, heirs, and representatives, full power to take, from the date of the present instrument, and to enjoy in perpetuity, from our imperial possessions in Lithuania, constituting a part of the *ci-devant* royal district of Brzescia, the district of Robrin, with all the burghs, manor-houses, and villages appendant thereon; which district, according to the registers laid down before us, contains a population of six thousand nine hundred and twenty-two souls; together with all the farms, all the fruit, rents, and issues, all the cattle, and summarily all

the objects of rural economy attached thereunto. We enjoin our senate, by these presents, to expedite the necessary orders for placing this property, with all its appurtenances and dependencies, in the hands of Count Suvaroff Rymnikski, and for preparing the diploma of this donation, which we purpose to subscribe with our name.

"CATHARINE.

"AUGUST 19, 1795."

Catharine II. wrote congratulatory letters in person to Suvaroff on a number of occasions. The following notes are appended to Anthing's "Campaigns of Count Suvaroff Rymnikski":

"TO OUR COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, COUNT SUVAROFF RYMNIKSKI, —The singular zeal which you have displayed for our service on various occasions; the care and vigilance of which you have given such an example as commander-in-chief; the uncommon ardor, courage, and ability by which you signalized yourself in attacking, on the 22d of September, the numerous Ottoman army, commanded by the Grand Vizier, on the Rymnik, when you gained a complete victory over the enemy with our troops, and those of his majesty the Roman emperor, under the command of the Prince of Cobourg, are so many distinct claims to our imperial regard. As a testimony of it, we name you, according to the institution of our military order of Saint George, knight of the first class of that order, and we command you to wear the decoration which we now send you.

"CATHARINE.

"ST. PETERSBURG, October 18, 1789."

Suvaroff was ever faithful and loyal to his queen, and after every one of his famous victories Catharine complimented, thanked, and praised her devoted hero to the skies with true royalty and womanhood.

"ST. PETERSBURG, October 26, 1794.

"COUNT ALEXANDER BASILOVITSCH,—Your rapid marches against the enemy, your victories, and particularly those which you gained on the 6th of September at Kruperzize, and on the 8th of the same month at Brzescia, are distinguished proofs of your constant zeal for our service, and of your activity, bravery, and talents. In this point of view we are pleased to consider your successes, and we therefore hasten to express our most grateful sense of them. We send you as a pledge of our satisfaction a diamond hat-loop, and at the same time make you

a present of three pieces of cannon, to be chosen by yourself from the artillery which you have taken in battle. We pray God to assist you in all that you may hereafter undertake for the service of your country. I am your affectionate

"CATHARINE.

"NOVEMBER 6, 1794.

"FIELD-MARSHAL, GENERAL COUNT ALEXANDER BASILOVITSCH, —I make you my compliments on all your victories, as well as on your carrying the intrenchments of Praga and Warsaw. I am, with great respect, your affectionate

"CATHARINE."

Suvaroff was also the recipient of many tokens of appreciation from the crowned heads of Europe. The following are a few specimens:

"MY VERY DEAR GENERAL,—I am fully convinced that you are perfectly satisfied with the rewards of your own sovereign, who duly appreciates your great talents and long experienced bravery. I know also that you are not ambitious of new distinctions, which can certainly add nothing to the lustre of your renown; I nevertheless hope that you will accept with pleasure my order of the Red and Black Eagle, which I send you as a mark of my distinguished esteem and particular good wishes. I am your affectionate

"FREDERIC WILLIAM
(of Prussia).

"POTSDAM, December 7, 1794."

"MY DEAR FIELD-MARSHAL, COUNT SUVAROFF,—As Captain Langfrey returns this day to his place of destination, I have intrusted him with my portrait for you. I wish the pleasure you may receive from it may equal the desire I feel of giving you, in it, a token of my particular esteem for your personal merits. I trust you enjoy a good state of health, and hope that you will henceforth taste the sweets of repose, to enable you to recruit from the incessant fatigues of the field which you have hitherto endured. Rest assured of my good wishes.

"FRANCIS
(of Austria).

"VIENNA, January 25, 1795."

"WARSAW, 8th November, 1794.

"SIR,—I am perfectly sensible of the candor of your proceedings toward us. I cannot give you a better proof of it than by restoring to liberty the Russian prisoners of war in this place, and putting them into the hands of a general so worthy of commanding them. I pray God to keep you in his holy protection!

"STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS, King"
(of Poland).

From friend and foe alike came spontaneous adulations and kindly greetings to this great soldier and good man, whose name is free from stain. Russia has always loved his memory, and well she may, for Suvaroff was one of the rare soldiers of his warlike era who never lost a battle. Perhaps no name among his countrymen is better known to military men of all nations than that of the martial Suvaroff.

By the late DAVID GRAHAM ADEE.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

An analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the more important and valuable articles.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. The Evolution of the National Guard.—*Jour. Cav.*, July
2. New National Guard.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, July-August.
3. The Cuban Army.—*Same.*
4. Smaller Batteries.—*Same.*
5. Notes on Mounted Troops.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, July.
6. Changes in the World's Armies and Navies.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, May, June.
7. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Mar. Rund.*, April, May, June, July.

The *first* of these articles is an interesting and entertaining essay by Major Boughton, 11th Cavalry, an officer of considerable service and experience. It was originally delivered as a lecture to the National Guard of Missouri, and contains much valuable advice and many interesting historical allusions.

The *second* relates to the same subject, and is from the pen of Colonel James Rice, Illinois National Guard.

The *third* is an argument on the necessity for increasing the efficiency of the Cuban Army, by Captain Hanna, 3d Cavalry, our military attaché at Havana.

The *fourth* is a plea for smaller batteries of field artillery: Three guns to the battery. The author presents very strong arguments, based on experience at home and abroad, and while a reduction to four guns is very generally advocated by artillerists, the proposed reduction to three guns appears advisable.

The *fifth* article is a very sensible summary of the value of mounted infantry:

"Among other matters brought to light by the Royal Commission on the late war, the recorded evidence discloses a great divergence of opinion regarding mounted troops. The extreme views held by some officers on this subject indicate a tendency to disregard the exceptional character of the operations, and emphasizes the caution

with which deductions should be drawn from our experiences in the Boer campaign.

"The difficulties encountered by Regular troops in overcoming a national resistance are proverbial. To the language, features, and mode of life of the country, our troops were for the most part strange, which could but minimize their initial value. In addition, they had to face a mounted enemy, accustomed to shoot, possessing excellent sources of information; and this, be it remembered, was the first appearance in the field of heavy long-ranging guns, magazine arms, and, last but not least, smokeless powder. Looking back, it is not surprising that such conditions could only be met by departing somewhat from existing methods.

"Tactics are mainly influenced by the weapons in use, hence improvements and developments in guns and small arms produce corresponding changes in formations and modes of fighting. In this case the results of recent improvements had to be experienced in actual warfare before their value was fully appreciated, and thus history merely repeated itself; on the other hand, the danger is apparent of our being led into adopting changes beyond those at present desirable in a laudable endeavor to keep up to date.

"The necessity of supplementing the Cavalry by other troops of the nature of Mounted Riflemen to so large an extent, could not fail to attract general attention and a corresponding amount of criticism on their relative merits. This, when reasonable and unbiassed, is productive of good, and not to be deprecated in the interests of the Army.

"Seeing that the Cavalry is armed with a firearm and composed of trained horsemen, we may fairly assume that, had it existed in sufficient numbers, the necessity for Mounted Infantry would not have become apparent, unless possibly in very exceptional cases.

"Mounted Infantry has been employed at various times and in different countries; but the principles on which it has been raised have remained the same, though the actual form has varied with the nature of the service on which it has been engaged. Mounted Infantry has always been regarded as Infantry, pure and simple, but endowed with superior mobility; and these characteristics were especially insisted on when the force was mounted on horses.

MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

1. Idealism and Training.—*Mar. Rund.*, July.
2. Physical Training in the Army.—*Jour. Inf.*, July.
3. The New Firing Regulations for Small Arms.—*Same.*
4. Infantry Drill Regulations.—*Same.*
5. The Sub-target Gun Machine.—*Same.*

6. Instruction of Non-Commissioned Officers of Cavalry.— *Jour. Cav.*, July.
7. Target Practice in England.—*Same.*
8. Artillery Practice.—*Jour. Arty.*, May, June.
9. Prize Firing in 1903.—*Same.*
10. A Second West Point?—*Jour. M. S. I.*, July, August.
11. Security and Information.—*Same.*
12. Military Instruction of School Boys.—*Same.*
13. Army Penology.—*Same.*
14. Cavalry Training.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, July.
15. Ranging by Infantry.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 5.

The *first* of these articles, although written for the Navy, applies equally well to the Army. The author considers the subject broadly, but touches on many matters of detail, such as the present character of recruits, military hygiene, alcohol and tobacco, patriotism, professional pride, religion, etc. It is an able article of wide application, and worthy of careful study and consideration.

The *second* article is by the able instructor of Gymnastics and Physical Training at our Military Academy, and is a timely and well considered essay. It deserves the careful attention of those in authority, inasmuch as its author has been a wise and successful instructor for many years.

"The question of the proper physical training of the enlisted man is to-day engaging the attention of everyone interested in the service. The subject has been written about, discussed and talked over for a long time, but as yet, except in a few instances, little of lasting value has been accomplished. That such is the case is primarily due no doubt to the lack of proper facilities, which made it incumbent upon those who were detailed to take charge of the work to do the best they could under circumstances which were not such that would inspire even an energetic and enthusiastic officer. Another reason, in my opinion, why more was not accomplished along this line, is due to the fact that until recently such training, over and above what was prescribed by the drill regulations, was not officially considered an actual part of the soldier's education. It was not until the War Department took up the matter a few years ago that department commanders began to consider the question seriously. Unfortunately, however, the orders of the War Department on this subject were construed by these commanders, without exception almost, to mean that athletics, competitive athletics exclusively, should be fostered. I am led to believe this to be true by the Department orders relating to this matter, many of which are exhaustive documents upon the

subject of competitive athletics, and which are either silent upon or mentioned only incidentally the physical training of *all* the men.

"That this interpretation of the War Department orders pertaining to this subject was a mistake there is no a shadow of a doubt in my mind, as I believe it was the intention of the War Department that the physical training of the men should be accepted in its broadest sense, and that athletics should form a part of this training only so far as they are conducive to the very best results, and that *every* soldier should be benefited in the greatest degree possible. It is an established fact that this cannot be accomplished by means of athletics alone, and certainly not by means of competitive athletics, which should be indulged in only by those who have been properly trained by means of a systematic course of physical training.

"What the service requires is a system of training based upon proper educational principles, the chief object of which is to raise the physical standard of *all*. It is needless to add that competitive athletics do not and cannot do this. Sight is not lost of the fact that the tendency of the age is toward competition, even in physical training, which confronts us with a condition where the few are benefited at the expense of the many. In spite of this prevailing tendency, and the fact that we are prone to judge the athletic superiority of a student body, for instance, by the physical excellence of the members of one of its teams, which in many instances does not represent more than three per centum of the entire body, those are not misled who have given the matter careful and serious consideration and who are acquainted with the true conditions. It would be a lamentable mistake to bring about such conditions in the service; there is too much dependent upon the individual to invite such a risk.

"We must aspire to something that is more substantial, and rather than have a few crack athletes scattered throughout the Army our aim should be to train *every* man in such a manner as to bring out to the fullest his physical possibilities.

"The introduction of innovations of all kinds is always attended with obstacles, and such will probably be the case when this new feature is entrusted to the young officers of our service. There is, however, no reason, except a natural diffidence which possesses the conscientious man when he is called upon to act as a pioneer in any undertaking, why any young officer, a graduate of the Military Academy, should not be able to cope successfully with this new venture. The course at the Academy, which, by the way, is applicable to the service in all its details, gives him, by virtue of the fact that at least as much time is spent upon it as is spent upon any other drill, an opportunity to become as efficient an instructor in this work as he

may be in any other drill. In the past there has been little if any demand for services in this particular, and it is true that on that account cadets have probably not paid as much attention to this instruction, so far as fitting themselves as instructors is concerned, as they naturally would had they known that there would be a demand for such services.

"In the future all this will be different; a demand exists and the young officer may be depended upon to take hold of this as zealously as he does of his other duties. In order, however, to make the state of transition of this new undertaking as short as possible, and to put it upon a firm and intelligent basis from the beginning, it has been proposed to detail a number of specially fitted young officers to West Point from June 15th to September 1st to receive special instruction which will fit them to take charge of the service gymnasiums. This course of instruction to embrace the practice and theory of military and educational gymnastics, swimming, fencing, athletics, physiology, anatomy, the physiology of exercise and anthropometry.

"The Military Academy is an ideal location for such a course."

The *tenth* article, from the pen of Professor Tillman, is an able argument in favor of preserving the present site of the Military Academy and its present scope of instruction and training, making elsewhere such extensions as may be needed for special *military* training. The article has been widely read and has met with very general approval: it is hoped that due consideration will be given it when the Military Academy is rebuilt.

The *fourteenth* article is a severe criticism of Lord Dundonald's manual on *Canadian Cavalry Training*.

The *fifteenth* is a valuable dissertation on the determination of the range for infantry, especially between 1,000 and 600 yards from the enemy, by the observation of the effects of fire alone, that is, without the use of range-finders.

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

1. The Russo-Japanese War.—*Mar. Rund.*, April, May; *Mar. Rund. Beih.* 8, 9, 10; *Mil. Mail*, May 6-July 1; *Rev. du Cerc. Mil.*, April 9-May 7; *A. and N. Gaz.*, April 30-July 2; *Jour. Arty.*, March, April.
2. The Indian Ocean in History.—*Mar. Rund.*, July.
3. The Fall of Calcutta, June, 1756.—*Ind. Vol. Rec.*, June 15.
4. The Situation in Thibet.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, May 28, July 2.
5. Blockade.—*Mar. Rund.*, June, July; *Jour. R. U. S. I.*, May.
6. Boer Tactics in Germany.—*Jour. Inf.*, July.

7. Some Lessons of the War.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, June 4.

8. Military and Naval Co-operation.—*Same.*, June 25.

9. Factors of Sea Power.—*Same,* May 21.

10. The Japanese Attack on Port Arthur, 1894.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, July.

11. The Sea as a Field of Operations and as a Battlefield.— *Mar. Rund.*, April.

12. Sea and Land Routes to the Far East.—*Same.*

13. District of Benguet.—*Jour. Cav.*, July.

14. Grierson's Raid.—*Same.*

15. Five Years a Dragoon.—*Same.*

16. The Campaign of Pleona.—*Same.*

17. Troop M, 6th Cavalry, in China.—*Same.*

18. Campaigns against India from the West.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, May, June.

19. Coast Defence.—*Same.*

20. The Evolution of Modern Strategy (Maude).—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, June, July.

21. The Protection of Small Columns.—*Same,* June.

22. The Decisive Range.— *Same,* June.

23. Artillery in Battle Yesterday and To-day.—*Jour. Arty.*, May, June.

24. Artillery in the South African War.—*Same.*

25. Influence of the Adoption of New Guns on the Fire of Field Artillery.—*Jour. Arty.*, May, June.

26. The British Cavalry and the Lessons of 1899-1902.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, July.

27. The New Pacific from a Strategic Point of View.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, June.

28. War Material and Troops Leading.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 6.

29. Deductions from the Passage of the Danube in 1877.—*Same.*

The space available permits of special reference to but a few of these articles, many of them are sufficiently explained by their titles, and continued articles have been analyzed in previous numbers of this magazine. The articles on the present war between Russia and Japan are utilized in the history elsewhere given.

The *fifth* article is one of great importance, and is of interest to the coast artillery as well as to the navy.

The *sixth* (translated from *Revue Militaire Suisse* by Colonel Pettit) discusses the lessons of the Boer War, and criticises the changes in tactics adopted in Germany as a result of these lessons.

The *seventh* contains some interesting deductions from the Russo-Japanese War, a few of which are here quoted:

"The inclination to draw from the war in the Far East lessons for our own guidance in similar circumstances is natural, but undue haste to generalize from one or two incidents is to be deprecated. This is practically the burden of Captain Mahan's interesting articles, and also of Mr. Lawrence's lecture on problems of neutrality. That the war will have much to teach us goes without saying, just as there were lessons to be learnt from the war between Spain and the United States, but when endeavoring to utilize the circumstances of these struggles for our own benefit we must not forget that there are conditions which have to be considered as presenting features entirely dissimilar from those of a naval war between fairly matched antagonists.

"The first and most obvious lesson of the war is the necessity of being prepared. From first to last, navally speaking, the troubles of the Russians have come about owing to their being unable or unwilling to take the offensive, the only line which really tells in sea warfare. At the back of the Russian inability was in all probability an ignorance, on the part of those who possess the controlling power, of the real purpose and uses of naval force. This want of knowledge has often been found in a nation which is essentially military—one which has attained its influence mainly by the exercise of force on land. In such a case the army naturally takes the first place, and there is a tendency to devote less attention to the naval arm. It is not too much to say that the whole course of this war might have borne a very different complexion if the Russian naval force in the Far East had been concentrated, and if it had been used with the same promptitude which characterized the action of its adversary. It is probable that in a naval battle the Russians might have suffered losses equal to those which resulted from the assault of Togo's destroyers, but, on the other hand, these might have been compensated for by similar losses on the part of the enemy. And in view of the fact that such losses could be more easily made good from reserves in the case of Russia, they would have been well worth risking much to accomplish. The destruction of the Hatsuse, even at this stage of the war, is no slight disadvantage to Japan, while the prospect of a termination of hostilities still remains indefinite. But it would have been much more damaging had it occurred in the early days of the struggle. As it is, it demonstrates upon what a comparatively slight basis superiority at sea may rest. The foundation of all the successes of Japan is the superiority in numbers and efficiency of her fleet in the first instance, for that superiority has enabled her to utilize the numbers and efficiency of her land forces at the right place and at the right time—the very essence of successful strategy. When it is remembered how

largely the element of chance must enter into naval warfare, and what portentous results may follow the successful use of a mine or a torpedo, it behooves a nation the integrity of which rests mainly on Sea Power to provide against such emergencies by the maintenance of a very large reserve of naval force."

The *eighth* is another article of general value and application:

"No lessons in the Far East can be more valuable than those which relate to the combined action of naval and military forces. The large lessons of the war will be those which we must most lay to heart—the lessons of preparedness, of a right strategical distribution of forces, and of a sound combination of effort in every branch of the forces. We must admire the exact adaptation of means to ends in the unfolding strategy of the Japanese—the inter-action of all their forces, the right appreciation of the prime necessity of menacing at the beginning the very centre of the Russian communications through Southern Manchuria, leading to the march through Korea of the First Army and the battle on the Yalu, while the Second Army was held in readiness either to operate in that vicinity on the Russian right from Ta-ku-shan, or, in the event of the victory which was achieved, to march from Yen-toa Bay upon Port Arthur. Nothing has been so remarkable as the happy union on the Japanese side of the naval and military forces in their purpose, and in the right conjunction of command. There appears to have been no failure in this respect. When General Kuroki invaded Korea, his army was preceded by forces which made every preparation for the landing, and the troops were safely convoyed, while the Japanese Vice-Admiral masked any possible attempt of the fleet at Port Arthur to interfere. As the tide of military strength flowed on, the naval forces enabled the troops to be supplied, and the base to be brought near to the scene of actual operations. In the battle on the Yalu a division of gunboats took part with the military forces, exactly directing its efforts to deceive the Russians on their extreme right as to the turning movements which the Japanese troops were making on their extreme left. Just in the same way were the various disembarkations managed and protected. The troops were conveyed to their advanced base in the Hall Islands off Tatong Bay on the west coast of Korea, approximately at the same distance from the Yalu and Yen-toa Bay. The battle of the Yalu was fought on May 1, the destination of the Second Army was thereby determined, Admiral Togo sank his ships in the Port Arthur approach on the morning of the 3d, and on the next day he convoyed the transports from the islands, landing the troops at Yen-toa on the morning of the 5th. The co-operation of the naval and military forces was faultless. On the approach to Port

Arthur the vessels have always been on the flank of the troops, and at Kin-chau the navy had a part in the battle. There appears to have been, therefore, a perfect understanding between the naval and military authorities, and a real unity of command. We must assume, for want of real knowledge, that the land and sea forces have been frequently and almost continuously in direct communication by signal. Without such an arrangement the combined work could scarcely have gone on so well.

"For a maritime empire like ours such a union of direction and effort is eminently desirable, and, indeed, absolutely essential. It is not a little curious that we have allowed the two great branches of the King's service to stand, in a manner, apart, each knowing little of the work and duties of the other, and neither being trained or exercised in any combined operations. We are here much behind the Japanese, and, indeed, the Continental nations and the United States have gone ahead of us. It is a very rare occurrence for any of our coast gunners to exchange signals with ships of the Navy, and yet it is easily conceivable that in war time communication between them might be of the utmost importance."

The *ninth* article is also full of suggestions:

"No more striking illustration of the value of sea power can be found than that which we have had presented by the recent operations in the Far East. Similar illustrations were afforded by the late war between Spain and the United States, and again during our war in South Africa, but in neither case was the point so strongly brought home to every intelligent observer as it has been in the present instance. Everyone must be aware of the enormous military power possessed by Russia. And yet, owing to her impotence as regards naval force that can be exerted oversea, she is unable to bring that great strength to bear in the present struggle.

"But while the general effect of the naval operations is likely to have a result which is wholly advantageous, the manner in which sea power has been exerted may and, indeed, seems to be creating an impression not altogether beneficial. The success which Japan has achieved, and which has won for her the ungrudging praise of the world, has been largely accomplished by the use of torpedoes and mines. It is possible, too, that a Russian mine caused the loss of the Hatsuse. One result of this has been to create an impression among a section of the public interested in naval matters that sea power can now be exerted without the aid of the larger vessels. In this country, and in America, writers of weight have seized the opportunity to argue that the battleship is doomed, and that in the immediate future the torpedo carriage, in its various shapes of destroyer, boat, and

submarine, will take its place. Those who have been thus led away by the prominent part played by the torpedo flotillas at Port Arthur have misread the lessons taught by these operations.

"Had it not been that Admiral Togo recognized the strategical necessity of maintaining and exercising the control of the sea by the display of great force, his torpedo flotilla could never have acted as they have done, nor could their commanders have got out of the force under their control the maximum effect of their fighting efficiency. It was the armored base supporting and nursing the destroyers, and keeping at a distance the vessels which might have been effectively used against them, which gave to those small craft the opportunity for that display of intelligent daring and ably-directed action which paralyzed the Russian fleet at Port Arthur."

The *nineteenth* article is also of general interest, although written especially in relation to the defense of Great Britain.

The *twenty-first* is an article of considerable interest in view of the fact that the principles involved are illustrated by two actual experiences in war: One, that of a brigade of the Tirah Field Force in the Bazar Valley in 1897; the other, that of a much smaller force (of the three arms, however), in the Western Transvaal in the spring of 1901.

The *twenty-second* also involves tactical principles:

" 'All movements on the battlefield have but one end in view, the development of fire in greater volume and more effectively directed than that of the opposing force . . . it is superiority of fire that decides the conflict.'

" 'Success is only to be obtained by fire at decisive range.'

Terms applied to ranges.	Rifle. Yards.
Distant	3,000 to 2,000
Long	2,000 to 1,400
Effective	1,400 to 600
Decisive	600 and under.

"In the continuous advance of thought and method that is absolutely necessary for a nation to keep abreast of the world's progress, thinkers constantly express new opinions which differ from or go further than accepted principles. This is an inevitable and vivid sign of national vigor. Many experienced and thoughtful soldiers hold an opinion on the subject of this paper which differs from the description of ranges quoted above. This opinion is that battles will in the future be won and lost at far more than 600 yards, or, that decisive ranges are much extended by the weapons of to-day.

"The third section of our text is the outcome of the latest conflict fought between opponents armed equally with modern weapons. The first and second sections contain no new tactical principles. The discharge of missiles by infantry established its value at Crecy. The main principles of tactics never change. Modern science merely demands their suitable application to existing conditions. The great problem is, how to obtain superiority of fire at the decisive point.

"There are four main conditions that lead to fire superiority: Numbers, fire-discipline, surprise, and direction, *e. g.*, enfilade and reverse. Fire superiority, therefore, may be physical or moral. The end of its development is almost invariably moral. The defeat of an army is followed, as a rule, by its retreat or surrender. Seldom does a force in civilized war continue fighting until every man is *hors de combat.* That would be the result of physical superiority of fire pure and simple, which had, however, never succeeded in establishing moral superiority. Hence, moral superiority of fire is, generally speaking, the direct cause of victory or of defeat. The question remains as to when it becomes decisive; at what stage the battle is won or lost.

"The problem of how to save and when to sacrifice men bristles with difficulties. Decisive results can seldom be achieved without loss, but when the supply of men is limited, it seems rather like drawing on our capital to lose them. Our soldiers are costly luxuries, and we increase their value by a careful system of high training. Our leaders realize the men's value and handle them accordingly, seeking to lose as few as is compatible with the object to be gained. From the purely military point of view this is wrong. To crush your foe, it is said, you must face heavy losses. We must solve the problem by training our men to such a pitch of discipline, self-reliance, and mobility that by sheer power of maneuver we shall obtain superiority of fire when and where we wish. If with inferior numbers we can learn by fire-discipline, surprise, rapidity and secrecy of movement, or staying power, to establish superiority of fire at the decisive point, then, on the happy days when we have the big battalions, we can rely on possessing physically at the outset what we have known how to acquire morally at the end. And when the occasion demands loss, we must not hesitate to suffer it.

"But whether we aim at making the most of our infantry weapon and fire-discipline, or at keeping down the casualty list, we cannot doubt that in a struggle between troops of nearly equal quality, armament and *morale*, the result will be fought out at close quarters, and often decided by the bayonet.

"Nor does this apply only to carrying out and beating off real attacks, but to other phases of fighting, such as containing and delaying actions. We shall not hold an enemy to his ground by merely firing at him at 'long' or even 'effective' ranges, nor will such fire delay a foe whose object is not to be delayed. We can annoy our opponent and force him to deploy, or, if he is on the defence, to develop his strength and dispositions, as soon as we can reach him with our fire; but we must always be ready to close with him to be finally successful."

ARTILLERY AND FORTIFICATIONS.

1. Machine Guns in Our Army.—*Jour. Infy.*, July.
2. Creusot and the Ordnance made there.—*Scien. Amer. Suppl.*, June 18.
3. A New Artillery Wheel.—*Same*, May 21.
4. Machine Guns.—*Jour. Cav.*, July.
5. The Grubb Sight.—*Jour. Arty.*, March, April.
6. The Gunner's Corrector.—*Same.*
7. A Proposed System of Fire Direction.—*Same.*
8. Fire Direction System of Ft. Williams.—*Same.*
9. The Accuracy and Probability of Gun-Fire.—*Same.*
10. The New Boat Telephone Set.—*Same.*
11. Automatic Sight for Disappearing Guns.—*Same.*
12. Present State of Field Artillery Rearmament.—*Same.*
13. A Modified Time-Range-Relation Board.—*Same.*
14. The New Field Gun Carriage, England.—*Same.*
15. Vanadimn Steel.—*Same.*
16. Harmet Process for Steel.—*Same.*
17. Range and Drift Ruler for Mortars.—*Same*, May-June.
18. The New Vickers Maxim 9.2-inch Wire-wound Gun.—*Same.*
19. High Velocity 6-inch Wire-wound Gun for U. S. Army.—*Same.*
20. Guns.—*Same.*
21. Russian and Japanese Field Guns.—*Same.*
22. Long and Short Recoil.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 6.
23. The Fortifications of Port Arthur.—*Same.*
24. The Land Fortifications of Belgium.—*Same.*

WARSHIPS.

1. The Bellisle Torpedo Experiments. — *Jour. Arty.*, March, April.
2. The New Austrian Battleship Arpad.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, May.
3. Submarine Boats.—*Jour. Arty.*, May, June.

4. U. S. Battleship Virginia.—*Same.*
5. Battleships for Japanese Navy.—*Same.*
6. Submarine Navigation.—*Scien. Amer. Suppl.,* May 21.
7. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Mar. Rund.,* June, July.

SMALL ARMS AND EQUIPMENTS.

1. The U. S. Magazine Rifle.—*Jour. Inf.,* July.
2. An Officer's Equipment.—*Same.*
3. Cavalry Saddles and Packs.—*Jour. Cav.,* July.
4. English, Russian and Japanese Rifles.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.,* June.
5. The Short Lee-Enfield Rifles, M. I.—*Same.*

The *first* of these is a good illustrated description of our new infantry rifle, by one perfectly familiar with its development, namely, Captain Dickson, Ordnance Department:

"The U. S. magazine rifle, caliber .30, popularly known as the Krag-Jörgensen, was adopted in 1892, after an exhaustive series of competitive tests of nearly every well-known American and foreign magazine rifle, to replace the Springfield rifle, caliber .45. The experience had with it in the hands of troops and in its manufacture resulted in the adoption of radical changes which were embodied in the models of 1896 and 1898. While some of these changes were made to simplify its manufacture, and others to overcome defects developed in service, including the improvement of its sights, the more important features, such as increasing the muzzle velocity to obtain a flatter trajectory and greater remaining energy of bullet, the providing of a clip for charging the magazine, and the making of the arm more symmetrical, were not lost sight of. The increasing of the muzzle velocity from 2,000 to 2,200 feet per second was very seriously considered and extensively experimented with, but was abandoned because the single lug on the front end of the bolt was not deemed sufficiently strong to withstand the increased powder pressure. Numerous unsuccessful attempts were made to devise a clip for that gun, but the rimmed cartridge and the irregular shape of the entrance to the magazine rendered all attempts abortive. As the unsymmetrical shape of the arm was inherent to its design, little if any improvement in this respect was found possible.

"As it became evident that future development along these lines necessitated the abandonment of the Krag-Jörgensen design, the development of another design was commenced in 1899.

"As the result of earnest study and careful experimentation, an experimental magazine rifle, now known as the U. S. magazine rifle, model of 1903, was developed at the Springfield Armory, Springfield,

Mass., by Col. Frank H. Phipps, Ordnance Department, assisted by the officers and employees of that Armory.

"This arm uses a cannelured cartridge shell having a greater powder capacity than the present cartridge; about 44 grains of smokeless powder being used. The bullet is smooth, has a sharper point and weighs 220 grains. The muzzle velocity is 2,300 feet per second, and the powder pressure about 49,000 pounds per square inch. The ball cartridge weighs about 450 grains and the rifle complete 8.94 pounds. The rifling in the barrel is uniform and makes one turn in 10 inches.

"(a) A more accurate shooting weapon provided with both open and peep sights. A full size target of 10 consecutive shots made by Ordnance Sergeant W. N. Puckett at 800 yards' range is reproduced to illustrate the accuracy of the new arm. This target was made with a two-o'clock wind blowing at the rate of twelve miles per hour and in a hazy and misty light. The mean absolute deviation of this target is 4.2 inches.

"(b) A flatter trajectory and greater striking energy. The maximum ordinates of the 1,000, 1,500 and 2,000 yard trajectories have been reduced about 34 per cent., and the remaining energy of the bullet at the same ranges increased 39.4 per cent., 49.5 per cent., and 62.6 per cent., respectively.

"(c) A single arm for all branches of the service having a 24-inch barrel. This decreases the weight for the infantry gun from 10.644 (including bayonet and scabbard) to 8.937 pounds, or 16 per cent., and increases that of the cavalry gun from 8.075 to 8.937 pounds, or 10.7 per cent. The latter increase is compensated for by a more accurate and effective long range weapon having a bayonet.

"(d) A clip for charging the magazine in which all cartridges for this arm will be packed. It is not anticipated that the adoption of the clip will result in an appreciable increase in the rate of fire, but that the efficiency of fire, and particularly that of rapid fire, will be markedly increased, since the eye need not be taken off the target and sights during the firing of each five cartridges from the magazine.

"(e) A better balanced, more symmetrical, neater appearing and simpler arm. It has 90 component parts as compared with 99 in the U. S. magazine rifle, model of 1898, and the bolt and magazine mechanisms can be more readily dismounted and assembled for cleaning and making repairs.

"On the other hand, the weight of the cartridge has been slightly increased and that of the clip added, resulting in an increase of weight of one ounce per twenty rounds. The energy of recoil of the arm has been slightly increased, and the increased heat generated in rapid and

continuous firing will more quickly erode the bore and wear away the rifling, thereby shortening the life of the barrel.

"The magazine can be charged from a clip by inserting either end of it in a seat in the rear end of the receiver and by forcing the cartridges from it directly into the magazine by pressure of the right thumb on the top cartridge. The clip is ejected by the forward motion of the bolt. The cartridges arrange themselves alternately against the two walls of the magazine, the first cartridge being on the righ side, the second on the left, etc. When the magazine has been charged it can be cut off, and the arm used as a single-loader by pressing the top cartridge in the magazine downward with the left thumb, then moving the bolt slightly forward, and finally turning down the safety lock. The gun can be used as a single-loader with the magazine empty, and if the magazine is partly emptied it can be filled by the insertion of single cartridges.

"Double loading from the magazine is prevented by the extractor engaging the cartridge as soon as it rises from the magazine and holding it against the face of the bolt until ejected. The gun cannot be fired until the bolt is fully closed. When the last cartridge is fired from the magazine the follower rises and holds the bolt open to show that the magazine is empty."

The *second* article, by Captain J. R. M. Taylor, 14th Infantry, makes some useful suggestions on the subject of a uniform officers' equipment.

The *third*, by Major McCormick, 7th Cavalry, discusses the advantages of the McClellan, Whitman and so-called *stock* saddles (the last mentioned in general use all over the west), with a decided preference for the stock saddle.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The month of August has been a busy one for the section of the army that is interested in the September maneuvers at Manassas. The preparation of the camp ground has been elaborately carried out in accordance with improved plans for army encampments and wells have been driven, bridges built and a wide provision exercised to make the camp site a safe place of residence for a large number of men during the time of the fall mobilization. The interest aroused among the bodies of militia which will take part in the camp is most healthful, and the relations between the regular army and militia show a cordiality which is gratifying.

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That the militia is coming to be actually considered a part of the armed forces of the United States in time of peace, rather than a necessary evil under the form of government of this country, and a source of despair in case of hostilities, or at least during the first few months thereof, is the most promising sign in the military sky at the present time. While the militia system has its faults, they are such faults as will be minimized by a recognition that the organizations are something more than social clubs, and that they are an actual and an important part of the war preparation of the country. The dignity and added standing which has been attained by the volunteer militia from the invitation to participate in the maneuvers of the army is a most valuable asset in the military solvency of this country, and to carry out the innovation to its full usefulness will be to make a membership in the militia urgently sought by the best blood and brawn among the young men of the United States. Young men are especially impatient of less than the foremost consideration, and an encampment with the regulars will have all the attractiveness and incentive to hard work that State encampments have lost.

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Rather persistent attention to rifle shooting and a month in every year of camp duty under the best auspices will do wonders for the militia of the United States, and make it possible to mobilize a few hundred thou-

sand men in an emergency without throwing seventy millions of people into a convulsive condition.

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A statement has recently been issued on the subject of the work of the general staff of the army, and the results the new plan has attained during the time it has been in operation. The summary is a favorable one, and especial care is taken to deny that the Secretary of War is in any way eliminated from the active control of the army. It would, of course, be farcical as yet to express a final opinion on the merits or demerits of the General Staff system that has been worked out for the army. There are those who do not hesitate to decide that the whole thing is a failure, and that it has simply added complications without securing better results that the former method of administration with the added disadvantage that the Secretary of War has become little more than a figurehead. That this sweeping denunciation has been voiced by members of Congress, among others, is probably the reason for the favorable publication above referred to. There is no doubt that the feeling that the importance of the Secretary of War has been minimized is rather widespread. There is this ground, however, for a starting point for an opinion on the question of the General Staff in the army, that there is a decided improvement to be noticed in progressiveness of spirit; new things and new ways have come into the army, and while all the innovations have not yet established themselves, the intent and effort that is working out in a great many lines of activity is a most encouraging sign, and will bring about renewed interest in the army. Whether this spirit is the outgrowth of the awakening which came from the Spanish War or is due to the application of the principles of the General Staff, is not material if the General Staff is found to be equivalent to the task of sustaining it and of directing it in the most profitable channels. For the present the fact is that the condition in the army is most satisfactory, and it is to be hoped that those who question the efficacy of the General Staff system may be induced to withhold attempts to modify the present arrangements until it has been indubitably shown that serious defects exist. No system could develop such disadvantages during a reasonable length of trial as would be brought about by an annual patching of an administrative system.

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It is to be questioned if military men are quite "safe and sane," as the saying now goes,

in the prevailing tendency to reduce the conspicuousness of ordinary military dress. Conceding all that may be claimed for the need of an inconspicuous field uniform, there is a distinct loss of prestige to a military personnel which only wears a uniform when it must, and then seeks to reduce it to the lowest terms. There is and must always be a large element of sentiment in military life, and it cannot be treated as equivalent to a trade or profession. There is a wrong impression among military men in regard to the attitude of civilians toward the wearers of uniform. Properly worn it is regarded as entirely fitting, and there is less shock to a civilian in the appearance of officers in uniform than there is in learning that a person in civilian dress, and that perhaps not in the best taste, is the possessor of a military title. The appreciation of the fitness of things is strong among the people of the United States, and it is a mistake to suppose that a properly designed and properly worn uniform is an offensive sight to the American citizen. It is to be regretted that the War Department has revoked the order requiring officers to wear uniforms while on duty in the War Department. The impression that it was injurious to the interests of the service is entirely erroneous. As a matter of fact, the extension of the order to the Navy Department and its amplification to include the dress of an officer except when actually on leave of absence would have created no adverse comments. Until it is possible to run naked again, man will be as he is clothed, and a military man is not a military man in civilian dress, and he is not a good military man unless his dress exhibits the neatness, smartness and conspicuousness which is a part of the pride and panoply of war. It may be possible to carry on a war in dungaree overalls and jumper, but such a dress will not sustain the military spirit in time of peace.

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A decided compliment was paid to Rear Admiral Converse, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation of the Navy Department, by the members of the Board of Construction, of which he was a member prior to his present assignment. A request was presented to the Secretary of the Navy asking that Admiral Converse be added to the membership of the Board, on which his ripe experience and pre-eminent talents have been of great value. The Scretary acquiesced in the desire of the members of the Board, and Admiral Converse has been detailed as a member, it being understood that he is not to be burdened with detailed work, but that he shall give his

advice on matters connected with the general scheme of ship construction.

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It is probable that renewed interest in the subject of torpedo boat construction will follow the events of the Japanese-Russian War. The place of the torpedo boat and its importance have been rather definitely decided by the operations about Port Arthur, and there will be a call for legislation to remedy the marked inferiority of the United States navy in the number of torpedo craft. Although torpedo boat construction is, ton for ton, the most expensive of war vessel construction, the evident inferiority of a fleet which is not amply provided with torpedo craft will undoubtedly lead to a considerable amount of new construction in this line.

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One of the conspicuous results of the recent naval experiences has been the practical elimination of the intermediate calibres of naval ordnance. The opinion has been simultaneously expressed by the experts of all nations that there is no place in modern naval warfare for guns between eight-inch calibre and three-inch rapid fire guns. The intermediate guns are neither rapid enough for torpedo boat repulsion or powerful enough to penetrate armor at modern ranges, and in new construction the trend will be toward establishing only main and rapid fire batteries. The tendency is also interesting as indicating a still greater increase in the tonnage of fighting ships of the first class.

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Although joint maneuvers of the army and navy were abandoned for the present year, the undertakings have not been given up permanently. A modification has been made by eliminating the use of the battleships and larger cruisers of the navy, as the wear and tear and the dangers of inshore work for big ships caused an expense which was not justified by results. The plans for the maneuvers for 1905 are already being made, and they contemplate a test of the defenses of Washington. The navy will furnish a flotilla of smaller vessels and torpedo craft, and the battleship exercises will be held independently in deeper waters.

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A recent disinterment of the bones of a soldier who was buried at Seven Pines has developed much interesting reminiscence of the much vaunted bullet proof waistcoat which figured in many commercial transactions during the Civil War. Every collection relating to the Civil War contains one or more of the cir-

culars which were distributed freely, especially among new recruits. The lightness and the immunity guaranteed from wearing the waistcoats, which were of thin plates of steel or iron covered with cloth, are set forth in glowing colors and enticing illustrations, and show how the young soldier so protected might walk unscathed through a hail of bullets and pull victory even from the cannon's mouth. There are no statistics available as to the number of these garments sold, but the trade must have been a profitable one, and successive drafts of recruits were not discouraged from buying by the fact that their predecessors had left life savers, together with other impedimenta, along the roadside during their first forced march.

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The launching of the new training ship Cumberland, at the Boston Navy Yard, during the progress of the Grand Army encampment there, was an event of more than ordinary interest to the assemblage of naval veterans. The occasion was marred by an unfortunate incident, in that the right of the veteran who broke out the ensign on the new ship was denied by other former men of the Cumberland, who declared that the man who officiated was not a member of the crew. The argument grew heated, and one survivor threatened to throw the ensign man overboard. It will be interesting to note the status of sailing ships for the training of seamen for the navy at the time the Cumberland and her sister ship are completed. The old apprenticeship idea is becoming daily more discredited, and the sentiment that the place for a man to learn his duty is on board the ship on which he will serve is becoming daily stronger. If the barrack system is carried out and the recruit given some months on shore, and is placed on the general detail list eighteen months after his enlistment, there is not going to be much time in which he can be made an expert on square sails and other obsolete branches of seamanship.

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Recent expressions have come from both French and English sources in admiration of the growing naval power of the United States. The fact that the construction being carried out by the United States exceeds that of any nation except England, seems just to have come forcibly to the attention of foreigners. Brassey regards the United States as likely to be the chief naval power, and M. Hanotaux has expressed a similar view. It is apparent, however, that the liberality of the provision of naval material by the Congress has run somewhat

ahead of preparation in other respects. The large number of additions to the fleet now in sight will tax the resources of the personnel to the utmost. It will be difficult to provide officers and men, and it is possible that it may be found necessary to place a certain number of the older ships out of commission for a time, in order that the newer vessels may be broken in. While this condition will be only temporary, it ought not to be lengthened in duration and aggravated by over-lavish provision for construction. The time seems opportune for a mature consideration as to the ultimate limits of the naval power of the United States. These limits do not at all depend upon the size of the navies of other nations. There are certain considerations peculiar to this country upon which the necessity for naval power depends, and it will be unwise to go beyond these limits and invite the inevitable reaction against an excessive naval provision. There is good opinion that the United States has provided for an adequate number of great ships as a basis for a navy, and that future construction should be based on the idea of replacement and equalization of fleets, rather than on the idea of material increase. The subject will have to be threshed out in the course of the coming session of Congress, which will be decidedly important as a possible starting point of future treatment of naval construction, and the best thought on the subject should be made available for the members of the naval committee.

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The question of the army canteen has been brought up again by the arrest of enlisted men at Fort Sheridan, Ill., for bringing beer into the barracks. In defence it was urged that the officers' mess was provided with beverages of the nature forbidden by law to be sold within military reservations. The whole question of the use of intoxicating liquors with relation to the military service is so difficult, and the opinions both as to the facts and as to the ethics are so conflicting, that one hesitates to express an opinion. While it is true that the presence and free sale of intoxicants within barracks is not desirable from one point of view of military discipline, the evils which have grown out of the restriction are but too evident. It is to be doubted if the consensus of opinion in the navy would be in favor of returning to the sale of beer aboard ship, and the lessening of the amount of intoxication among bluejackets is quite perceptible. On the other hand, the cases are not quite parallel. Bluejackets and marines aboard ship are subjected to outside temptations only

at intervals, while the temptation of the low groggery is daily in close proximity to the enlisted men of the army. It is agreed that the passage of the law relating to army posts was largely a matter of sentiment, and that no real evils had accrued from the canteen as formerly conducted, which were not a part of the general subject of the use of intoxicants. On the whole, it is probably true that the anti-canteen law was unfortunate, and that the subject would much better have been left to the administration of the officers who have the responsibility of the efficiency of the enlisted personnel.

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Active encouragement is being given at the Washington Navy Yard to employes who are able to suggest improvements in ordnance and means to obviate some of the defects that have been discovered in the recent use of ordnance. Many people affect to believe that it is not possible to get a government hearing for improvements. The path of the man who has an idea simply, and that not an especially practically one, is quite likely to come to a close within a short time, as encouragement of such simply means the waste of official time. A man who has a good thing, well worked out and properly developed, will not fail of a hearing and a trial for his improvement, for there never has been a time when improvements have been so eagerly welcomed as at the present time.

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In this connection it is well worth while to suggest that the target practices and the cost of ammunition used have been well worth while, in having developed weaknesses previously unsuspected, and which would otherwise not have come to attention until the test of actual use. The Washington yard has hardly a shop but some useful experiment or innovation is being tried, the whole field of ordnance and ordnance appliances is being reviewed, and the result will be a higher standard of ordnance in the United States than that of any other nation in the world. The recent improvements in sights alone repays the cost of the experience in the use of guns under service conditions.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service," are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

THE NIECE OF NAPOLEON

Her brow was formed to wear the diadem. Her features, pure as those of an antique cameo, her shoulders, her magnificent arms, her hands—the hands of the Bonapartes; all denoted an illustrious race, and by her regal bearing, one recognized the niece of Cæsar.

Never, perhaps, has been seen a more perfect, more attractive, more majestic type of classical beauty in woman. Old age had little dominion over her; up to her last day her features preserved their purity of line, and her figure remained erect and noble. Her well-formed eyes reflected the purpose or the action of her mind; with those whom she honored by her friendship, her glance, quick, ardent, went out to meet their thoughts, as if to tell them: "Fear nothing, trust yourselves to me in all security."

Her admirable physique, of which no detail was incomplete, was the exact counterpart of her moral nature. In her, dignity was allied with strength, kindness with intelligence, uprightness with ardor. Her character was a perfect whole, simple and open; any one who conversed with her for a quarter of an hour could know her.

It was impossible for her to conceal her impressions, her enthusiasms, or her antipathies. A woman of action, going straight to the point, she emitted her thoughts without reserve in their entirety, careless of shocking people. She greeted a duchess who had come to call, and whom she knew to have expressed distaste for her society, with the question: "Why do you come to see me if you don't want to?" She was enamored of everything great, noble, and honest; duplicity or cunning, indecision or want of frankness drove her beside herself. She rebelled against all that appeared to her neither loyal nor just, anything done in the dark, in hiding. In her eyes one should never act save in broad daylight. Thus politics were always distasteful to her; she could never grasp the compromises and bargainings involved: "One should always think out loud, and never ally one's self with people one dislikes or despises."

* * * * * *

This woman, who could form for herself an intimate circle which included all the great minds of nineteenth-century France, was in that respect self-made. She was born in exile, at Trieste, on May 27th, 1820, a year after the death of Napoleon. Her father, Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, was the last of the Emperor's brothers, and her mother was the daughter of the King of Würtemberg. Her father's almost sole preoccupation was how to get money for the maintenance of his numerous mistresses. Her mother was hopelessly in love with her husband, and the more he deceived her, the more she

pursued him with her affection. "I would give all my children for Fifi's little finger" (Fifi was her husband) she would say, before her sons and her daughter. The princess' parents, therefore, troubled themselves little about her education; fortunately, however, her mother had as lady-in-waiting the Baroness Reding, a woman of as much devotion as good sense, who became tenderly attached to Princess Mathilde, and who, not leaving her until her marriage, developed all her natural good qualities.

Older by two years than Prince Napoleon, Princess Mathilde had lessons with him from a rather odd Savoyard professor named Tapasse. He was very ill-dressed, never wore a waistcoat, and, attired in jacket and trousers of nankeen, used to deliver his lessons seated in an armchair with his feet on the table at which his two pupils were writing. His morals were not above reproach, and one evening he went so far as surreptitiously to enter the princess' sleeping apartment, but the noise he made attracted the attention of Baroness Reding, who got him dismissed from the house.

Princess Mathilde's earliest recollection was of seeing Pius VII., who had consecrated Napoleon. She may have been about three years old. She was driving with her father and mother and Prince Napoleon in the Roman Campagna, when Pius VII.'s carriage came by. According to custom, the King and Queen and their children alighted from their carriage, and, seeing them, the Pope, who had made his own carriage stop, invited the Queen and her children to get in with him. This made a great scandal in Rome, because the Queen was a Protestant.

She also remembered the mother of Napoleon I., and this is the portrait she drew of her. She was very old, and spoke very little, appearing always absorbed in thought. She had retained the Corsican accent, and always spoke of "Napolione." She spent nearly the whole day on the sofa, for she was no longer able to walk. She had fine regular features, almost entirely fleshless; she was, indeed, so thin that one could almost see through the parchment skin of her hands, which were very beautifully formed, though her right forefinger had been broken and badly set. She wore a white cap, and her gowns were always either black or puce colored. Beside her stood her *chevalier d'honneur*, a Colonna, who still wore a powdered perruque, and who claimed to have visions of the Virgin. In her chamber there was a fine bust of Napoleon, by Canova, its white marble profile standing out against the red damask hangings of the salon. On Sundays, after the *dejeuner*, her grandchildren were brought to kiss her hand, and to recite a fable. Princess Mathilde came willingly, but Prince Napoleon grumbled a good deal. "I don't want to kiss that old woman," he would say, "and I don't want her to kiss me." Sometimes, when the fable had been well said, Mme. Mère would call old Saveria, who had been in her service when Napoleon I. was born, and tell her to give the children some cakes. "And how nasty they were!" Princess Mathilde would add, laughingly.

Queen Catherine showed small affection for her daughter; she reserved all her favor for the youngest of her children, that Prince Napoleon who was always called Plonplon. She spoiled him utterly; and till he was fourteen years old she invariably went herself to get him up in the morning, and put on his stockings. The Prince was conse-

quently very disagreeable and bad-mannered; and, sure of not being scolded, he never failed to report everything to his mother.

When the Princess was thirteen, her grandfather, the King of Würtemberg, wished to see her. Queen Catherine, jealous of her daughter, who was growing very pretty, while she herself was expanding in figure, and becoming so wrinkled that she was often taken for her husband's mother, began by resisting, but was at last obliged to yield to the old King's desire. However, she brought Princess Mathilde dressed like a very little girl, with frilled drawers showing below her short skirt, so that the King cried out on seeing her: "Oh, what a fright you have made of her! I must really dress her myself."

The King of Bavaria was an excellent man, full of wit and good humor, but so fat, said Princess Mathilde, that a piece had had to be cut out of the table at which he ate, as otherwise the size of his stomach would have prevented him from sitting within reach of his plate.

The Princess made a great success at Munich; every one thought her pretty, unaffected, and amiable. She had an exquisite complexion, and with a child's charming coquetry she would amuse herself by putting a rose leaf against her cheek, to see whether the flower or her skin had the greater brilliance. Doubtless it was here that she made her first conquest, that of the Prince of Schönburg. Whatever restraint this gallant but already aged man placed upon the admiration and the strong feelings that possessed him, the Princess failed not to perceive them, and to experience at the time a lively satisfaction, which was accentuated later, when Queen Sophia of the Netherlands (born a Princess of Würtemberg) informed her that, after her departure, the Prince of Schönburg had never ceased speaking of her, and that he had died suddenly with her name on his lips, at the very moment when he was preparing for a journey to Italy in the hope of seeing her again.

It was shortly after this that M. and Mme. Thiers and Mlle. Dosne met King Jerome and Princess Mathilde in Italy. M. Thiers was strongly attracted by the beauty and charm of the Princess; and two years later, when he was Minister for Foreign Affairs, he suggested her name to King Louis Philippe as a bride for the Duc d'Orléans. It was one of his political ideas to unite as far as possible the monarchy of July with Napoleonic glory.

The King approved, and the royal Prince—quite in love, no doubt, with the mere sketch M. Thiers had drawn of the young Princess—set off accordingly for Lausanne, where she then was, in order to make her acquaintance.

What happened? Whether Queen Catherine, always jealous of her daughter, would not let the Duc d'Orléans even see her; whether King Jerome, in quest of money as usual, thought this a favorable opportunity for trying to borrow from Louis-Philippe, and the latter, who was no lender, refused in such a fashion as to cut short all further solicitation—whatever it was, negotiations were broken off.

What the minister had dreamed of for the younger branch, M. Berryer also attempted for the elder; he wrote that Napoleon's niece would be a fitting mate for the Comte de Chambord. This scheme could not, as one can understand, be realized, but almost at the same time the Princess Lieven designated her young cousin to the Tsar Nicholas, as one of the

princesses worthy to wed the Tsarevitch (afterwards Alexander II.). Here, again, her mother interfered, and had her daughter's name scratched off the list which Princess Lieven was preparing.

In 1835 the Princess lost her mother, and soon after she went to Arenenberg with her father, to stay with her aunt, Queen Hortense. The latter had for long thoroughly appreciated her niece, and cherished a secret wish to see her become her daughter-in-law. "I do not want to make you vain, my dear child," she wrote to her in 1833, after a first stay at Arenenberg; "but it is to encourage you to remain always the same that I tell you how every one thought you very charming, agreeable, and natural. I myself, have enjoyed all the praises of my dear Mathilde, and do not doubt that she merits them in every case."

In the summer of 1836 the marriage was decided upon, and in the month of August, King Jerome went to arrange the terms in settlement with his sister-in-law. Both sides were soon in agreement, and King Jerome bought the Château de Gottlieb, on Lake Constance, close to Arenenberg, where the young couple were to be installed. Louis Napoleon presented his very modest engagement ring, a turquoise set in gold (Princess Mathilde kept it all her life), and paid his court to his betrothed. In the daytime there were mountain walks, boating on the lake, driving excursions. In the evening every one gathered about a round table lighted by a tall lamp, in the great salon of the château, and there, beneath the eyes of David's "Napoleon passing the Great St. Bernard," and of Prud'hon's portrait of the Empress Joséphine lying on a mossy bank, they drew, they chatted, they played innocent games, or perhaps they "made blots." This game consists in pouring ink in large drops on paper, and then trying so to spread each "blot" and arrange it with a pen, as to form it into some sort of picture. This little game had already been practiced with a certain artistic effect by various English guests of Queen Hortense at Arenenberg—Lord Holland, Sir Robert Wilson, Colonel Bruce, and Sir Hamilton Seymour. There exists now among Princess Mathilde's papers, bequeathed by her to Count Primoli (whom she loved most among her nephews and friends, and who tended her devotedly during her illness), some of these "blots," made by her when betrothed to her cousin.

She quitted Arenenberg with her father in order to return to Rome, where her marriage was to take place in the beginning of the winter. Louis Napoleon appeared to be deeply in love; however, he was already thinking of his *coup de main* at Strasburg, which he executed six weeks later, not one of his relations having had the least suspicion of his project.

The thunder clap produced in France and Italy by the news of this abortive attempt at revolution struck especially the members of the Bonaparte family. It was not so much the imprisonment and deportation of Louis Napoleon that affected them, but the fear of disturbance to their own tranquility; each of them cried out in reprobation of the inconsiderate evil doer who was making trouble everywhere, Jerome being no less violent in his recriminations than Joseph or Louis Bonaparte.

Louis Napoleon, however, despite his uncles, was still thinking of his cousin, and wrote from America to her father, who, of course, gave no sign of life in return. The whole plan, consequently, vanished in smoke.

Of all Princess Mathilde's suitors,

Louis Napoleon was the only one she knew personally, and although she was very fond of him, and always showed him much devotion, she was never at all in love with him. She appreciated his unfailing kindness, but saw nothing captivating in him. In the latter part of her life, when asked if she had regretted any of those proposals of marriage which had seemed to promise so much for the future: "Yes," replied she, "that of the Duc d'Orléans, because I had an irresistible longing to return to France. I had been born in exile, I was still proscribed, and here was the chance offered me of entering my mother country, and going to reside in Paris. It would have been the fulfillment of my most fervent wish." It was not love that spoke here, but that sentiment of patriotism which was ever present in her, and which showed itself in so unexpected and amusing a fashion when for the first time she trod the soil of France. This must have been in 1843; the Princess had crossed the bridge of Kehl in her post-chaise, when she perceived on the French bank of the river a sentinel, with tricolor cockade and red trousers: "He was the first French soldier I had seen, and it was my country, hitherto unknown, that appeared to me in his form. I stopped the carriage. I got out, and quickly kissed the sentinel on both cheeks; then I went on my way quite happy, feeling as though it were my flag I had embraced."

Much astonished as the little soldier on sentry-go may have felt, how much more so would he have been, could he have guessed that the beautiful woman who had just kissed him was the niece of the Great Napoleon!

For some time King Jerome had much frequented, while in Italy, the society of a very rich Russian nobleman, Prince Demidoff, of San Donato, and one fine day people learned, not without surprise, that the King was bestowing his daughter upon him. Had the Princess been consulted? Did she know the man she was espousing? * * * In any case, this marriage, which was more like an affair of business than anything else, could not be happy, and it was soon dissolved; a journey made by the Princess to Russia the following year furnished, in fact, the occasion.

On arriving in Petersburg, the Princess was in some dread as to what sort of a reception would be given her by the Tsar Nicholas, who had been represented to her as a terrible autocrat. He might reproach her, with some show of justice, for having preferred as a husband a simple subject rather than the heir to the throne. The first words were, indeed, glacial: "Why had you your name erased from the list of princesses proposed for my son?" asked the Tsar. The Princess replied so naturally and simply, without in the least hiding the truth, and, besides, she was so beautiful, that the Tsar was conquered at once, and from that moment evinced an affection for her that bordered on tenderness. He went about with her constantly, and to all sorts of places. One day (as she used to relate), when she was walking with him in the Nevski Prospect, a regiment came marching by. "Wait for me an instant," said the Tsar, "while I speak to the Colonel." Then, returning a moment after, beside himself with anger: "Do you know what I have just discovered? In order to save something for himself out of the equipment of his men, that Colonel makes them go without trousers in this freezing cold; those soldiers have only drawers on under their long coats!"

"I know you are not happy," he said

to her one day; "when life becomes altogether intolerable, write to Orloff, and I will arrange matters." And, in fact, shortly afterwards, the Princess having communicated with the Tsar, the latter intimated to Prince Demidoff the conditions that must be imposed on him in order to ensure to the monarch's cousin an independent and honorable existence.

When the Princess went to Paris, her first visit was to King Louis-Philippe. She presented herself one evening to the family circle in the Tuileries. At the table sat Queen Marie Amélie, Mme. Adelaide, the King's sister, and the Duchesse d'Orléans, reading or working; and at the end of the apartment the King was walking up and down with Count Molé. The latter, formerly one of Napoleon's ministers, on seeing the young lady enter, said to the King: "I do not know this beautiful woman, but I am sure she is a Napoleon; I see it in her bearing."

Her reception was cordial; and some little time afterwards the Prince de Joinville came to visit her, in order to give her some souvenirs of Napoleon that he had brought from St. Helena. The Duc d'Aumale was likewise presented to her, and did not disguise his admiration for her, an admiration which he always retained. He said once to Bonnat, who had painted her portrait: "She was terribly beautiful."

The Princess then established herself in the Hôtel de Périgord, Rue St. Dominique, and afterwards moved to a little hotel in the Rue de Courcelles, where she began to gather round her a chosen circle of friends. There were, in the first place, Ingres —whom she had known in Rome— with Ary Scheffer, Amaury Duval, Ernest Hébert, and later, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Arago, Lamennais, Alexandre Dumas (who had already written a sonnet to her), Jean Reynaud, M. Thiers, Count Molé, and Mignet. For some time she occupied herself with painting, especially in water colors; Raffet had been her first master, and Eugène Giraud succeeded him. The violinist, Sauzet, gave her music lessons. She was enthusiastically interested in the exhibitions, and in all other manifestations of art. Altogether, she thoroughly enjoyed Paris, her home, her country.

Then came 1848. She remained in France, and she had gone to the seaside, at Dieppe, in the September of that year, when her cousin, Louis Napoleon, came over from England and took up his abode in Paris at the Hôtel du Rhin, Place Vendôme, with the intention of offering himself to popular suffrage as a candidate for the presidency of the Republic. Princess Mathilde had not seen him since 1836. She received a telegram from him begging her to come. She hastened to him; they talked together of the past; and then the Prince, having expounded the situation, said to her: "I have no money, and I need it for the electoral campaign; can you get some for me?"

The Princess did not hesitate; she sent a portion of her jewelry in pledge to Hancock, the London jeweler, and thus realized 200,000 francs.

After Louis Napoleon had been made first President of the Republic, and then Emperor, it was Princess Mathilde who did the honors at the Elysée and at the Tuileries. She it was, again, who introduced to him all the notables of France, whom he had not previously met, his life having hitherto been spent alternately in prison and in exile.

When once he was on the throne, Napoleon III. again wished to marry his cousin, and, sounded by him, the Pope consented to dissolve the mar-

riage with Prince Demidoff, on the score of irregularities. But when the Emperor spoke to the Princess she did not hesitate; she refused him. She had now made for herself a personal position which she owed solely to her own initative, one that would enable her to play a congenial part in the world of letters, art and science. Henceforward she was to have a court, or, rather, she could bring together the people whom she loved. These included the elder and the younger Dumas, Théophile Gautier, Flaubert, the brothers de Goncourt, Taine, Renan, Paul Bert, Mérimée, Thiers, Mignet, Emile Augier, Paul Baudry, Ernest Hébert, Niewenkerque, Eugéne Giraud, Gounod, and also Sainte Beuve, whose confidante she became, for to the Princess the celebrated critic would recount the smallest details of his life, the story of his domestic matters, and of his love affairs, of his successes, and of his mortifications. He had been, he told her one day, madly in love with Mme. Victor Hugo, and could devise no better means for gaining access to her than to dress himself in woman's clothes and introduce himself into the house as a servant, which his clean shaven face and babyish air rendered easy. He was instantly discovered, and, he added: "I looked as pitiable as ridiculous."

Younger men followed in the track of their elders. There were Ch. Yriarte, Coppée, Lavisse, Bourget, Guy de Maupassant, Claudius Popelin, Albert Vandal, Henry Houssaye, Bonnat, Detaille, Jules Lefèvre. Throughout the Second Empire, she used to assemble, in her delightful country house at St. Gratien, on the shores of Lake d'Enghien, the elect of her intimates: the two Goncourts, Baudry, Eugène Giraud, and Alexandre Dumas, the younger.

During the evenings Flaubert read passages from "Salammbo," which he was then writing, or Théophile Gautier his poems; Baudry and Hébert painted, as did also the Princess, who exhibited every year in the Salon. She loved to walk in the park with one or other of her friends, and then they would exchange ideas by the hour.

Often, when the Princess had gone up to bed, her guests would adjoin to Théophile Gautier's room, where he, clad in a red dressing-gown and yellow slippers, and extended on his bed with a long pipe in his mouth, would preside over a gathering whence proceeded a continual fire-work-display of wit, anecdotes, and bon-mots.

In such a company there was no shirking even of practical jokes. One day when Ernest Hébert was driving to the station in the Princess's carriage, he espied in an orchard by the way an apple blazing with color, a perfect model of an apple for a picture of Eve's temptation. He stopped the carriage and picked the apple. The coachman, no doubt, told tales, and the story thus came to the ears of the Princess's guests, among whom that day was Chais d'Est Ange, *procureur-general* in the Court of Appeal. After consultation with him, a summons was fabricated, requiring the painter of "Malaria" and of the "Cervaroles," to attend at the police court and answer to a charge of larceny by which he had compromised the Princess; and then the next day there came an intimation that judgment had been given against him, by which he was condemned to several days' imprisonment. Though at first a little uneasy, Hébert ended by laughing as heartily as those who had played off the joke on him.

This intimacy with men already famous incited the Princess to the discovery of youthful geniuses as yet

unknown, that she might help them to rise, and furnish them with means to develop their capabilities.

One day Renan came to see her: "A friend of mine," he told her, "my best friend, whose intellect is of the highest scientific power, is vegetating in an inferior position, where he cannot make the researches he dreams of. The Emperor must be induced to found a chair of organic chemistry, and give it to him." The Princess went off to the Tuileries immediately, and did not leave until she had obtained what she asked.

One of the greatest authors in her circle having married his daughter to a young poet, the Princess, with the Emperor's consent, announced to her friend that his son-in-law would receive a pension, on the ground of his being a man of letters. But Marshal Vaillant—then Minister of Fine Arts—made difficulties. Tired of him embarrassed explanations, the Princess interrupted him: "You don't want to pay the pension? Very well, I shall pay it myself. But, that no one may know anything about it, I shall send you the money, and you must pay it through your office."

The man of science and the poet have now become famous, and probably both of them are ignorant of the above-related facts; for M. Renan would of course have kept silence in deference to the Princess's wish, and Marshal Vaillant would hardly be likely to boast of his share in the second story.

Princess Mathilde was wise enough to notice and to buy the first picture exhibited in the Salon by Bonnat. Jules Lefèvre, Roybet, Détaille, and many other painters then unknown, who have since become acknowledged masters. These artists love to describe the delight they felt when, still young, shy, and uncertain of their future, they found themselves distinguished by the notice of an Imperial Highness, whose choice pointed them out to the public as artists with greatness before them; and who, not content with possessing their works, wished also to have themselves as friends.

"If you know any young poets in whom you discern talent, bring them to me," She said to Théophile Gautier; and thus it was that on the day after the first performance of "Le Passant," the author of "Emaux et Camées" took Francois Coppée with him to St. Gratien.

It was for the individual and his personal value alone that she cared. At her house, therefore, were to be met people of the most various origins and of all shades of thought. She often inveighed against politics, for alienating from her certain persons whom she liked, and with whom she would have desired to keep in touch. Do I not remember the pleasure which Bonnat gave her, when he was the means of renewing her acquaintance with the Duc d'Aumale, whom she had not seen since 1848? Nothing could have been more agreeable to her, a Frenchwoman and a Bonaparte, than to re-establish her intimacy with that perfect specimen of the French soldier. M. Thiers, she continued to see. He often came to dine at St. Gratien, with Mérimée, Mignet, the Marchesa Roccagione, and various other literary and scientific personages.

She frequently protected persons who were hostile to the Empire—among others, Charles Blanc, for whom she obtained the Legion of Honor, which, at the instance of his brother, Louis Blanc, he refused, though this action on his part did not prevent his being granted shortly afterwards a subvention of 50,000

francs for the publication of his great work on the history of painting.

She was, above all, individual in her tastes, and detested blind adherence to the fashions or crazes of the day. She followed her own ideas and her own wishes in the choice of her dress, as she did in the buying of her pictures; with good reason, too, and not without a certain coquetry, for she knew what became her. She loved gowns with flowing simple lines, made of rich material calculated to show off the majesty of her figure. She could not abide frills and furbelows, nor any of those arrangements of frippery that destroy harmony of contour.

"Every one is wearing that now," somebody once said to her, and she replied: "What is that to me? In the first place, I am not 'every one;' and in the second, I dress as it pleases myself, not as it pleases others."

And she was right; no one had better taste in such matters than herself.

When she received the Emperor Nicholas II. and the Empress of Russia at the Invalides, to do the honors of her uncle's tomb, she wore a long cloak of purple velvet, a train of iridescent coloring, and a little bonnet which gave the effect of a coronet on her head. Her majestic air made a great impression on all present. Although eighty years of age, when presented to the Tsaritsa, the latter thought her appearance so youthful that she was quite taken aback, unable to imagine it to be really Princess Mathilde whom she saw before her; and, fearing some mistake, she seemed uncomfortably puzzled at finding the niece of Napoleon I. still so fascinating.

For she was, above all things, a woman; loving to please, to captivate, to be admired; and with her fine sincerity she openly showed what pleasure she took in her successes and conquests.

Her desire to be of use to people of distinction did not prevent her from also doing good in general whenever she had the opportunity, and assisting the poor and unfortunate. Misery of any kind appealed to her sympathy; to make others happy was her supreme delight. She founded the Asile Mathilde, a Home for Incurables, where she gave shelter to 300 little crippled girls, whom she loved to visit, talking to them, cheering them. A month before her death four of them brought her a bouquet of artificial flowers, which they had made on purpose for her. She received them lying in her bed, which she could no longer leave, thanked them, and then said: "Come and let me kiss you." The way in which the faces of those four afflicted little ones, humpbacked, lame, or deformed, lighted up at her words, showed the pleasure given by her simple kindness; and nothing could have been more touching than the affectionate manner of the dying Princess as she embraced her little protégées.

Though she ignored politics, and though her principles inclined her towards the Republican form of government, she remained none the less a Bonaparte, proud of her name, and of the incomparable glory which her uncle had given to France. On that subject she was uncompromising, and would never permit the smallest lack of respect for Napoleon's name. His memory was sacred to her; and how could one blame her for preferring to break with a friend rather than suffer a slight to her most cherished heritage?

Princess Mathilde was pre-eminently a woman of heart. The staunchness of her friendship became pro-

verbial. Affection, in her, was instinct with the enthusiasm of force and intelligence that was at the root of her character. She trusted in her friends unreservedly, as she wished them to trust in her. None of her friends could ever appear indiscreet in her eyes. If she learned that one of them, whether through delicacy, timidity, or fear of seeming importunate, had not confided some trouble to her, or asked her help when it might have been useful, she would be really distressed. How often she has been heard to say, her face glowing with affection: "Why! how absurd you are! You could not tell me about your affairs? You know quite well that it is a pleasure to me to help those I care for. Be sure you never keep me in the dark again!"

Furthermore, if she herself had anything special to communicate, she said it directly and simply. It was only those of whom she was fondest that she ever took to task, and then with that delicacy which true affection alone can give. Edmond de Goncourt had an explanation with her at St. Gratien one day, when she showed such a touching candor, that the author of "Manette Salomon" was moved to tears.

When it was an affair of the heart, she was never at a loss; according to circumstances, she knew whether to encourage, support, counsel, soothe or console; and always with a tact and understanding which made every word and action effective.

The affection she bestowed on those she loved never failed for a single day; and during the last six months of her life, when she was entirely confined to bed, she kept herself informed about her friends, and asked constantly to see them, finding in their society, alone, pleasure and solace for her sufferings.

Her health had matched her physical and moral stature, and since at two years of age she had finished cutting her teeth, she had never been ill, nor even had had to spend a day in bed on account of indisposition. An unforeseen accident struck her down. She expired surrounded by her friends and old servants. And as she lay sleeping her last sleep, her face took on a striking resemblance to the mask of Napoleon modeled at St. Helena. There was the same broad forehead, the same delicately arched eyebrows, the same finely chiseled nose, the same commanding expression.

How much she will be missed by those who knew they could count on her at any moment, and in any circumstances, and to whom she was a counsellor and confidante full of good sense! Her death leaves a great blank in many hearts; and I can scarcely convey the profound admiration and respectful gratitude with which her closest friends (among whom it is my pride to include myself) will preserve her memory.

GERMAIN BAPST.

Translated by HELEN CHISHOLM.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Journal of the United States Infantry Association. Vol. I., July, 1904. No. 1. Washington, D. C. $3.00 per year.

We are very glad to see that the Infantry has at last begun to feel the necessity for a special serial publication in which to present its own views and wants, and to aid in its own proper development. The first number is a credit to this branch of our service, and we wish the association all success.

In our growth, and in the specialization of the branches of the service, however, we must not forget our foster mother, the *Journal of the Military Service Institution,* the pioneer in this work, and from which all the other special journals have sprung. Each of these publications has its special province, and all should work together for the general good of the Army, and need not necessarily interfere with one another.

The establishment of the Artillery and Cavalry Journals, it is believed, did not affect the growth of the *Journal of the Military Service Institution,* and we do not believe that the Infantry Journal will have any deleterious effects on that splendid publication or the membership of the institution.

Our best wishes go with the new publication.

Nauticus. 1904. A year book of Germany's naval interests. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn. 5.50 marks.

The new issue of the year book entitled *Nauticus* has just appeared; the sixth year of its publication. It resembles, in general character, Brassey's *Naval Manual,* so well known to our readers, but is devoted more particularly to the German Navy and its development.

The subject matter is divided into three parts: The first comprising essays on the political situation, the changes in foreign navies, the value of speed and the question of submarines; the second containing commercial and technical matters, such as the routes of steam vessels, the Panama Canal, the changes in the merchant navies, and the value of wireless telegraphy; the third setting forth the warships of the principal nations, and the world's cables and shipyards.

The volume is reliable and accurate, well illustrated with cuts of ships and maps, and embellished with numerous interesting tables.

It is a valuable work, both for the Navy and the Coast Artillery.

J. P. W.

PAUL MORTON.

Paul Morton, Secretary of the Navy, the second of his family in direct line to occupy a Cabinet position, is the son of J. Sterling Morton, Secretary of Agriculture under Cleveland. Although the father's affiliations were with the Democratic party, Secretary Morton parted from the bulk of the party on the currency issue and Paul Morton found himself both in 1896 and more strongly in 1900 entirely out of sympathy with the ruling opinion in Democratic circles. Although only comparatively recently an avowed Republican, he has been an adherent to the cardinal principles of Republicanism for several years, and his appointment was a recognition, in so far as it had any political meaning, of the large number of voters who had been added to Republican strength in the past eight years.

The reason of the appointment of Paul Morton as Secretary of the Navy was, however, his ability as an executive and an organizer. He was born in Detroit, Mich., May 22, 1857. When six months of age he was taken to Nebraska by his parents, the movement being into a new country and as pioneers. He had a common school education and at the age of sixteen years went to work for the Burlington and Missouri Railroad at Plattsmouth, Neb. His rise was rapid, and at the age of twenty-one he was the general freight agent of the C., B. & Q. From 1890 to 1896 he was vice-president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and president of the Whitebreast Fuel Co. In 1896 he went to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad as third vice-president, and was second vice-president at the time the Secretaryship of the Navy was offered to him, being the traffic manager of the road and handling the great affairs relating to the passenger and freight traffic of the great system. The persuasion and influence of President Roosevelt, for whom he has a great admiration, induced him to give up this position with a salary of $35,000 a year for the Secretaryship and its $8,000, with expenses much greater than the salary.

Secretary Morton is tall and fine looking. While he came to the Department without knowledge of naval affairs, he has the capacity for quick learning, which is inseparable from a man who is able to handle large projects and is a broad gauge man in every way. He has taken a deep interest in naval matters, and already finds an interest and fascination in the work that will keep him in office for a considerable time. He is just and fair-minded, and there is every reason to believe that the admirable administration of Secretary Moody, with its valuable results for the welfare of the Navy, will be followed by an equally valuable administration by a trained business man, accustomed to large affairs. Secretary Morton is married and has two daughters, one of whom is about to enter society. With ample personal means it is probable that he will do much entertaining in Washington, and that the naval hospitalities of the coming winter will be considerable.

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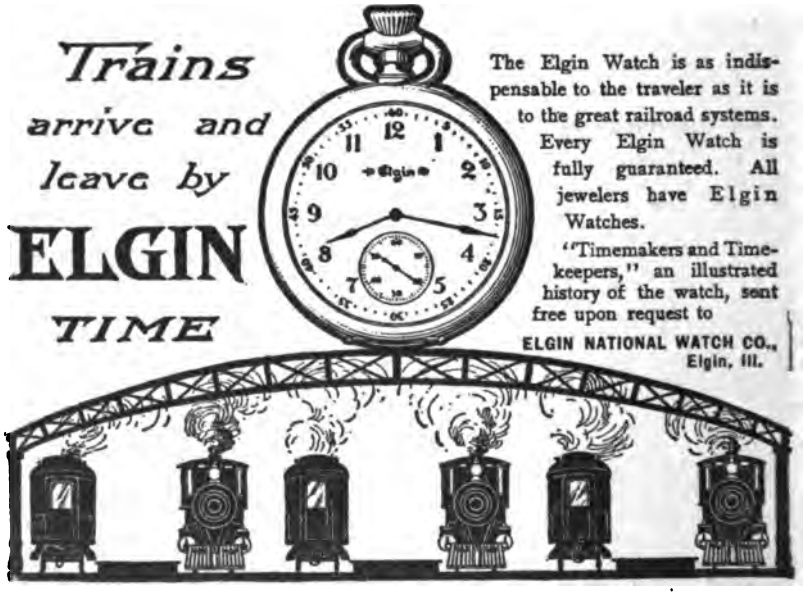

COLONEL JOHN JACOB ASTOR.

HARVARD COLLEGE
OCT 8 1904
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THE

UNITED SERVICE

EDITED BY L. R. HAMERSLY, Jr.

OCTOBER, 1904.

WEST POINT—HER SONS.

"Dead upon the field of honor."*

THE bell has rung up the curtain upon "Shenandoah;" the scene of the first act of mimic warfare reveals two comrades—lieutenants in the same regiment, classmates at West Point, always classmates.

The scene is laid in the city of Charleston, South Carolina, and the men are natives of opposing sections in the coming strife—the one from South Carolina, the other from New York State.

The sound of a distant shot startles the audience, separating, as it does for a time the young soldiers, and perhaps for a lesser time their sisters.

Here we have the key to the situation; and Sherman knew it right well, when he sent us "Old boys" "to take in the show."

For the few of us living that heard it, this faint and far-off boom of the gun fired against Sumter has yet its reverberations.

They are heard along the highland passes of the Hudson. They echo around "Redoubt Hill," against the sides of "Old Fort Put.," and thence roll onward and upward to "Cro' Nest's" rock-ribbed height.

**Theophile Carot de la Tour d'Auvergne*: The first grenadier of France, refused promotion, and when serving in the army under Moreau was pierced through the heart by a lance at the siege of Oberhausen. Each soldier contributed one day's pay to purchase a silver urn in which his heart was inclosed.

At every roll call the soldier carrying the urn answered, *"Mort au champ d'honneur"* when the hero's name was called.

To those who were close observers (as cadets ever are) of the officer instructors at the Academy—men who in earlier years had led the columns of assault up the Heights of Chapultepec, and drawn sword on the fields of Buena Vista, Molino del Rey, and Palo Alto—evidence of their distress was not wanting in this hour of our country's peril.*

The June class of 1861, which reported at the Military Academy in 1857, one hundred and eight strong, musters on the army list to-day but five. Of the missing through forty years or more, the record is incomplete, of others we here shall speak.

O'Rorke, the leader of the class, and Custer, the last of scholastic file-closers, each killed at the head of his regiment upon the field of battle—the former cut down in early youth at Gettysburg, and the latter massacred, together with 700 of his white-horse troopers at Little Big Horn River, Montana.†

"Custer, ever at the head of his regiment," and Custer (without disparagement) "ever at the foot of his class." Of O'Rorke, more anon. But let us for moment examine into this phenomenal scholastic performance of Cadet Custer, leading the "immortals" in a class of one hundred—again of eighty, of sixty, then of fifty, and finally marker of a class graduating with but thirty-four members.

Glorious old boy! Dare-devil of the class! How well did you

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*The writer has been led to speak more especially of the classes of 1861, which graduated before completing their full course of study—surrendered the "usual three months' furlough" and proceeded at once to the field. The period of time covered by this narrative was naturally exciting, but other classes as well have their story to tell, and here is one. The class of 1841 had fifty-two graduates. Of these fourteen were killed in battle and forty-three, more than four-fifths, were engaged in battles. This class had sixteen generals, of whom Lyon, Reynolds, Wright, Tower and Brannan were a part; two were killed in the Confederate service—the Garnetts. Of the ten killed in battle of the '61 classes not one had attained the age of twenty-six years, and this number would be increased if the records of the Confederate service were at hand.

†A horse known as Comanche was the only survivor of the bloody tragedy of the Little Big Horn, June 25, 1876.

The commanding officer of "Company L" was directed by regimental orders to see that "a special and comfortable stall was fitted up for him, and that he should not be ridden by any person whatever, under any circumstances, nor be put to any kind of work."

Upon all occasions of ceremony (of mounted regimental formation), "Comanche," saddled, bridled and draped in mourning, was led by a mounted trooper of "Company I" and paraded with the regiment.

hang on to the tail end—always ahead of the deficients—foot of a class of thirty-four and head of a class of seventy-four.

This reminds us of dear *"Old Michie,"* himself an honor man, but one who always made light of "class standing." "How is Dennis getting along?" "Very well; very well; *head* in *football,"* was the professor's usual reply. "Dennis Mahan Michie," the younger of his two promising sons, both dead in the same year, and nothing left for the father but the deep and heartfelt sympathy of every living graduate of our Alma Mater, of every officer of the United States Army. One more "dead upon the field of honor."

"In athletics Dennis Michie's enthusiasm knew no bounds; he introduced football into the Military and Naval Academies, and trained up an awkward team until it could defeat the team of the sister academy at Annapolis."

In the period of which we write, so memorable in our country's history, it was presumed that the class would graduate with fifty-six members; but before many months—nay; we may say, weeks—had elapsed (reckoning from the first month of 1861) twenty-two of this number had responded to the call from home: "Prepare to resign! Resign! A commission awaits you in the Confederate Army. First come, first served."

Ropes, of Massachusetts, an impartial historian, and among the first of military writers, enunciates this principle. We do not quote him literally, but in words to this effect:

Should a Virginian find himself in accord with action taken by the authorities of the State of South Carolina, a State, we shall say, already "out of the Union," he could not enlist with the forces of that seceded State, *his own State being as yet in the Union,* without deservedly being classed a traitor. If, on the other hand, his own State had severed her bond with the Union and he, with others, had been an earnest Unionist, with efforts against secession unavailing, then honor and duty should compel him to cast in his lot with *his own* State.

This same view was maintained by the instructor in law at the Academy, one who himself hailed from the far South. He did not however practice what he preached; since, in spite of his teachings, he remained throughout the war a loyal man, and was justly awarded the highest honor, that of chief of his corps.

But all this is changed now. The oath administered to the cadets,

and with great impressiveness, has in it the ring of *"The Union right or wrong."**

Word came to the Military Academy that commissions in the Confederate Army awaited all boys from the South. The writer's roommate and classmate, a cadet from the same State (Louisiana) as the then superintendent, Beauregard,† visited the major for counsel and advice. This man whom Fate had decreed to receive the sword of Anderson, and the surrender of Sumter, a man destined to become a prominent leader in the Confederate cause, hesitated to advise the young men from the South further than to suggest that so long as he himself remained in the regular army of the United States he thought they should all do so.

For many years it was a custom at the Military Academy when cadets severed relations with the institution after failure at an examination, or resigned for proper cause, for the first captain of the corps, the cadet in charge of the battalion during meal hour in the mess hall, to grant to the departing cadets permission to bring the battalion to attention for parting words.

At this special hour in our country's history the practice had a deeper significance than ever before; we may thus instance one of many similar cases, that of the first sergeant of "A" Company, prospective first captain of the Corps of Cadets. His voice rang out clear and strong: "Battalion, attention! Good-bye, boys! God bless you all!" His citizen's attire warned us that he was about to leave the post, and upon permission being granted, the members of his class bore him upon their shoulders to the old south dock, where the final parting scene from this man, our favorite classmate, was one never to be forgotten. This was the first instance of a Southern boy leaving for home—in this case, far away in southern Alabama, to cast in his lot with his State and against the Union.‡

*"I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and bear true allegiance to the National Government; that I will maintain and defend the sovereignity of the United States, paramount to any and all allegiance, sovereignity, or fealty I may owe to any State, county or country whatsoever; and that I will at all times obey the legal orders of my superior officers, and the rules and articles governing the armies of the United States."

†Appointed superintendent January 23, 1861, by Secretary of War Floyd and relieved five days thereafter by Secretary of War Holt.

‡Perhaps "one of the saddest experiences of the war was the observation of the deep-seated, firm conviction in the minds of many of the most high-minded, religious Southern men and women, and growing from the first consciousness in the minds of their children, that their cause was a righteous

His classmates retraced their steps from wharf to plain, each one grimly pondering on what remained in store for him.

Experience had taught that the regular army, in Mexico, in Florida, or as the vanguard of civilization in the Far West, was the fighting element of our land. No thought had at the time been given to the volunteer auxiliary yet to be, and therefore it seemed that the conflict ahead promised to be one of friend against friend, classmate against classmate. Between the men of the several sections of the country there was no bitterness manifest, nothing but expressions of sorrow and disappointment.

To this there was but one unfortunate exception. The field music of the guard, after having passed in review before the officer of the day, struck up the lively air of "Yankee Doodle." The officer of the guard, a cadet from the extreme southwest who had tendered his resignation, ordered the musicians to cease playing.

This action was most bitterly resented by the men from the North, and, fortunately for all, repudiated at once by the cadets from the South, who were as yet with us in the ranks.

The June class of 1861 had many vicissitudes during its term at the Academy. Entering, as it did, upon a five years' course, inaugurated in 1854, the Secretary of War, in October, 1858, directed a change back to the four years' term. In April, 1859, the same authority again changed the course to five years. This, as those will understand who are familiar with the system at the Military Academy, produced great confusion, constant reversals of decisions, and total disregard of the recommendations of the Academic Board.

Again, upon the outbreak of the Rebellion, the then first class which had been at the Academy four years and ten months, was

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one." It is not then surprising that the officers and cadets from the disaffected section "could not bring themselves to give up the dearest ties on earth for a point of abstract morality enveloped in a thick cloud of casuistry to become a reproach and an outcast in the land of their fathers."

In spite of this, four-fifths of all living graduates of the Academy, when the war broke out, remained loyal and of the number born in, and appointed from the slave States (so called) one-half remained true to the flag under which they had fought in the Mexican War and in the Indian contests on the plains. Many of these were veteran soldiers who, like Thomas, Emory, Hunter, Anderson, Benét and scores of others too numerous to mention, had broken away from the ties of home and linked their fate with that of the profession of arms. There were two hundred and seventy-eight cadets in the battalion at the outbreak of the war—eighty-six were from the Southern States, and of this latter number sixty-five resigned and joined the Confederate Army—the influence brought to bear upon them by parents and relatives was *irresistible*—the alternative, a severance of all family ties.

graduated about two months before the expected time. This caused another change in the course of studies, the junior class a second time returning from five to a four-year limit, and graduating on the date originally prescribed for the class which had been its immediate senior at the Academy. Thus it was that the course of engineering (civil and military), law, and the science of ordnance and gunnery was restricted to exceedingly narrow limits.

At that time there was a decided and well-founded opinion that the course of English study should be enlarged so as to admit of the introduction of such subjects as declamation, composition, military law, moral science, history of philosophy, rhetoric, and that last. though not least, there should be included a course of logic.

The writer met General Samuel Breck, of the Adjutant General's Department, a short time ago, and learned from him that nothing had ever given him more satisfaction than the instruction of the two graduating classes of 1861 in the before mentioned subjects, profitable alike to himself and to the cadets. A singular feature in the course of logic, and one worthy of remark, was the manner in which the class appeared to undergo a sort of *bouleversement,* men high up in the first section in all other ethical subjects passing by transfer to the "immortals."

And now a word for moral science; an amusing incident of the course. Cadet Dimick, having entered the recitation room with his section and before the arrival of the instructor, proceeded forthwith to use his textbook as a football, shouting as he did so, "The virtues are what we are, the duties are what we do; what we are is more important than what we do. Therefore the virtues are more important than the duties." All this with resultant smashing of a window pane at the moment when the instructor entered. "Mr. Dimick," this officer said, "make it your *duty* to pick up that glass," and when this feat had been successfully performed, "Now, sir," he said, "go to the blackboard and discuss the subject of *virtue.*" Unmindful of the distinction between *tactical* and *moral* instructors, the order, "Go to your quarters in arrest, Mr. Dimick," was anticipated, the usual reproof for pranks of this kind.

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As indicative of the conditions existing throughout the country at the period of which we write the class which had been graduated early in May, 1861, when purchasing side arms and revolvers in New York City, excited so much distrust and suspicion that these men, about to be commissioned as officers of the regular army, while en route to

Washington City, were arrested at the Philadelphia depot and marched before a civil magistrate.

Of the succeeding class but five from the South remained at the Academy to graduate in June. Twenty-two from that section of the country had previously resigned in order to secure commissions in the Confederate Army, and of the graduated members from the South, three later on resigned and joined the Confederacy.

In the course of this writing reference has been made to O'Rorke and Custer, but the names of others who were graduated from the Academy in the early months of that eventful year in which began our civil strife dignify the pages of history. Cross at Franklin, Kingsbury at Antietam, Kirby at Chancellorsville, Hazlett at Gettysburg, McQuesten at Opequan, Dutton at Bermuda Hundred, Cushing at Gettysburg, Woodruff at Gettysburg, Dimick at Chancellorsville, Brightly in the Wilderness. "Dead (all) on the field of honor."*

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*The color sergeant of the cadet battalion at the V. M. I., Lexington, Va., "The West Point of the South," answers at roll calls, "Dead on the field of honor," for the names of certain absentees. This custom will, it is greatly to be hoped, continue so long as the institution is maintained.

The Confederate Army, engaged at New Market, in the valley of the Shenandoah by Sheridan, had been reinforced by the Virginia Military Institute battalion of striplings, and, as incident to the condition of the times, far below the usual age. Several of their number were killed in action, and this corps of boy soldiers will for all time treasure the names of their dead as a sacred heritage.

This is a story of West Point, but it is also a story of the young soldiers of our Republic. And we are glad to know that the school, which is the pride of the Virginian, the pride of the South, has been designated "The West Point of the South."

May that school in the far-away Shenandoah Valley go on with its good work; and since the Military Academy proper falls short in supplying the necessary commissioned officers for our army, West Point looks to the "V. M. I." for assistance. Glad indeed are we all to find a large representation of graduates of this our sister academy among the commissioned officers of the regular army.

The wounds left by the great Civil War, incomparably the greatest war of modern times, have healed; and its memories are now priceless heritages of honor alike to the North and to the South. The devotion, the self-sacrifice, the steadfast resolution and lofty daring, the high devotion to the right as each man saw it, whether Northerner or Southerner—all these qualities of the men and women of the early sixties now shine luminous and brilliant before our eyes, while the mists of anger and hatred that once dimmed them have passed away forever.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

If ever the need comes in the future the past has made abundantly evident the fact that from this time on Northerner and Southerner will in war know

Cushing at Gettysburg! What shall we say of him? First, a brother of Cushing, of the navy—Cushing, of Albemarle fame. Thrice wounded, and mortally so, before he would relinquish command of his battery.

The cyclorama of Gettysburg, on exhibit for years in this country, recalls the scene, and has immortalized "The Hero of Gettysburg," the artist having done well when he gave to Cushing's battery "the right of the line," "the post of honor."

As our thoughts dwell upon these heroes of the Civil War whose names are graven upon the battle monument, let us see what has been done in at least one instance to commemorate the heroes of Indian wars. Until late years a cenotaph of white Italian marble, bearing a fluted column upon a square base, the latter encircled with stars and supported at the four corners with marble cannon, stood upon a plateau on the river's bank near Fort Knox. At this time it stands in front of, and not far removed from, Memorial Hall. "Its column is surmounted by an eagle, from whose beak a wreath of laurel depends and entwines the column.

The single inscription,

"Dade
and his Command."

with names and date, convey but little idea of the mournful event which this emblem commemorates."

The official report of the massacre of Dade's command shows that: "As the Seminole Indians in Florida were reluctant to the proposed emigration west of the Mississippi River, in February, 1835, four companies of artillery were sent from Fort Monroe to Florida. General Clinch had with him at Fort Drade, in November of the same year, 600 Florida militia, and the four companies of artillery.

"Osceola, the Seminole chief, and his followers gave much trouble at this time, and brutally murdered a mail carrier, which induced General Clinch to ask for more troops. Frazer's company of the Third and Gardner's of the Second Artillery, under Major Dade, of the Fourth Infantry, arrived on December 23 at Tampa, Florida, in answer to the call for more troops, and started on a march of one hundred miles to join General Clinch at Fort Dade via Fort King. The command, consisting of 117 officers and men, was attacked at the Withlacooche River, on December 28, at 9.30 A. M., by 800 Indians

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only the general desire to strive how each can do the most effective service for the flag of our common country.—President Roosevelt, Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.

and 100 negroes, and after a desperate engagement of five hours, the entire command was massacred save three men, who were wounded, two of whom effected their escape. On the 29th of December, General Clinch, who was ignorant of the Dade massacre, started from Fort Drade with two regiments of Florida militia and his four companies of artillery and one company of the Fourth Infantry for the Withlachooche Rivre. In crossing the river on December 31, he was attacked by the same band that had massacred Dade and his command, and was outnumbered three to one. The regular battalion sustained the brunt of the attack and lost four killed and fifty-two wounded.

"As the term of service of the volunteers had nearly expired, General Clinch determined to return to Fort Drade on January 2, and then it was that he learned of the fate that had befallen Major Dade's command.

"The two officers last to fall in Dade's command were Captain Gardner and Lieutenant Basinger. Captain Gardner received five shots before he fell. Lieutenant Basinger then said, 'Now, my boys, let us do the best we can; I am the only officer left;' and the firing recommenced. About half past 2 o'clock he was brought down by a rifle shot in the thigh, and he was afterward cruelly murdered by a negro."

The Dade monument is the only one at the Point erected to the memory of the heroes of Indian wars.

There is no monument to the memory of the heroes of the Mexican War. The battle monument which stands at Trophy Point bears the names of all officers of the regular army, whether graduates of West Point or not, and also the names of all enlisted men of the regular army who were killed in battle during the Civil War. The contribution to the fund for this latter monument was restricted to the officers and soldiers of our service, the contribution being graded according to rank.

From Dade's monument the walk continues down to Kosciusko's spring and garden, and thence around the path, at the base of "Battery Knox," which leads to "Flirtation Walk," and here let us pause, as others always do; 'tis *a point of danger.*

"Peter,"* do you not recall a certain "rapid transit" over the precipice at this point to the frozen river below, and the perilous landing, of at least one of us, in the treetop at the rocky base? Who

*"Peter" is not a mythical personage; he is a distniguished officer of the Engineer Corps (one of *the* five now living), Col. Peter C. Hains.

would have believed that we should be alive to-day to tell the tale; and do you think, "Peter," that we have been preserved for any *worse* fate?

You also remember, do you not, "Peter," that broken chain—the chain that guards the area—and how one of the very same precipitate high-flyers went down, back somersault, and smashed his pasteboard hat quite flat, with attendant and most serious consequences?

Do you know, "Peter," that thirty years after that hat-smashing catastrophe one link of the chain was gone, and *wire* replaced the *missing link.**

"Peter," can better vouch for these recitals than can, we think, Fitzhugh Lee, for the story of *his* acrobatic feat. It is said that, heading his runaway horse for "Constitution Hollow," both horse and man landed, topside up, at its bottom. "Fitz," the first on his legs (always "landing on his feet"), thus addressed himself to the crestfallen animal: "*Now, d—n you,* I hope you've had enough."

The mare was the Xantippe of the stables, and "Fitz" had purposely headed her for the hollow "to settle a score" with the old lady.

This story follows on the lines of another, where the feat performed was that of horse and man plunging over the most precipitous bank on the Old South Road. The horse, in this case, cushioned the blow and his cadet rider lived to tell the tale.

General Lee himself gives us this, and vouches for its truth: "I remember, in my first class year at West Point, riding a very vicious horse named Quaker, who was so wild that his name was not put in the list of horses to be drawn for by the first class men, and I remember that he ran away with me in a charge on the plain and jumped over the very high hedge which surrounds the hotel, alighting inside the grounds. I have been informed since that no horse at West Point has ever *cleared* that hedge."

While we are on the lookout for true stories relating to this distinguished soldier, let us see what Major General John Gibbon, U. S. A., has to say of his meeting General Fitz Lee, at the McLean House, Appomatox County, Va., in April, 1865: "Going to the door, I found General Fitz Lee seated on his horse and looking, as I thought, somewhat uneasy. He had been a cadet under me at West Point, and I had not seen him for years. As I looked at him, a vision of the past came up before me, and I could think only of a little rollicking

*The area is guarded by a series of chains and posts along its entire length. At the date of this writing a similar accident occurred, and the life of Cadet Oakes was despaired of for several weeks—his skull was cracked and blood clots formed on the brain.

fellow dressed in cadet gray, whose jolly songs and gay spirits were the life of his class. My salutation of 'Hello, Fitz! Get off and come in,' seemed to put him at his ease at once, and brought him to his feet. He came into the house and told me his story. Before leaving, with a grim humor, he took from his pocket a five-dollar Confederate note, and writing across its face, For Mrs. Gibbon, with the compliments of Fitz Lee,' he said, 'Send that to your wife and tell her it's the last cent I have in the world.' "

'Twas well thought, General Lee, for who, if not *woman,* can understand or better appreciate the sentiment which belongs to West Point—to her sons, and is a part of her very life—the dear one who has shared the troubles, joys, and triumphs of her *own* cadet?

"There are," she writes, "certain tunes which make me actually *see* West Point."

"In the silent watches of the night, in fancy's dream, I hear the gay lilt of the 'Blue Danube' and see the slim gray coats, whirling 'round the old hall in the giddy mazes of the dance,' with some fair partner."

How many memories are treasured up in her dear, fond heart; how many like her have entered with, perhaps, a *sisterly* interest in all of a brother's class, and have felt the charm of West Point with youthful enthusiasm and intense delight.

"Yes," writes the widow of a gallant officer, "I went to West Point in 1847 and 1849 and danced with cadets.

"In 1863 I was present with my sister at the graduation of her brilliant, gallant son—we were all so devoted to him, and little thought that his career would so soon be over."

Her words breathe inspiration, reflection in the mellow light of other days—of days, "when we were young together"—

> "May coming years with her most kindly deal
> And sweeter blessings day by day reveal;
> Her cup of life with richest joys o'erflow,
> Health, wealth and happiness—all the good we know."

What more shall we say of Fitzhugh Lee—He fought *for* and *against* us, and all is now forgiven and forgotten that could in any wise detract from the lustre of the star, he wears with so much honor, in the strap upon his shoulder.

The professors of our day were Mahan (engineering), Bartlett (philosophy), Church (mathematics), Weir (drawing), French (chaplain, ethics), Agnel (French), De Jañon (Spanish).

"Old Dad" (Kendrick) was present at the siege of Vera Cruz, and took an active part in the battles of Cerro Gordo and Amazoque. He was brevetted major for gallant and meritorious conduct in the defense of Puebla, and preferred always to be addressed as *major* rather than professor.

His house was open to the cadets Saturday afternoons, and being a bachelor he was able to entertain them after his own notions. These conditions may be more fully appreciated when we say that Sherman and Sheridan and all the other "jolly boys" "put up" at the Major's quarters whenever they visited the post.

As the story goes, an old army officer, one of the early temperance advocates, called upon the Major at a time when he was absent from home. The old lady housekeeper, lowering her voice, said: "Walk in, Colonel; the Major told me to tell any one who might call that he would find what he wants on the upper shelf of the closet at the end of the hall."

It was the custom in past years, when any good fellow of a class was *"hived,"* hived drunk; that is, found in condition such as to warrant his being brought to trial before a court-martial, for the class, to sign a pledge, to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors during the remainder of their term at the Academy, in order to save the unfortunate from dismissal. Our class, at that time being "on pledge," knew full well where to go on Saturday afternoons, the afternoon the cadets had permission to visit on the post. The Major invariably inquired of those who sat around his board, "May I help the members of the second class to peaches (peaches amply supplied with liquor preservative)?" and as the second class could not drink why not *eat,* and eat as all total abstinence people do, eat *intemperately;* "whip the devil around the stump?"

Our commandant at the time was John F. Reynolds, with the local rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the other officers of the Department of Tactics were: Alexander McD. McCook, Lieutenant, Second Infantry; Charles W. Field, Lieutenant, Second Cavalry; Robert Williams, Lieutenant, First Dragoons; Fitzhugh Lee, Lieutenant, Second Cavalry, and Charles Griffin, Lieutenant, Second Artillery, the latter officer transferring with the West Point Battery to Washington City early in the year 1861.

Griffin had earned no sobriquet at the hands of the cadets and the same may be said of our commandant Reynolds; but McCook was frequently called "A. McD.;" Field, "Charley;" Williams, "Bully," and Fitzhugh Lee, "Fitz."

General Reynolds was killed July 1, 1863, aged 42. "Being in command of the engaged forces at the opening of the battle of Gettysburg, and while urging his men with animating words, he was struck with a rifle-shot that caused almost instant death, a grievous loss to the army of the Potomac, one of whose most distinguished and best beloved officers he was; one whom by the steady growth of the highest military qualities, the general voice of the Army had marked out for the largest fame."

Captain Reynolds had been brevetted captain and major for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battles of Monterey and Buena Vista. The remaining tactical officers, when serving on the Plains, had engaged in many Indian contests and had done good service, though not requited by brevets. The law distinctly requires that brevets shall not be bestowed except in time of war; and the contests in which our little Army was engaged on the Frontier for so many long years, the most hazardous of all warfare, were, as determined by revised statutes, not to be so classed. Those who fell in conflicts with the Indians were men who passed quietly from their classes at the Academy to the Western wilds, returning—if ever again—to their Alma Mater for final interment in the West Point Cemetery.* The battle monument which now rears its shaft near Trophy Point bears not even on its panels the names of those unsung heroes, as its specific aim is to commemorate only the names of those who, as officers and soldiers of the Regular Army, were killed in battle during the Civil War.

It was hard enough for those who were left at the Military Academy in the winter and spring of 1861 to part with their comrades from the South. But suddenly, in the same month in which the first class was graduated, Reynolds, Griffin, McCook, Williams, Field, and Lee, all the "Tac's," departed from the Academy for active service. Field and Lee became distinguished leaders in the Confederate States service. Williams, although a Virginian by birth and affiliation, remained loyal to the Union and commanded the First Massachussetts Cavalry, with the same energy and zeal that he had ever displayed at the Military Academy as instructor of cavalry tactics. Later he became Adjutant-General, United States Army.

Of Alexander McD. McCook, Major-General, United States Army, retired, so much is known that it needs but to be said that he

*"Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored."—Daniel Webster.

is much more youthful and spry than many "old fellows," his juniors by many years, who are now verging upon retirement.

Of Fitzhugh Lee also, words are unnecessary.

He commanded one of the cadet companies and "Fritz's" parting words, as, with tears in his eyes and a voice tremulous with emotion, he bade farewell to his boys, left an impression that will not be effaced so long as memory lasts.

The cadets found in "Charley" Field* a good, kind friend; and remember well the overwhelming grief in his family when the time arrived for him to sever his bond with the United States Army, and take up arms against the flag which he had so often and so valiantly defended. Standing six feet three inches, and cast in the mold of an Adonis, he was probably the finest specimen of manhood that ever passed from out the portals of our Alma Mater. When mounted upon his favorite charger and at the head of the cadet troop, his presence dwarfed all others. The soldierly bearing of this officer and his personal appearance, coupled with a certain recklessness and devil-may-care manner in his training of the cadets in the riding hall, won for him the deepest admiration and affection. In fact, the cadets fairly worshipped him.

And now for "Bully Williams," so well known by this sobriquet as not otherwise to be referred to in these pages. He, too, was a man after the fashion of Field, both in looks and action. A bold sabreur, one to win the heart of any man, or woman either. Indeed, we apprehend that it was the heart of one of the other sex that earned for Robert Williams his sobriquet. The story, as the cadets had it, relates to "arrows and darts," to "pistols and coffee;" "a bullet through the hat of our "Bully Boy," and "a bullet, in reserve, fired in the air."

Williams' system of instruction and strict discipline struck a fair balance with Field's laxity and recklessness, since without this check we should not have turned out good cavalry soldiers, however well qualified as "rough and tumble" riders we might have been.

A word here on "Bully's" method of inviting attention to the principles of navigation for one "at sea" upon a horse. For example, the case of Mithers. (If there is a Mr. Mithers, our remarks need not apply.) "Mr. Mithers, keep your horse off the heels of the horse in front of you." A rebuke from the far end of the riding hall, and a voice to be likened at the present day to that of the megaphone call. "*Remember,* Mr. Mithers, that 'All that glitters is not gold.'" Mr. Mithers *will not forget it;* nor shall any of us cease to remember the

*Late Major-General, C. S. A.

unfathomable gibes and jests of this our "Bully Boy." Or it may be, "Sit up, Mr. Mithers." "Hold your bridle rein properly." "Carry back your legs; *and remember,* Mr. Mithers, that 'A rolling stone gathers no moss.'"

It so happened that on a certain day Mr. Mithers having attained the highest honors in his class in the course of drawing, exchanged as squad leader with O'Rorke—the alternation daily after January examination being between drawing and riding. Mr. Mithers thus became the leader of the cavalry squad, and *what an honor!* The megaphone now opened with a rattling volley: "Mr. Mithers, the command was 'walk,' not 'trot.'" "Mr. Mithers, the command was 'trot out,' not 'gallop.'" "*Squad, halt!*" "Mr. Mithers and Mr. Custer, '*lead out;*' '*dismount!*' exchange horses—and now, Mr. Mithers, take your place at the *tail end* of the squad, the place where you properly belong." After further maneuvering, again the command, "*halt!*" coupled with these complimentary observations: "Mr. Mithers, you are afraid of your horse." (*Afraid of his horse!* Well might any cadet, even "Fitz" himself, be afraid of "Quaker.") "Mr. Mithers, such conduct as this will do very well for *a lady's boudoir,* but when it comes to dealing with men, it won't do, sir; *it won't do!*" At this juncture it would not be fair to Lieutenant Williams to leave unrecognized an idea which the lapse of many years has slowly evolved from the depths of our inner consciousness.

Turn to Richard Third and in the very first speech find words which throw broad light upon a matter full of poise and difficulty:

> ——"instead of mounting barbed steeds
> To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
> He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
> To the lascivious pleasing of a lute."

If Lieutenant Williams really meant that Mithers was better fitted to caper nimbly in a lady's chamber (*boudoir*) than to mount a barbed steed, he "had" Mithers beyond all controversy; and Mithers must either get even with him or heap coals of fire upon his head by forgiving him.

Then there was "the practice march," as "Bully" was wont to call it, to Stony Point and back; all the way at a walk, never once breaking into trot or gallop (how we hated this). It was by no means an unusual occurrence, as we passed Cozzens' Hotel, for a gentleman at the rear of the squad (by name, Custer) to suddenly disappear; as luck would have it, his absence never being observed by "Bully." This was before the class "took the pledge," Custer's purpose being *to water his horse at the trough, in front of the bar of the hotel.*

On one such occasion Lieutenant Williams's attention had been specially directed to Custer's horse after he had joined the squad, and as he wheeled us into line, preparatory to dismounting, he gave this parting shot: "Gentlemen, I regret to say that you have treated your horses to-day very much as the schoolboy does his first penknife." "*Dismount!*"

Now, a word before the "Squad's dismissed!"

Sir Walter Scott was advised to desist from further effort with his pen after his "Marmion." Yet there followed "The Lady of the Lake." To fully reassure himself after the caution of friends, he read aloud his later production to an old and experienced hunter. At the point where the hounds of James Fitz James plunge into the water to follow the shallop to the Isle in the Lake, the old man sprang up and ejaculated, "Stop! it will *never do* for the dogs to make the plunge, *after than run.*"

An old hunter in perusing the lines of our manuscript, enters this remark, "Fail not to tell me what that Blazer, Williams, meant by his joke about the 'schoolboy's penknife.'" ("Birds of a feather flock together"—of course, of course—how else would they flock? they wouldn't be such blasted fools as to flock apart.") To be perfectly candid with you, old friend, it has taken many years for the cadets of our day to "gather moss" on this subject. But Oh! how refreshing it is to discard the dried-up "chestnuts" of modern days and think over what we *had* done on that past day to our horses that the schoolboy does to his first penknife. No wonder your brain is sore perplexed to know what the "Blazer" meant; none other than "Bully" the "Blazer" can respond to this most natural query.

Before the writer goes too far in this vein, he may add that Lieutenant Williams was greatly respected, as all officers of merit and distinction well must be. Indeed, a mishap to Cadet Mithers should bear out this remark. Mithers had taken the hurdle ahead of "Old Clothesline" (the swayback horse of the squad). "Clothesline" following, planted his foremost foot into Cadet Mithers's breathing apparatus, which necessitated this gentleman's being carried off to the hospital. "Now, gentlemen," said the noble "Bully," that was no fault of Mr. Mithers; it was entirely the fault of his horse; and I take this occasion to say that at one time Mr. Mithers was the worst rider in the squad, whereas now he is one of the best;" had the writer been Mithers he would add, "and this was due entirely to Lieutenant Williams's *most excellent* system of instruction."

We can hardly leave the riding hall without one word for the senior instructor in cavalry tactics, "Charley Field." Those of us who

had read "Charley O'Malley" and were familiar with the exploits of "Charley May," of Mexican War fame, knew full well what we were about in bestowing a sobriquet this time.

"Charley Field" was the very counterpart of Charley May, a gallant officer of good old Maryland stock, who rode into Arista's batteries, and over his guns, at Resaca de la Palma, far in the lead of his troop, and with "Zeb Inge," his first lieutenant, a close second. Poor "Zeb!" his last words were:—"Charley, 'tis not fair; hold back!"

The night before the battle of Palo Alto and two nights before Resaca de la Palma, "Zeb" invited "Charley" to call upon "Sam Ringgold." "I go to see 'Sam' so often," "Charley" replied, "I am afraid I'll drink up all of his whisky; but I'll tell you what I *will* do. I'll go up with you and when asked, will decline to drink; and then when he asks you, 'Zeb,' to 'take something,' and you two fill up, I'll say, 'I hate to see you fellows drinking alone; I think I'll join you.'" The program was carried out as arranged for. "Well, 'Zeb,' come along," said Sam; "if 'Charley' won't take anything, you will, won't you?" "Thank you, 'Sam,' I believe not; I, also, must swear off for the night; follow 'Charley's' example, you know." Alas for poor "Charley"! Within so brief a period as forty-eight hours, these friends were killed in battle, the one at Palo Alto, and the other on the day following at Resaca de la Palma.

To all outward appearances "Charley" May and "Charley" Field were much alike, except that while May wore his beard long and pointed, almost to his waist, Field contented himself with the cavalryman's conventional moustache. They both wore their hair à la Captain Cody, and from this Cadet Custer took his cue (*queue*), and, as will be seen, A. McD. assisted him in dispensing with a large proportion of it at Sunday morning inspection.

Custer, after being several times reported for long hair, instructed the barber to give his head "a clean shave." This was something for others but not for Custer himself to laugh at, the laugh with him being altogether on "the other side of the mouth."

"A. McD." pursued this prospective cavalry leader relentlessly, as any other "dough boy" would have done, and at all military inspections, and in fact at all other times "on sight," reported Custer for "Hair out of uniform," until this young gentleman was forced to decorate his bald head with a tan colored wig to save himself from dismissal.

And now, without further digression, let us get at "Charley" Field's system of instruction in cavalry tactics, a very different system

from the one enunciated and practiced by the junior assistant in the same department.

Lieutenant Field had been ordered to Vermont to purchase horses, and had advertised throughout the State for vicious animals, his idea being, no doubt, that they might serve the useful and double purpose of teaching cadets to break horses and horses to break cadets. As a financial operation, his efforts, too, were a great success. "Xantippe," for instance, was knocked down for five dollars, though any cadet would have been only too ready to put up double that sum to have the brute killed.

After a large invoice of these Vermont horses had been received at the Point on one of those cool, crisp autumnal days, the air full of ozone and the horses full of the "Old Nick," the animals in the riding hall were equipped with blankets and *snaffle bits*, ready for the riders of the junior class.

"Charley" conceived the notion of a turn to "Cozzens'" and back: "A practice march" indeed it was. The horses' mouths, even in the short time they had been at the Point, were well hardened to the curb in the first class men's exercises.

If there are any of us alive to-day (Yes, there are five!), it is thought they have not forgotten that first saddle blanket, *snaffle bit* ride to Cozzens' on that exceptionally fine October morning. It not only "beat the band," but was far ahead of any circus that we (What say the five?) ever after attended. Fully three-quarters of the entire squad picked themselves up at various points along the road, and trotted home on "shanks' mare." May not something be gleaned from this of Lieutenant Field's system of instruction, the antithesis of that of Lieutenant Williams?

Cadets, as well as cats, it is said, have nine lives, and hence it is, that practice of this kind, when one is well insured, is not only useful but may save many a life in the long run.

And here is its usefulness: When war comes upon us as did the great War of the Rebellion, and cavalry leaders are sought for, the graduates of the Military Academy will in the future as in the past be ever ready for the contest.

The West Point light battery was commanded in 1861 by Captain Charles Griffin,* senior instructor of artillery tactics, and manned by cadets as acting chiefs of sections, chiefs of pieces and cannoneers

*Late Major-General, U. S. V.

The drivers for the gun and caisson teams were dragoons assigned for this duty, and at the same time charged with care of the horses in the cavalry stables.

It was presumed, under the orders from the War Depatrment, received early in January, that the battery would not be required in Washington before the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln. These orders, however, necessitated recruiting the battery to its full enlisted strength, and for this reason the cadets feared that they were to lose not only the battery, but also the horses, which were used for squadron and trooper drill as well as for light artillery exercises. Everything seemed to be going from us at once: comrades, instructors, and, in fact, all adjuncts of our military training, and after the battery left the Point, it might be a long time before the cadets would again exercise on the cavalry plain in squadron or battery drill, cut heads, or jump the hurdle in the Riding Hall. The end of all things seemed at hand; the country, indeed, was "going to the dogs," and no mistake.

As the battalion stood in ranks, at reveille, on the last day of January, a bugle note sounding "Column, left!" "Forward, guide right!" brought, into view and for the *last time,* our field battery. Here was war indeed, though none of us could realize it. After breaking ranks the entire corps assembled in front of barracks and gave the battery three rousing cheers, as it wound its way around by the valley road on its long, uncertain journey, and as the last carriage passed from sight it was with aching hearts that we retraced our steps to the barrack rooms.

Cushing and Pelham: the one the Ringgold of the Union and the other of the Confederate Army;—both were there to join in that good-bye cheer. Of the former we have already spoken, and now of Pelham but one single word; *a noble fellow*:*—had he premonitions on that moonlit winter morn, when, or where next the West Point battery's guns would respond to the guns of Pelham's horse brigade? Kind, brave and generous Pelham, we shall not forget you. No Union officer had aught but consideration at your hands when held by you as prisoner of war.

And Custer, how would Custer have fared without Pelham's Virginia "straight cut," and Pelham, how would he have made out without

*In April, 1863, there is recorded this tribute at the hands of Gen. Robert E. Lee: "Thanks to Gen. Fitzhugh Lee and his noble brigade, it failed; not, however, without the loss of such noble spirits as Majors Pelham and Pullen."

Custer's commissary "rotgut?" A traffic through the picket lines, on *quiet* days.*

The graduation of the junior class of 1861 was not marked by the customary exercises and ceremonies, the class surrendering its "graduating furlough" and proceeding at once to the field.

Before a determination had been reached respecting the date of graduation a petition, signed by all of its members, was addressed to the Secretary of War, requesting to be allowed to graduate at an early date, in order to take the field. The petition was almost immediately considered, and a few days thereafter the class was hastily examined in its third year's course of study. Such portion of the fourth year's course as could be mastered in the short remaining period, before the date set for graduation, was taken up at once and pursued until late in the month of June.

The class was marched into camp with the cadet battalion and remained at West Point for a few days thereafter to complete a short course of practical engineering and, on the 24th of June, the class as a unit reported for duty to Gen. Winfield Scott, at Headquarters of the Army, Washington City, D. C.

Arriving at the depot in Washington City, they were met by a remarkably fine-looking officer, Lieut. Douglas Ramsay, of Ricketts' light battery. It was but one month afterward that this gallant young officer was followed to his grave by those who had but lately been assigned to his arm of service; on the field of Manassas his captain was wounded, his battery was completely wrecked, and he himself was killed.

Mr. Lincoln came over from the White House to General Scott's office for the express purpose of bidding the young men welcome to the service. After this ceremony was gone through with, they all proceeded to the headquarters of the General commanding the defenses of Washington, and reported to him for assignment to duty as instructors or drill masters of the "three months' regiments," all of which were encamped in and around the cities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria. General Mansfield gave specific instructions

*"The rule was for a Yankee to wave a newspaper, go forward toward the rebel line, meet a reb who came forward waving a newspaper, and midway the two pickets exchanged commodities to their mutual benefit.

"There was not one incident of this kind, but scores. Sometimes it was the Confederate who was suffering and the Unionist gave him what he most needed. Occasionally it was the Unionist who was suffering and the Confederate shared with him the necessaries of life, but the minute the truce was at an end they were blazing away at each other without a thought of any obligation to forget their duties as soldiers."

to all, one of the number remaining at headquarters as his aide-de-camp.

During the entire day of the Bull Run battle, Sunday, July 21st, the General's aides were in the saddle, forwarding troops to Mc Dowell's Army. Late in the afternoon grave apprehension as to the result of the contest was felt, since the firing of the artillery became more and more distinct as the day advanced, and this augured not well for the Union Army.

When the aids were assembled in the office of General Mansfield, late in the day, he rose from his seat, closed the door, and drawing a telegram from his breast pocket, read aloud these words: "The left wing of the Army is in retreat upon Centreville"—a telegram from General McDowell to General Scott. At the moment we were made aware of this unfortunate state of affairs, a tap on the door was followed by the entrance of an orderly from General Scott's headquarters. The telegram this time read: "The Army is in full retreat upon Centreville." General Mansfield was much excited and kept us in suspense, by not reading the message aloud. He paced the floor for quite a time, apparently greatly disturbed in mind, and, finally turning to his aides, said: "The worst has happened that could have happened, *our Army is defeated,* in full retreat on Centreville; and I fear it is *a rout.*" "Go to your quarters, gentlemen," he then said, "and prepare for a night's ride over the river; we will require the Second Cavalry escort." The General and staff started from headquarters about 9 P. M., and, crossing the Potomac, spent the night in vain endeavor to accomplish something and to ascertain the real condition of affairs at the front.

Directions had been given by the General commanding before starting for the front that, in the event of an advance of the Confederates that night, all the church and fire bells throughout the city should be rung. What there was to be accomplished by such warning was hard to tell, as the sound of the bells would have brought joy to the hearts of a majority of the inhabitants of a city which, like its sister city, Baltimore, was disloyal to its heart's core.

That dismal night ride on the south side of the Potomac disclosed nothing but isolated figures flitting here and there in the darkness, and all tending toward the Potomac long bridge and the Georgetown Aqueduct bridge. Picnickers who had gone out in strong force to *see* the fight, many in hacks, were the first to block travel over the bridges, in their mad haste to escape from that nightmare of the Army, the "*Black Horse Cavalry.*" The day following this night was a dreary one indeed; drizzling rain, with heavy clouds

hanging over as a pall. Fragments of regiments reported at headquarters from hour to hour, in bodies of a dozen or more, each squad claiming to be "all that is left of our regiment." Confidence fortunately was restored in the course of a few days, after it was ascertained that the regiments had not really been "*annihilated*," and that the stragglers were reassembling on their old camp grounds. All were also encouraged to believe that the Confederates were as much demoralized by victory as we had been by defeat.

This day's awakening of the American people verified, as time showed, the old adage, that the uses of adversity are sweet indeed. The loss was far less than at first reported, but we were sorely wounded in our pride and prestige. Of course valuable lives were sacrificed on both sides, and many were made prisoners of war, but the loss was by no means commensurate with the force engaged, and inconsiderable when compared with that of later conflicts.

One of the aides of General Mansfield was sent out to Bailey's Crossroads to bring in a regiment which had been inadvertently left far beyond the line of pickets. Throughout this ride he was met by taunts and jeers as he passed the farmhouses along the route, and the dogs were set upon him.

This officer, on returning, had reached a point on the monument road (a section of the city then called "Murder Bay") about midnight, when a man darted out in the darkness, from behind a treebox, and, seizing his horse by the bit and rein, bade him dismount and give up his horse. Two men ran up at this moment, and their coming terminated the struggle. The assailant feigned drunkenness, so that there was no opportunity afforded the officer to shoot the scoundrel, except at risk of the life of those who had come to the rescue. The man was consigned to the provost-marshal's guardhouse, and later it was learned that he was a private soldier in the Union Army, and, like hundreds of others in the city, was endeavoring to effect his escape by stealing a horse. In fact this incident is mentioned to show that officers as well as others could not hitch a horse, after the Bull Run disaster, at any point in the streets of Washington City with any certainty that some one would not come along, mount the animal, and ride him to death, on a North and South line, for home. A cordon of sentinels had been stationed around the city and at the railroad depots, and this rendered escape from service almost, if not quite, impossible, except when effected by deserters possessing themselves of horses.

General Scott retired from active service a few days after the Bull Run disaster, and was succeeded by Gen. George B. McClellan.

who came to the defense of Washington City with the prestige of his West Virginia campaign. His first step in perfecting the organization of the Army of the Potomac was to get his artillery into good shape; and his first order directed that all artillery officers serving on staff duty should at once join their batteries. This order carried one or two officers of Mansfield's staff to Tidball's battery, then camped near the long bridge on the south side of the Potomac, and for some months sections of this battery were by daily alternation on outpost duty at Arlington Mills or other advanced points on the lines of approach to the city of Washington. The officers and men of the battery were all afflicted with malarial fever, but not to an extent such as to disqualify them for duty. Toward the fall of the year the battery was withdrawn from the right bank of the Potomac and placed in the artillery reserve in the city of Washington, east of the Capitol. General Barry, who had been its commander after Duncan, and before Tidball, and who was the Chief of Artillery of the Army of the Potomac, was much inclined to favor his old battery; and led to its selection as a horse artillery battery, for the purpose of serving with the cavalry.

There was one feature in the case of our defeat at Bull Run which may be of interest to those not familiar with the true condition of affairs on that battlefield, and which occurred during the retreat of our Army from Bull Run to Centreville. The West Point battery, Griffin commanding, and Battery "I" of the First Artillery, Ricketts commanding, suffered in this action a very heavy loss both in men and horses—the guns of both batteries falling into the hands of the enemy. This was chiefly due to the fact that Griffin was not allowed to open fire upon a Confederate regiment, as he desired, because he was advised that this was a Union regiment and one of his battery supports, and here was the turning point in the contest. But it is not to this that we now make special reference. The right wing of our Army in the advance made a detour on a U-shaped line some ten miles or more in extent, while the distance from the start to the finish across the arms of the U was not more than a half mile. The men who had followed on the arms of the U in this advance did not, in fact could not, appreciate the real conditions of their march, and very naturally, when on the retreat, followed the road or roads by which they had advanced. So blocked were these roads by men and material that the enemy's cavalry could not penetrate the mass, but nevertheless greatly harassed the rear guard, a plucky little battalion of some two hundred regular infantry. After our troops had traversed a distance of some ten miles in retreat, the field batteries of

the Confederate Army and their "Black Horse Cavalry" fell upon our flanks, and this indeed without having to make any advance whatever. The impression nevertheless created upon the minds of those in flight was, that they had been followed for ten miles or more; that the rear of the column was probably annihilated, and that the cavalry had cut its way through and was closing upon the center and even the head of the column. Such impression was, as all must agree, well calculated to throw even the very best troops into a panic. This attack of the Black Horse Cavalry was effected by simply fording Bull Run stream, or crossing over by one of its several bridges. The appearance of cavalry, under these circumstances, filled our troops with dismay, and on all sides the most exaggerated stories were told of the "terrible *Black Horse Cavalry.*"

It was perfectly clear to all, after the Bull Run disaster, that the light batteries were not suitable for outpost duty. The several sections of the batteries (two guns and caissons each) were placed at the front, on the picket line, where they actually constituted an objective for the enemy; inviting attack, which, except for the guns, would not have been made. No protection on the flanks of these advanced positions could be afforded, and the enemy in small force could readily have broken through our thin line, struck in by the rear and flank, and probably have captured the guns.

This condition was understood by the General commanding, but there were other things to be considered. Most of the remaining regiments of three months' men were far from reliable and needed a moral support, to be secured only by association with regular troops. With the exception of about two hundred men of the Third United States Infantry,* there were none of the Regular Army at the time available for service with the Army of the Potomac except those with the light batteries. Hence it was that instead of infantry being the support for artillery, artillery was made in fact to serve as a support for the infantry, a paradox indeed; and had we been in the presence of an enterprising adversary, warfare conducted on these lines would have been of short duration.

In order to keep the infantry at the front, it was necessary to make them feel that there was a *reason* for their being there, and the reason held out to them was the necessity for their remaining as supports to the batteries.

The instructions given by Captain Tidball, as a section of his battery was marching from park are well remembered: "Do not lose

*Perhaps a few others.

your guns. Keep prolonges fixed, and be prepared to retreat at once if an attack is made. Move by piece down the road and at the gallop. Halt your pieces at intervals and fire; pass pieces alternately; I will hear your guns, and will come to your aid; but, *make no stand.*" "The infantry supports will desert you and you will certainly lose your guns if you don't follow my advice." A trying duty indeed, out at the extreme front (artillery on picket duty), with instructions to keep in constant readiness for flight on the first appearance of the enemy.

The night of the very day these instructions had been given, the sergeant of the section reported that there was suspicion of the enemy's cavalry in the road in the immediate front. The guns were of course always in readiness and loaded with canister, but the cannoneers were forced that night to stand to their guns awaiting an attack for several hours.

The section at this time was enveloped in a heavy mist, the night being dark as pitch. Everything was held in readiness for flight, in accordance with instructions, but no attack was made. The conditions were far worse than if it had been; since, in that case, there would have been something diverting—a "*flying* artillery" trip, and a *running* fight.

Several regiments near the permanent battery camp, whose time had expired, had threatened to return to their respective States. Conditions were such, however, that these troops could not be spared and the artillery was required, when not on outpost duty, to take post in threatening attitude, in front of the regimental camp-grounds. The instructions were, that if any attempt was made by the organizations to strike tents or break camp, to open upon them and rake their camps with canister.

On one such occasion a regiment procured an old oxcart, and, in a spirit of derision, mounted a barrel upon it, facing the guns of the section. None of the regiments believed that the artillery was there for business; and regarded their presence as a mere menace. Word was at once sent the colonel of the regiment that, "if he did not have the cart removed, it would be cleared out with canister *in short order.*"

Again, one of these disaffected regiments had been "marched" out for parade, and, after being formed in line, the adjutant gave a further command. Not a man stirred; the command was repeated, and still the entire regiment stood in open mutiny. This condition of affairs was reported to the brigade headquarters, and summary action taken. A light battery was ordered out and the threat of a rain of canister soon brought the men to terms. We must here observe that, through-

out the long years of our apparently endless conflict, the men who served with such zeal and courage were not "*three months' men.*"

There were many in the ranks of the volunteers who saw these things and understood them quite as well as every one else *now* does —men who had the firmness of mind to stay where they were, fight the thing through, and give their lives without hope of glory. Regiments frequently surprised even themselves by their magnificent work; and on more than one occasion a general commanding has pointed to the volunteer regiments and said: "There is a regiment to be depended upon in any emergency."

How often was this said of the volunteers in the Philippines, the regiments officered by the President and which had no more local associations than had the regular regiments.

There should indeed be no distinction between the *private soldier* of the regulars and the private soldier of the volunteers; he is made of the same stuff and is on the same footing. The rank and file of both organizations are recruited in the same way, and, if anything, the men of the volunteers should be of an order of intellect superior to that of the men in the ranks of the regulars, since they are men who *usually* command better wages in the ordinary walks of life,* but with an army conditioned as our army was at first, it is not to be wondered at, that much time was required to whip it into shape for active service.

Here, without digression, we may add that when Lieut. Gen. U. S. Grant assumed command of the eastern armies, and took the field in person, with Meade as his lieutenant, the force with which he had to cope consisted of some sixty-seven thousand well conditioned veteran soldiers, and two hundred and twenty-four guns, commanded by Gen. Robert E. Lee.

Grant's main object was to capture Lee's army, and, incidentally, the capital of the Confederacy. With a total force of one hundred and twenty-two thousand men, and three hundred and sixteen guns,† he determined to march directly against his adversary, and as the sequel showed, he arrived at, or near, the same point that McClellan

*This is confirmed to-day by the difficulty of securing *re*-enlistments for the Regular Army—the pay being inadequate for the service required.

†Army of the Potomac, 100,000; Army of the James, 22,000. Burnside's Corps increased Grant's available force by 20,000 men.

had finally taken for his base of supplies,* and City Point, Va., became General Grant's depot, and the James River his line of communications.

The combined operations of the Army of the Potomac and the Army of the James, striking the enemy simultaneously front and rear, greatly facilitated the advance of the Army of the Potomac by the overland route. And yet, even while so operating, Grant's losses were enormous. In the two months during which the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Drury's Bluff, Totopatomoy, Cold Harbor, and the Battle of the Mine at Petersburg, were fought, his losses aggregated in killed and wounded alone, some fifty thousand men, whilst the exhausting effect of this campaign, the country being low and marshy, showed itself in an immense sick list of malarial diseases. The Confederate army had this one great advantage, its personnel was inured to the climate and furthermore the enemy operated always on interior lines, and near its base.

It would be safe to say that Grant's force was depleted fifty per cent., as against a depletion in the ranks of his adversary of not more than thirty per cent. up to the time a lodgment was effected by the Union Army on the south bank of the James River, at City Point, Va. The strength of the opposing armies in July, 1864, may then be reckoned at seventy thousand, and forty thousand men, and in favor of the Union Army. Grant, as he had a right to do, counted upon large reinforcements by conscription, whereas the losses of his adversaries could not longer be compensated.

The Rebellion was "on its last legs," so to speak, and this game, with loss of four or even six to one, could therefore be played with impunity by the commander of the Union Armies.

McClellan's plan of campaign in 1862, followed by operations against Richmond, with base of supplies first at the White House on the York River, and later with base at Harrison's Landing, James River—resulted in a disposition of forces analogous to that finally attained by Grant in 1864. Foreign military critics agree that McClellan's course was by far the best that he could *at the time*† have pursued. His change of front and change of base from White House to the James was a masterly stroke, resulting as it did in well establishing his Army, and terminating the seven days' contests in final victory at Malvern Hill.

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*Harrison's Landing in 1862.

†Grant's plan of overland march was the only one practicable at the later day (1864).

McClellan, as a strategist, knew full well what the result would be should he advance directly upon Richmond, retaining Washington City as his base.

He knew that every battle would be drawn, every victory achieved would find the opposing force on shorter lines, while his army would be farther and farther from its base, and with its front more and more extended. He studied the map as an engineer and strategist, and noted thereon streams, such as Bull Run, Acquia, Rapidan, Rappahannock, Matapony, Pamunky, North Anna, South Anna, or better still, the rivers Potomac, York, and James.

He fully realized that these watercourses were one, and all, defensive lines for an adversary in retreat; all running to the Chesapeake on parallel lines, and on lines at right angles to that which must be his inevitable line of advance upon Richmond.

And here let us briefly consider the results of McClellan's attempted semi-circumvallation of Richmond. He undoubtedly did, in placing his army on the two sides of the Chickahominy, and in spreading out his forces by a weak and dangerous extension of his lines, impair his power of concentration. His extension, far out on his right flank, was, however, for the sole purpose of forming a junction with McDowell's corps of 20,000 men, a force he believed at the time to be en route from Fredericksburg. But the defeat of Banks, and Fremont by Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley had induced those in authority to divert McDowell's corps from its original line of march, and to recall it for the protection of Washington City, thus preventing McDowell's juncture with McClellan's extended and exposed flank, nor was McClellan informed of this change of plan with the consequent risk to his entire army. Jackson in the meantime appeared with his corps, on the right flank of McClellan's army, and by forced marches, threw himself between the Chickahominy and Paumunkee rivers. D. A. Hill and Jackson on the one side with about 14,000 men then bore down upon Mechanicsville and struck McClellan's flank, but fortunately night put an end to the conflict, the Union forces moving down the river during the night to Powhete Swamp.

This occurred on the 26th of June, 1862, and on the following day A. P. and D. H. Hill together with Longstreet made a general advance upon the Union Army, while Jackson kept well away to the left, gradually converging to the Chickahominy. McClellan's army, divided by the Chickahominy, was confronted by Magruder on the south side, while that portion on the north side having fallen back to a new line of defences, made a decided stand. It was at this point that a battle raged until eight o'clock in the evening, after which McClellan was

constrained to cross to the south side of the Chickahominy under cover of night, but not without having inflicted as great a loss upon his adversary as he himself had sustained.

The Fredericksburg and Central R. R. having fallen into the hands of the Confederates, communication between McClellan's army and White House on the Paumunkee, his base of supplies, was thus severed. To extricate himself, the Confederates believed he must either win a victory or capitulate. But McClellan divined the situation and massed his entire force, taking up a line of march for the James River, where, under cover of his gunboats, he was to find his new base of supplies, established and in readiness. Unbroken forests and wide swamps favored his operations, as it was most difficult for his adversaries to follow him with ability, or to reconnoitre his position so as to bring him to decisive battle and neither Hill nor Longstreet could find McClellan until his forces were skilfully disposed and when found batteries of sixteen guns opened upon A. P. Hill. The Union forces already formed in several lines of battle, poured upon the adversary a devouring fire of musketry. "The conflict here was desperate* and continued with an ardor and devotion that few battlefields have ever illustrated. By half past eight o'clock, the Confederates had driven back the Union forces step by step leaving them a mile and a half from their ground of battle. It was now about half past nine o'clock, and very dark. Suddenly, as if it had burst from the heavens, a sheet of fire enveloped the Confederate's advance. McClellan had made another stand and from the black masses of his forces it was evident that he had been heavily reinforced. The losses here on the Confederate side were terrible, and their troops retired slowly."

"The most vociferous cheers arose along the Yankee line. * * It was a moment when the heart of the stoutest commander might have been appalled. The next morning the Union troops were found strongly intrenched in a dense forest on the other side of the field. Their artillery, numbering forty pieces, could be seen bristling over the freshly constructed earthworks. The charge of Magruder across the field was followed by a murderous storm of grape and canister, hurled with most terrible effect. Officers and men went down by the hundreds. The carnage from the withering fire of the combined artillery and musketry of the Federals was dreadful. Twice again the effort to carry the position was renewed, and each time with the same result. This battle was probably the most sanguinary of the

*Here we are quoting Pollard of the *Richmond Whig*.

series of bloody conflicts which had taken place on the lines about Richmond. * * * The skill and spirit with which McClellan had managed to *retreat* was indeed remarkable (the italics are ours) and afforded no mean proof of his generalship. At every stage of his retreat he had confronted the Confederates with a strong rear guard, and had encountered them with strong lines of battle and regular disposition of infantry, cavalry and artillery."

From all of this it may be understood why the Confederate Generals were so wary of McClellan.

Having quoted the Confederate authority Pollard, let us now see what a Federal authority has to say respecting this same contest: "The Union Army at Malvern Hill was disposed in the form of a huge semicircle, its wings resting on the river and protected by the fire of the gunboats. There was an open plateau about sixty feet above the water level, where the army made its stand. Reserve batteries of twenty and thirty-two pounders with rifled and Napoleon guns were in line, and with the infantry below awaiting the attack. Fully sixty pieces had a converging fire from Fitz John Porter's line, and all along the crest of the hill, whenever one was needed, a battery made its appearance at the moment. Tidball's horse battery, as well as the batteries of Benson and Robinson, were credited with having contributed greatly to the success of the day. In referring to the last battle of the seven days' contest as a Union victory here is what more Gen. A. S. Webb, in his 'Peninsular Campaign,' Scribner Series, has to say. * * * A careful reading of D. H. Hill's report of his part of the battle, shows plainly the loss and demoralization of his division, and gives a glimpse of the disorder hidden by the woods about the little parsonage.

"No more positive admission of defeat with loss and disorder can be looked for. Hill upbraids everybody, from the commander-in-chief down to Whiting and Holmes, whom he asserts were not engaged at all. * * * As Magruder got his men in place, the fire from these batteries became, as stated, intense. His plan was to put fifteen thousand men in line and charge the batteries and supporting infantry, to follow up success with fresh troops, and if repulsed to hold the line where he then was on the hill. His caution, as to repulse, was one that did great credit to his military sagacity, and was fully justified by events. Although the batteries were not carried, the assault contributed much to the rout, panic and demoralization which marked the enemy's escape from the field early in the night. Dark set in, and he concluded to let the battle subside, and occupy

the field; pickets were set, and a part of Armistead's brigade, encamped within one hundred yards of the Union guns.

"About the same time that D. H. Hill advanced to make the attack—say about 5:30 P. M.,—Magruder, who waited in vain for the thirty pieces of rifled artillery for which he had sent to silence the Union fire, became impatient at the delay, and ordered General Armistead's brigade to advance, and at the same time put his own division in motion. He sent forward Wright's brigade first, Mahone's next, substituted three regiments of Cobb's for the remainder of Armistead's raw troops, sent in General Ransom to his left, in person superintended the advance of Barkdale's brigade of his own division, and sent staff officers in quick succession to urge an attack by Huger on his left. As they emerged from the cover of the woods in which their line was formed, and breasted the slope of the hill, now swept by the converging fire of the heavy batteries at the Chew house, the advance was checked, but they were easily rallied and led again with fury to the attack; but the line made no further progress, even in Magruder's report. Ransom and Jones, with the remainder of Armistead's men, were urged forward to the support of their faltering comrades. McLaw's division was also sent by order of General Lee, and Magruder was urged to press the enemy on the right. They advanced bravely all along the line, but only to recoil before the storm of missiles which each fresh effort on their part drew from the heavy guns. The day was drawing to an end, and Magruder gave his attention to securing the ravine and woods where he had formed his line, and to procuring reinforcements to guard against any reverse. All the Rebel generals ascribe their failure to reach the hill to the preponderance of the artillery fire on the Union side, their own inefficiency in that arm, and to want of support and co-operation in attack. In truth there seems to have been few orders issued from the first by the Rebel general in chief."

From first to last this was a Union victory, and McClellan was as well disposed for action at Harrison's Landing as was Grant at a later day at City Point, a few miles further up the James River. Grant was forced to concede a loss of at least 50,000 men during his campaign, while McClellan's loss in the seven days' contest aggregated 12,469—the Confederates losing 20,614 men. In spite of all that has been said respecting McClellan's *over* caution, if we review this record, in connection with his one day loss at Antietam, 12,055 men, as against Meade's loss at Gettysburg of 23,001 men, it will be seen that McClellan brought his men well into action. In fact in the conduct of the Peninsular Campaign he did what all strategists would have

done. He converted what otherwise might have been the enemy's lines of defence into lines of operation and supply for his own army, and this in the face of persistent and almost irresistible objections from no less a man than the Secretary of War, Stanton. He did still more than this, and his plot was so well laid that his enemy respected and feared him. In the military profession the element of chance enters largely, and chance—not strategy, as his army at the time fully believed—defeated McClellan. He had his faults, grave ones too, at that, and others better informed than the writer have made them quite clear. Here, however, there is this to be said, not only for those who have suffered in the past, but for others yet to come, who must, upon the battlefields of the future, command untrained and untried soldiers. In the early days of any war in which our Nation embarks, there will inevitably be sacrifices of reputation, for which even our best young soldiers must be prepared, and this will ever continue, until our people shall be brought to realize the consequences resulting from a state of unpreparedness for war. Fortune's freaks in time of war are strange indeed, and our Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Meade, Thomas and Schofield were themselves on the verge of that fate which overtook so many of their predecessors in command. Is there one to deny this fact?

J. P. FARLEY,
Brigadier General, U. S. A. (Retired).

A TOUR IN SOUTHERN MANCHURIA IN SEPTEMBER, 1901.

Translated from the French of Captain AUBÉ by Captain W. E. CRAIGHILL, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

AFTER having completed the pacification of Pechili and shown the French flag from Huailou, on the Chansi border to Shan hai Kwan, the gate to Manchuria, General Voyran, commander-in-chief of the French expedition, decided to send the Second Brigade home in July, 1901, and to return to France, leaving General Sucillon in command of the troops.

After the completion of active operations, there followed a period of enforced leisure for the officers. In order to employ them in the most useful manner, the Commanding General of the brigade which remained in China, gave them opportunities for travelling so that they might study the neighboring country.

Manchuria was regarded with special interest on account of the bloody combats which had taken place there during the Boxer insurrection, and the feverish activity of the Russians in cleaning away the ruins of their smoking shops and rebuilding the railroads.

Besides, Mukden, in this region, is the cradle of the Manchu dynasty, and farther to the south, Dalny, the newly created commercial port, forms a strong contrast with the sacred city of Mukden; while the citadel of Port Arthur, at the end of the Liantong Peninsula, is being made by our allies a military port of the first-class.

Captain Aubé and Lieutenant Pruneau of the Colonial troops, were fortunate enough to be sent to go over this region and report on the condition of the railroads.

Lieutenant Pruneau was especially qualified for a subject of this kind, because he had been in the transportation service at Tien Tsin from the beginning of the expedition, and not satisfied with being especially active in his service for the French expedition, he had, besides, succeeded in gaining the esteem of all the foreign contin-

gents, and especially of both the Russians and English, who were not very harmonious, particularly over railroad matters of interest.

The notes of their journey by these two officers are briefly given below.

II.

BRIEF NOTES ON THE RAILWAY

1. From Shan hai Kwan to Mukden.

This road may be divided into three sections:

(a) From Shan hai Kwan to Kin Chu (French Staff map scale 1-1,000,000). The Russians call it Chinge fou.

(b) From Kin Chu to Yingtsu (New Chang), old English station.

(c) From Yingtsu (Russian station) to Mukden.

It must be remembered that there is no direct connection between sections "b" and "c."

It is necessary to transfer and go by sampan, or steam launch (rare) from the English station to the Russian station. Length of trip by sampan three or four hours, according to the sea and wind.

(a) From Shan hai Kwan to Kin Chu.

This line, which follows closely the edge of the Gulf of Liantong, crosses numerous streams. The permanent bridges have not yet opened to travel, but are under construction; the embankments forming the approaches were much damaged during the last rainy season, and will have to be partially rebuilt. At present the bridges are of wood and not very solid, so that it is necessary to go very slow in crossing them.

The buildings along the line are of a semi-permanent character. They consist of a one-story brick building for the station itself, and a little barrack for the guard of about ten Cossacks. These soldiers are generally of better appearance than those seen at Tien Tsin, and salute when the trains pass. On the whole the Russian purpose seems to be, while providing for the maintenance and comfort of the troops, to operate the railroad without much expense and without permanent improvements.

The appearance of the country through which the road runs is much the same as that about Shan hai Kwan, although not quite so mountainous. There are some pretty steep grades crossing the path northeast of Nin-Yuen.

(b) (From Kin Chu to Yingtsu.)

At Kin Chu and beyond, the Russians seem to be more permanently installed along the railroad. They have a considerable number

of troops at Kin Chu—one regiment of infantry, one battery of artillery, one or two sotnias of Cossack cavalry—and quite near the railroad they have a large military hospital.

The bridge which is being built over the Taling Ho is a fine piece of work. When it is finished, it will have a length of nearly 2,000 feet between the earth approaches.

At Kalantze (Tsaoynantze) the road turns sharply to the east. It is evident that this station is intended to become the point at which the direct road to Mukden will branch off.

The Russian have put up a number of well-built houses here, all of which are permanent in character.

From Kalantze to Yangtsu the road leaves the mountains and is entirely on low and marshy ground.

The bridges over all the rivers are wooden, and there are no structures of any importance along the line.

The station at Yingtsu (old English station) has been finished by the Russians. It consists now, instead of the old Chinese houses, of a row of brick houses with corrugated iron roofs, placed along the track. They are intended for employes' dwellings. A little larger building, located a little farther back, is for the officers. The ground had to be filled in, to bring it above the level of frequent floods. A quantity of stores is on the side tracks. The platform is wood. Here too the Russians, while securing a very satisfactory service, do not seem to have wished to incur much expense.

HARBOR OF YINGTSU OR NEW CHANG.

In going from the English station to the Russian station almost the entire extent of the harbor is gone over. It is formed by the estuary of the Liao Ho. This harbor is used by a large number of junks and sampans, and a considerable number of steamers, but the tonnage of the boats does not seem to be greater than that of those which can get into Tong Ku.

The exports consist, almost exclusively, of peanut cakes.

The imports comprise various classes of merchandise from Japan, America, England and Germany.

The Japanese, English and German flags are seen everywhere.

CITY OF YINGTSU.

The city of Yingtsu is situated on the left bank of the Liao Ho.

It consists of a Chinese city and a small foreign concession belonging to the Russians, English and Japanese.

There is a Catholic Mission belonging to the Foreign Missions; the Bishop's residence is here. The foreign concession seems to be growing. There were several houses being built.

(c) From Yingtsu to Mukden.

STATIONS The Russian, or Manchurian, station at Yingtsu (on the left bank) is only about a hundred metres from the river, but the Russians do not seem to have made any effort to use it for loading or unloading freight by building wharves with rail connections.

The buildings of the station itself are rather more solidly built than those of the station on the right bank, especially in having tile roofs. There are vast freight sheds, in which are stored great quantities of material.

ROAD: The journey from Yingtsu (Russian station) to Mukden is not direct; one has to change cars at To Ching Chow, about an hour's ride from Yingtsu. This is also the junction with the direct line from Port Arthur to Moscow through Mukden, Harbin, Onon, and Irkutsk. This line may be considered as now in operation, but the construction of some parts is still of a temporary nature.

The bridges are, for the most part, wooden, and the one over the Sunjari is not yet finished.* It is necessary to transfer. The crossing of the range of mountains northwest of Harbin, is made by a switch back over the tunnels, which will not be finished for three years: Thirty versts (about twenty miles) have to be covered by carriage. Still a Government official with a special pass, allowing him to travel on all trains, can make the trip from Port Arthur to St. Petersburg in only twenty days.

The railroad is guarded by posts furnished from the reserve of the Russian army. These troops are to be relieved by troops of the active army.

All structures are of an entirely permanent character. The masonry is very well built, the platforms are of stone; the employes have seperate quarters apart from the station. Large water tanks supply the engines.

The station at Mukden was the only one seen which seems to be temporary. It is, in fact, to be moved nearer the town, from which it is now about seventeen miles (twenty-seven kilometers) distant.

The present quarters, covered with corrugated iron, could be used for a great military camp. There are, in fact, enough of them, and they are located almost as if for a military post.

*It was opened to travel in February, 1902.

PRACTICAL NOTES ON THIS PART OF THE JOURNEY.

Leave Shan hai Kwan at 6.30 (Russian time is about twenty minutes faster than English time). Price of a first-class ticket from Shan hai Kwan to Yingtsu $4.30 (Mexican). Dining car every other day, meals $1 (Mexican). French gold, or the silver piastre (Mexican dollar) is taken.

Forty minutes stop at Kin Chu (Ching Fou). Arrive at Yingtsu 7.35 P. M.

The French officers have to acknowledge the great courtesy of the Russian officers along the road, and are particularly grateful to Captain Ignatieff, Captain Azindoff and Lieutenant Edgordt for their kindness. All these three officers speak French.

All these practical notes were taken by Lieutenant Prineau.

A room with two beds is assigned to the use of officers in transit at the Yingtsu station (right bank). To go from the station on the right bank to the one on the left bank, you pay thirty cents (Mexican) apiece in the sampans. There are two trains a day, one to Port Arthur at 5 A. M., the other to Mukden at 6.30 P. M.

From Yingtsu to Ta Chi Chow the tickets costs fifty cents (Mexican). One can get a lunch in the buffet at the station of Ta Ching Chow before going on to Mukden, but it is well to keep one's place in the car after the arrival of the train from Port Arthur, and to engage a berth so as to be able to sleep. In each compartment there are eight berths, arranged in two tiers. They are upholstered and quite comfortable. Washstands and water closets in the car.

From Ta Ching Chow to Mukden the ticket is $3.70 (Mexican). You arrive at Mukden at 7 A. M., but as the station is about seventeen mines (twenty-seven kilometers) from the town, it is necessary to telegraph ahead for a carriage for yourself, and one for the baggage, either to the Russo-Chinese bank, if you are accredited to it, or to the Catholic Mission (Foreign Missions).

All travelers will not, of course, have the good fortune to meet Lieut. Colonel Mallet of the Artillery, who, with the greatest kindness, insists on putting his troika at the disposal of French officers coming to visit Mukden. The road from the Mukden station to the town is through a flat country, but it is full of enormous ruts and very bad.

MUKDEN.

The town of Mukden is a large Chinese city, one of the most important in North China after Pekin. It is entirely surrounded by walls in pretty good condition, with crenelations and machicoulis.

The general plan is the same as that of the rest of the Chinese cities; a quadrilateral with the faces more or less irregular, crossed by two wide streets, crossing each other at right-angles in the center of the city under a tower forming a covered passageway. The suburbs are large and equal in size to the city proper. The center of the city, and the principal shops, were looted and burned by the Chinese troops retreating from the Russian army after the fight at Laoyang. The same troops completely destroyed the Catholic quarter and the Mission situated in the southeastern suburb. Bishop Huyon, Father Eymonnet, two sisters, and a great many Christians were massacred. Now the Mission is just rising from its ruins. Mukden is to-day the point of assembly of quite a large body of Russian troops. The garrison is composed of: one regiment of Chasseurs (His Majesty's Regiment), two companies of the eleventh East Siberian Chasseurs, four sotnias of Cossacks, one field battery of eight pieces.

There are, besides, in the neighborhood, two pieces of field artillery, and a detachment of infantry and cavalry at the tomb of Young Ting; a second detachment of all arms at the junction of the Yatou and Tong Kai King (see map, scale 1-1,000,000) not far from the Corean frontier. Finally, at Liao Young, the eleventh East Siberian Chasseurs.

There are three generals at Mukden, General Flascher being in command.

The duties of Civil Governor are performed by a lieutenant colonel of the staff.

The Chinese organization is maintained but placed under Russian control. A Chinese Viceroy, bearing the title of Yangtsun, lives at Mukden.

There are quite a large number of Chinese soldiers who go about the city armed. They wear the ordinary uniform of the regulars with a little Russian flag on the breast like a shield.

In fine, the Russian soldier seems to live on the most friendly terms with the Chinese population; business is carried on on all sides with perfect freedom and confidence. The jewelers sell little trinkets representing the arms of Russia and China united. The order of the day seems to be to act thus, and the Russians frequently say freely that they are disposed to consider and treat the Chinese as their equals.

Thanks to this policy pacification seems to be making quite rapid progress, and the Tongs, pursued by the Russians and their former friends, are submitting. They are allowed to keep their arms and become police agents themselves. The men are of pretty much the same type as those of Pechili, but the women are different. They

have large feet and long gowns, with hair worn in shape like a large shell with a flat silver pin run through.

Objects of interest in the city are some beautiful pagodas in the western suburb, one of which is a very ancient imperial Lama temple, and the ancient palace of the Sings, similar to the palace of Pekin in its extent. It contains a very old library, but it seems that all the manuscripts or books that were very old, were carried to Pekin. The report that a manuscript by Livy had been found there is a pure newspaper fiction. In former times the Manchu Emperors received the oath of allegiance of their Generals in this palace, and came from Pekin for this purpose on a certain date every three years. But no Emperor has come to Mukden for a hundred years. They consider the region as too uncertain and too much infested with Tongs. In fact, these Tongs, claiming to be soldiers in revolt, had instructions from the Court during the late anti-foreign movement. Those who surrender acknowledge it. This, at least, is what the Russian officers say.

Other points of interest in Mukden are different imperial tombs. They are as follows: The tomb of Su Lung, about three miles (five kilometers) to the northwest.

The tomb of Fou Ling, about eight miles (twelve kilometers) to the northeast.

The tomb of Young Ling, about seventy miles (110 kilometers) to the east.

The last is the most ancient. It is, it seems, the tomb of the founder of the dynasty. The Russians occupy it with troops, and found it, they say, looted already.

The tombs of Fou Ling are on a hill surrounded by woods. Su Ling's tomb is in the pine and oak woods. A wide ditch, full of water, prevents entrance to it except by a bridge. The gate of honor opens upon a beautiful avenue lined with stone animals (elephants, lions, horses) which leads to the first little temple, in which is an imperial throne.

The tomb itself is behind a second court. It is covered by a two-storied tower and surrounded by a continuous wall connected by terraces with the tomb itself, like an enormous cupola covered with shrubs.

In order to visit the tomb you must get permission from the Viceroy through the lieutenant colonel, who is Civil Governor. This permission is readily granted. But the tomb of Su Ling has no military guard, and the Chinese who have charge of the keys do not seem to be able to refuse a tip.

The city of Mukden was not defended against the Russians during the recent operations. But some bands of Chinese troops, running away after the fight of Lao Yang, set off some mines near the gates when the Russian advance guard arrived. Mukden, moreover, is but little prepared for defence. There are no modern fortifications near it, and the walls are easily taken on account of the suburbs. There is a large arsenal in the city for the manufacture of rapid firing arms and ammunition. The Russians found in it a large store of powder and fulminate. The destruction of this store was the cause of a serious accident. Three carts loaded with powder that was being taken to the river to be thrown in, suddenly blew up, killing thirty Russian soldiers.

FROM MUKDEN TO PORT ARTHUR.

You return over the same route as in going, as far as Ta Chin Chow. From Ta Chin Chow to Port Arthur the country is more mountainous. There are two or three pretty heavy fills to lighten the grade, especially near the Chinese city of Kin Chu. At every point permanent stations are being built and the platforms are of cut stone. Every station is guarded by a small detachment of soldiers. Besides frequent little Cossack camps are seen between stations.

PRACTICAL NOTES.

Leave Mukden 9.30 P. M., price of ticket $9.40 (Mexican) to Port Arthur. Arrive at Ta Ching Chow at 8 o'clock A. M. A little buffet where you can get breakfast. Almost an hour stop. Buffet at Vafandien where you arrive at 1.03. Arrive at Port Arthur at 7.30 P. M. At all stations very long stops.

It is absolutely necessary to send word of your coming to Port Arthur, for you arrive at night in a city where the hotels are very bad and often full. There are plenty of two-horse carriages at the station.

PORT ARTHUR.

The city of Port Arthur is intended to be the great Russian military port of the Far East. The imperial decree establishing it, is dated September, 1901. In brief, the project of the Russians is as follows: To make of the peninsula of Tiao Tong a vast entrenched camp, impregnable from land or sea; to raze the old Chinese city in order to give more room for docks; to enlarge the military port by deepening all the western part of the inner harbor; to move the entire European city to the north of the military port.

All heights which command Port Arthur and the sea are now crowned with forts. The old Chinese fortifications have been entirely remodeled, and armed with cannons captured during the recent expedition, or else brought from Russia.

The Board of Defense seem also to be concerned over the possibility of a landing in the bay of Talien Wan, covered by a hostile fleet, and an attack coming over the heights northeast of the city. For this reason, the defenses of the city in this direction have been made complete by works on the heights overlooking Dalny.

The garrison of Port Arthur seems to be of considerable size, but it is difficult to name a figure. There are numerous barracks situated at present (infantry and cavalry) north of the old city, but new ones are being built in the future city. The barracks are very comfortable. The men's rooms are large, well lighted and warmed with large stoves, which give out, without much expenditure of fuel, an always uniform heat. The windows are fitted with double glass sashes. The officers live not far from the men's barracks, but on the other side of the street, in separate sets of quarters. The Colonel has a single set. Captains are two in one house, and Lieutenants four. Each set of quarters has a garden around it.

At present Port Arthur is connected with Chefoo by an almost daily merchant steamer, either Russian or English. Direct connections with Taku are much more infrequent.

Port Arthur is the place of residence of Admiral Alexieff, who is commander-in-chief of both the land and sea forces of the province of Lia Tong. His assistant chief of staff is Lieutenant-Colonel Samouiloff, who has special charge of the troops.

A general is in charge of the line of communication.

The Russians, last year, had combined maneuvers about Port Arthur. The troops of the peninsula and Admiral Strydloff's fleet representing the enemy took part in them.

The first problem was an attempt at a landing in Talien Wan Bay, and Admiral Strydloff was to be considered successful if he succeeded in getting his landing party ashore without being opposed by two battalions and a battery.

The zone to be watched by the defending brigade was about seventy-five miles (120 kilometers). Thanks to a system of judiciously placed outlooks, the victory rested with the defense.

The second problem consisted of a brisk night attack by the fleet. This attack failed also. The plan of making Port Arthur a vast intrenched camp necessarily compelled the Russians to move to another

point the commerce and business not strictly required by the needs of the garrison.

New Chang, a commercial port already in existence, was too far from Port Arthur and from the natural terminus of the Trans-Manchurian Railroad. It was, in fact, necessary that the future entrepot, while not endangering the garrison, in time of war, by introducing among the combatants a crowd of useless mouths to feed, should, nevertheless, in the happily longer period of peace, be near enough to the military port to give the latter the benefit of its resources. New Chang, moreover, is shoaling more and more. After study of the locality Chief Engineer Kerbest decided upon Victoria Bay, which has greater depths than Talien Wan Bay.

In the midst of still uncultivated hills, upon barren reefs, the great Polish engineer saw, in his imagination, a city arise, docks and jetties built. He entrusted to M. Szakroff, one of his best pupils, the realization of his dreams, and the city of Dalny, conceived in 1899, now exists in its essential parts.

DALNY.

The train leaves every day at 7.15 P. M. for Dalny. The road uses the tracks of the Trans-Manchurian line as far as Nangaline, and branches at this station directly to Dalny. Arrive at 10.10 P. M., first-class ticket $1.35 (Mexican).

Upon arrival one is struck with the enormous amount of work done in less than two years and a half. The skeleton of the new city is complete, with its streets laid out, its waterworks and lighting plant, everything in detail, but only the section for the administration is finished. The city is, in fact, based on a center containing the various professions. It will have in it the section for the administration near the shops and the harbor, the business section, the section of the employes' dwellings, and the residence section.

The Chinese city will be entirely separated from the European city by a large park.

All the buildings used for public purposes will be grouped at the centre of the city, forming thus its vitals.

The land will be sold by lots, and divided, according to the suitability of the ground for building purposes, into three classes:

First—Entirely level, ten roubles a square meter (about fifty cents a square foot).

Second—Lots having ravines not exceeding three meters deep, eight roubles a square meter (about forty cents a square foot).

Third—Varied ground, five roubles a square meter (about twenty-five cents a square foot).

All purchasers must build houses costing three times the cost of the lot. An album showing types of houses permitted in each section gives a basis for estimates.

The management has already received a great many offers for lots upon these conditions, but it is not yet willing to accept them, insisting on first having its waterworks and lighting plant finished and in good working order, so as to avoid all grounds for complaints which would not fail to cast discredit on the city.

The sale of land should more than cover the large expense already incurred and future obligations.

Port dues are counted on to meet the running expenses of the city.

There will not be any custom dues on merchandise, the port having been declared free for all time by the imperial decree which established it.

By the advice of the Minister of Finance the work of building the city was let out by contract. The Russo-Chinese Banking and Railway Company (the two companies having combined) took the contract for 24,000,000 roubles (about $12,000,000.00). The expenditures have already been as much as $7,000,000 and it is evident that the contract price will have to be increased, the Russian Government being willing. The total cost will be as much as $18,000,000, of which $2,000,000 are for the making of concrete blocks for the jetty. Ten thousand blocks are, in fact, needed at $200 apiece.

The two moles have been built by the same means. They will allow boats drawing twenty-three feet to be docked, which is more than is necessary for the largest vessels.

Two very powerful dredges have just dug out the harbor.

There will be four dry docks, one of them very large, and a series of government shops equipped for all classes of repair work.

A very extensive network of tracks (eight on the large mole, three on the small one) provides for the rapid discharge of vessels. The work is all done by a great number of Chinese coolies, as many as 40,000. They are generally paid by the task, common laborers at 25 cents (Mexican), skilled workmen, masons, carpenters, are paid 50 cents (Mexican). The workmen all seemed happy and worked with much diligence under the not unkindly supervision of a moderate number of European foremen (old discharged Russian soldiers).

On the whole, the Russian government has made a great effort at Dalny, and, thanks to the facilities given to commerce in loading and

unloading freight, the freedom of the port, and its position close to Japan and at the east end of the Trans-Manchurian railroad, it would seem that this work, pushed with so much energy and boldnesss, will be crowned with success. The only port which is near enough to rival Dalny is New Chang, but the Russian government will do all it can to let this port decline by degrees. It is not a treaty port, and is not entirely Russian. Nature is also coming to their aid, as New Chang harbor is shoaling more and more. Dalny, nevertheless, has its detractors. Some find fault because its streets are too narrow and its construction not solid enough, others on account of the ice in the harbor in winter. The effect of its hasty construction is apparent in the city. There has been an evident effort to impress visitors by putting up as many buildings as possible in the shortest time. The plan of the city has suffered also from the changes made in the plans since its commencement. As for the narrowness of the streets, that can be easily remedied, besides, it was desirable to make them narrow to decrease the cost of maintenance at first.

Every house has in front of it a parking space through which the water and other pipes are laid. As much of this space as necessary can be taken for widening the streets.

The second objection is more serious. It is evident that ice would make the approach to Dalny difficult during a part of the winter, and would make this port liable to be deserted for others farther to the south, especially if, with the improvement in railroad facilities, a port free of ice in winter should be found which would be in easy reach of Pekin and the interior of Siberia. But the Dalny engineers declare that the diversion of a few little watercourses will prevent the ice, and the construction of the dike will be specially beneficial in stopping the ice which forms in the little bays in the neighborhood.

The management at Dalny is now as follows: M. Szakaroff, chief engineer, director of all the works, and representing the Russo-Chinese Company. M. Menchkoff, chief of police, an ex-officer of marines. Two engineers, one in charge of the harbor improvement, the other city engineer.

The most striking feature is that the chief engineer, M. Szakaroff, the senior in age, is only forty-two.

When the city is finished, the Russian government will take entire charge at Dalny, and the governor will be a lieutenant-general or admiral living in the city.

The present garrison at Dalny is small. It consists only of one squadron of the 12th East Siberia Chasseurs. The rest of the regiment is in cantonment in the neighborhood of Talien Wan.

Finally, a study of the railway system in Southern Manchuria, in view of the importance which the Russians attach to it, and considering their present intentions, shows that it comprises:

1. A great trans-Manchurian road from Irkutsk, with one terminus at Port Arthur, the miliatry port, and the other at Dalny, the commercial port.

2. A branch from Mukden to Kabantze, connecting with the Chan hai Kwan road, with a possibility of being extended from the last named city directly to Pekin.

3. Two branch lines connecting New Chang with the roads named above, one at Kabantze, the other at Tachi Chow. These two lines, belonging specially to New Chang, hardly seem likely to get much attention from the Russians until Port Arthur and Dalny have attained the hoped for prosperity for which so much care and labor have been expended.

THE CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF SHILOH.*

By the late THOMAS JORDAN, Brigadier-General, U. S. V.

FULLY agreeing with the distinguished soldier who commanded the army which remained in possession of the field of Shiloh, that the battle fought there has been *"more persistently misunderstood"* than any other action of the war of secession of 1861-1865, and being very certain that some of the most important features both of the campaign and battle have been recently mistold, I propose to relate the story of Shiloh once again,—as also how it came about that by the 1st of April, 1862, a Confederate army was assembled at Corinth, in the northeast corner of the State of Mississippi, of sufficient strength to lead its commander to undertake an offensive stroke against the Federal forces, in position twenty-three miles distant eastwardly, at the point on the west bank of the Tennessee then as now known as Pittsburg Landing. This I am led to undertake because my official position and duties, as adjutant-general of the Confederate forces engaged, naturally brought me into intimate relations with the means and influences by which the Confederate forces were concentrated at Corinth more than was any other officer whomsoever, except Generals Johnston and Beauregard. Moreover, no Confederate officer saw more of the *terrain* and of the troops engaged on that side than I did, nor witnessed more of the phases of the battle on both days than I was brought to witness by virtue of my duties.

I.

Upon the crushing defeat inflicted by General George H. Thomas upon the Confederate forces under General Zollicoffer, about the 19th of January, 1862, at Mill Spring, in Eastern Kentucky, the members of the Confederate Provisional Congress from the Mississippi Valley States at Richmond, having become alarmed for the territorial integrity of that section of the Confederacy, sent Colonel Roger A. Pryor, of the Military Committee of Congress, to Centreville, during the last week of that month, to urge General Beauregard to agree to be transferred from the army in Virginia to the command then exercised by

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Major-General Polk, with his headquarters at Columbus, Kentucky, within the Department of Kentucky and Tennessee, under the superior command of General Albert Sidney Johnston. After much hesitation on his part and of dissuasion also on the part of friends at Richmond, General Beauregard was led to authorize Colonel Pryor to say that, under certain circumstances, the transfer would be acceptable to him, should it please the Confederate authorities to make it. Thus it happened that General Beauregard left the Army of the Potomac on the 2d of February, 1862, and reached the headquarters of General Albert Sidney Johnston, at Bowling Green, in Kentucky, about the 5th of that month.

Bowling Green, some seventy miles by rail northward of Nashville, is about one hundred and ten miles, in a direct line, south of east from Columbus, the other advanced position then occupied by the Confederates in force in that quarter. As a glance at the map will show, these two positions were the salients of the defensive line occupied in the Mississippi Valley by the Confederates, facing any hostile approach from the northward, while Forts Donelson and Henry, about twelve miles apart,—the first on the Cumberland and the latter on the Tennessee River,—were respectively nearly equidistant by rail from these salients of that line. The force brought to disaster at Mill Spring, under Zollicoffer and Crittenden, on the 19th of January, 1862, as already mentioned, had occupied another avenue of approach to Tennessee from Kentucky, known as Cumberland Ford, to the south of east from Bowling Green.

When General Beauregard reported to General Johnston at Bowling Green, the Confederate forces assembled in that immediate vicinity aggregated fourteen thousand, rank and file, of all arms, while a force of at most fifteen thousand had recently been concentrated at Forts Henry and Donelson and, in part, in the quarter of Clarksville, as a support to Fort Donelson, and making, together with the remains of the Crittenden-Zollicoffer command, an aggregate Confederate force in Kentucky and Middle Tennessee of thirty-two thousand, rank and file, of all arms.

At the same time, Columbus was occupied by about twelve thousand five hundred, rank and file, added to which were the garrisons of the positions of Island 10, New Madrid, and Fort Pillow, making the aggregate force commanded by Major-General Polk about seventeen thousand men of all arms. That is to say, at the time the Federal expeditionary force, under General Grant, of about seventeen thousand men was projected, by way of the Tennessee River, against the reentering angle of the Confederate defensive line, already described, the

effective Confederate force at or in the near quarter of the assailed positions, and within easy reach by rail, was as follows:

At Forts Henry and Donelson and at Clarksville and Columbus.	14,500
Bowling Green	14,000
Columbus	12,500
	41,000

Upon general military principles the Confederate line thus occupied was most faulty, for its right salient, Bowling Green, must fall by its own weight, without even a battle, if General Buell really had at his disposition the superior well-appointed army of fifty thousand men, reported by General Johnston as early as the 27th of November, 1861, swollen to seventy-five thousand within less than a month later,* whensoever that accomplished Union soldier should see fit to take the offensive by marching directly upon Nashville. And the other, or western salient, Columbus, was equally exposed to be easily taken in reverse from the Tennessee River, and to have its communications with its base cut off not only by the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, but by the Mississippi River, merely by the planting of a few siege guns at Hickman, with the early inevitable consequence of the capitulation of the twelve thousand five hundred Confederates, thus cooped up at Columbus, by the twenty-five thousand men reported to be assembled at Cairo, with the object of an early offensive against Columbus. These defective strategic conditions of the Confederate position Beauregard felt constrained to point out very frankly to General Johnston, but at the same time expressed the opinion that the plan of attack which had just been developed—Grant's movement up the Tennessee against the Confederate center—had served to invest the Confederates with that potential military advantage in war of holding the interior lines, with the power to swiftly mass their scattered resources upon the seventeen thousand men with which the Union general had flung himself into the re-entering angle of the Confederate lines. Beauregard therefore proposed that the main Confederate force should be immediately concentrated upon Grant, and thus overwhelm him with decisive odds. Johnston objected that in such an operation Buell would follow him so closely that his forces would be exposed to the hazard of being caught and fatally crushed between the two Federal armies, or that Nashville would be left uncovered and exposed to easy capture by Buell, together with the large depots of commissary stores at Bowling

*See letters of General Johnston to Confederate War Department, pages 382-386, and 387. Life of that officer by his son.

Green and Clarksville. In apprehension of one or the other of these results, General Johnston declined to adventure the proposed movements by which at least thirty-four thousand men might have been thrown upon General Grant at Fort Donelson, while leaving seven or eight thousand men in occupation of Bowling Green and Columbus to make so effective a show of occupation as to conceal the actual situation at either point at least sufficiently long to crush Grant and be ready to meet Buell offensively. Such a concentration as affairs stood, had it been undertaken with energy, could have been easily executed with the ample means of railway transportation both from Columbus and Bowling Green at Johnston's disposition, or even by marching in the expeditious manner of his retrograde from Bowling Green upon Nashville not many days later, when not only Fort Donelson was lost with more than ten thousand men, but Bowling Green was given up, and, as the natural consequence of the disaster at Donelson, Nashville fell also into Federal possession.

Thus it having been decided by General Johnston to suffer the center of his lines to stand or fall with the force I have stated as brought together for its defense, it was further decided, in effect, that should Donelson succumb and Nashville have to be abandoned, the Confederate forces in Middle Tennessee surviving these disasters should retire upon Stevenson, in Northeastern Alabama.* At the same time, the Confederate forces at Columbus being left exposed by the fall of Donelson and Henry, to be easily taken in reverse and overpowered,† that position was to be evacuated or only held by a comparatively small garrison, and the Confederate forces in Western Kentucky and West Tennessee were to be concentrated at some central position, to cover the two main railroads to Memphis from the eastward and northward. With this understanding of General Johnston's views, General Beauregard repaired to Jackson, in West Tennessee, arriving there February 17, 1862.

Meanwhile I had gone to Columbus, accompanied by Captain D. B. Harris, chief engineer on the staff of General Beauregard, one of the very ablest military engineers and soldiers of either side employed in the war. I had thus gone in advance to Columbus directly from Richmond to inspect the forces there. I found the works somewhat defectively located, and of altogether too great development or extent

*See Memorandum printed page 487, Life of General Albert Sidney Johnston, by William Preston Johnston. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1878.

†The position was even thus exposed, as I have already said, before the fall of Fort Henry.

for an effective sustained defense from the land side by the force there assembled. I also found the troops to be imperfectly organized, and was unable to procure a full and clear statement of the number and character of the forces and resources available for the defense expected of that command. Called by telegraph from the general to Jackson, I at once made known my views of the situation at Columbus, and characterized that position as certain to prove a *"dead-fall"* to any force left there, and gave my opinion that it could not be too soon wholly evacuated. As in these opinions I was fully sustained by Captain Harris, General Beauregard reported the situation to the Richmond authorities as so precarious that he desired to give up so salient and ill-prepared a defensive position as Columbus and attempt to defend the Mississipi from less easily assailed positions to the southward, which he indicated.* He also called General Polk to Jackson,

*In Mr. William Preston Johnston's remarkable paper in the *Century* for February, 1885, entitled "Albert Sidney Johnston and the Shiloh Campaign," occurs this characteristic paragraph: "He (Johnston) sent him (Beauregard) with instructions to concentrate all available forces near Corinth, a movement previously begun. His own plan (Johnston's) was to defend Columbus to the last extremity with a reduced garrison, and withdraw Polk and his army for active movements. Beauregard made the mistake, however, of evacuating Columbus, and making his defense of the Mississippi River at Island Number 10, which proved untenable and soon surrendered" (page 618). This I term characteristic, because it is made in disregard of the following passage in his own statements in the Life of General Johnston (page 486): 'General Beauregard remained in Bowling Green until the 12th. His conference with General Johnston did not take place until February 7, when they both knew of the fall of Fort Henry, and made *their* plans with reference to that fact." Those plans, reduced to writing so far as Beauregard was affected, I append also from the work before cited (page 487): "But as the possession of the former river (Tennessee) by the enemy renders the lines of communication of the army at Columbus liable to be cut off at any time from the Tennessee River as a base, by an overwhelming force of the enemy rapidly concentrated from various points on the Ohio, it becomes necessary, to prevent such a calamity, that the main body of that army should fall back to Humboldt, and thence, if necessary, to Grand Junction, so as to protect Memphis from either point and still have a line of retreat to the latter place, or to Grenada, Mississippi, and if necessary, to Jackson, Mississippi."

As will be noticed, among all the places then thought of for possible concentration upon Beauregard's forces, Corinth is not named, and the nearest to it is Grand Junction, forty miles due west from it; the next position is Grenada, more than one hundred miles to the southwest from Corinth, and finally Jackson, more than two hundred miles southwesterly from Grand Junction. In other words, the line of retrogression selected was not by the Mobile and Ohio Railroad through Corinth, but by the one branching from it at Jackson, Tennessee, to New Orleans via Grand Junction, Grenada, and Jackson, Mississippi.

to discuss the remedial measures which military conditions involved. That officer at first manifested the utmost confidence in his ability to successfully defend the position, but in the end was led to concur in the expedience of not risking the contingencies of such an operation. The Confederate War Department promptly telegraphed its assent to the proposed evacuation, and the proper orders were accordingly issued to that end, as well as for providing for the energetic fortification of Island 10, Fort Pillow, and Madrid Bend, positions which proved to be far from being as well fortified as they were represented to be at the time of our arrival in the district. By sheer good fortune the evacuation of Columbus and movement of the heavy guns to Island 10 and to the batteries on the east shore of the river in that quarter and to Fort Pillow were safely effected without the knowledge of the United States naval forces at Cairo.

As early as the 18th of February, or when as yet at Nashville, General Johnston telegraphed to Beauregard at Jackson, "You must now act as seems best to you; the separation of our armies is for the present complete." That same night his retreating army, by his orders, encamped midway between Nashville and Murfreesboro', on the direct road to Stevenson. But at Murfreesboro' his column was halted to await and cover the removal from Nashville in the direction of Chattanooga of as much as possible of the rich accumulation of subsistence stores, and to collect fugitives from Donelson, and certain detached bodies of Confederate troops. Nashville was not finally evacuated by the Confederate rear-guard until the night of the 23d, nor occupied by the Federal army until the 26th or 27th of February, 1862, by which time Johnston's forces at Murfreesboro' numbered seventeen thousand men.

As for the idea that a movement looking to a junction upon Corinth had "previously begun" it is a sheer figment. Moreover, General Johnston himself had seen and pointed out on the 10th of December, 1861, in a letter to General Polk, as we learn vaguely from the pages of William Preston Johnston, that Columbus might be easily turned and its communications with its base cut off by means of a force sent up the Tennessee. As for the idea that the position could be held for any length of time by a materially smaller force than Polk's army, and then used to effectually bar the river to the southward passage of the Federal fleet, really, no experienced soldier acquainted with military possibilities and aware of the extent of the Confderate works, their real character, and the nature of the ground would entertain so chimerical a fancy. It so happens, also, that Island Number 10, Fort Pillow, had been selected by Polk before the advent of Beauregard as the places of *great strength* to retire to when forced out of Columbus. See pages 324-25, "Life of Albert Sidney Johnston," by W. P. Johnston.

Meanwhile, heeding and yielding to the repeated strong solicitations of Beauregard, presented in various forms and methods, that instead of falling back to Stevenson as the best point from which to observe and counter-strike subsequent Federal operations in Middle Tennessee, while leaving Beauregard to defend Memphis and West Tennessee, General Johnston was now brought to recognize that the true military movement for him was "to co-operate or unite with Beauregard for the defense of Memphis and the Mississippi," as he expressed his purpose on the 27th of February in a letter to the Confederate Secretary of War.* However, while the movement for this

*See Life of General A. S. Johnston, by his son, page 504. And as the author of that biography avails himself of all possible occasions to strenuously insist, in the face of all documentary and other proof, that General Johnston, as far back as the abandonment of Bowling Green, had fixed precisely upon *Corinth* as the point at which he intended to concentrate all his forces for a vigorous offensive, I may properly take the occasion to give all readers an opportunity to judge intelligently of the facts of this historical question. First, in the letter to Secretary Benjamin, "Corinth" is not mentioned as the point at which he intended to unite with Beauregard, and for the good reason that at the time Corinth had not been mentioned by Beauregard, because, as yet, the Federals had not developed any purpose to make Pittsburg Landing their base of offensive operations, which would naturally have made Corinth the Confederate base. Johnston's purpose, as announced in that letter, was a purely defensive one. Had he intended at Nashville to proceed to Corinth via Decatur, he certainly would not have marched southeasterly thirty odd miles to Murfreesboro', but would have gone due south directly towards Decatur, halting at Franklin to await the final evacuation of Nashville, as an intelligent examination of any map of the country must show. The chief witness cited by Mr. Johnston in support of his theory is his maternal uncle, General William Preston, to the effect that "General Johnston withdrew from Nashville to Murfreesboro' determined to effect a junction with Beauregard near Corinth. His two chief staff officers, Colonels Mackall and Gilmer, deemed it impossible. Johnston persevered." Surely such a reference to Mackall, General Johnston's adjutant general, and to Gilmer, his chief engineer, must naturally suggest that their testimony upon this point would be of that conclusive character that it could not be safely omitted if obtainable. Now it so happens, as is shown on page 507 of Mr. Preston Johnston's work, that Gilmer when questioned by him upon this crucial subject answered, "I think it was at Murfreesboro' that I first knew of the decision to make if practicable a junction with Beauregard." It happens also that General Mackall's evidence, though not elicited by Mr. Johnston, is not wanting,—evidence which I have seen in his handwriting in a letter to General Beauregard, under date of September 25, 1878, as follows: "My impression was then (at Murfreesboro') *that the idea of uniting the Bowling Green forces with those of Columbus for future operations* was yours, and by you impressed upon General Johnston, but I can give no proof that this was so." (Page 506, "Military Operations of General Beauregard," by Alfred Roman.)

junction of the Confederate forces—a "hazardous experiment"* as General Johnston characterized it—was initiated on the 28th of February, so much time was consumed in its execution that it was only practicable, because of the tardiness and lack of energetic seizure of the plain opportunity in the hands of the Federal commander as early at least as the 20th of March, to cut the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, or Johnston's communications with Beauregard, with a force of thirty odd thousand men. That opportunity having been neglected by his adversary, General Johnston achieved the junction at Corinth by the 25th of March. Meanwhile, the two Confederate generals had met and Johnston expressed to Beauregard his purpose to place him in direct command of the army thus assembled, reserving to himself the departmental command with his headquarters at or about Holly Springs, Mississippi, for the reason as he stated that recent events had deprived him of the confidence of the country and he feared of the army to such extent as to impair its moral strength if he remained in command of it. Profoundly touched by Johnston's manner and spirit of self-renunciation, Beauregard declined to accept such a sacrifice, but unfolding his views of the highly favorable possibilities of a successful offensive campaign against General Grant,

Finally, to brush away this unfounded pretence that the presence of the Bowling Green forces at Corinth was the fruit of a long prearranged plan formed in the mind of General Johnston and looking to vigorously offensive operations, I have but to adduce the following telegraphic dispatch, carefully suppressed by Mr. Preston Johnston in all his writings, dated only nine days before General Johnston reached Corinth:

"DECATUR, March 15.

"To GENERAL G. T. BEAUREGARD.—Have you had the right bank of the Hatchee examined near Bolivar? I recommend it to your attention. It has, besides other advantages, that of *being farther from enemy's base.*

"A. S. JOHNSTON"

In other words, instead of looking to a concentration at Corinth, or as near as practicable to the enemy then assembled at about Pittsburg Landing, and with a view to the prompt offensive against Grant, Johnston favored a concentration at a point some fifty miles northwest of Corinth, towards the Mississippi River, and materially north of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, a point, as he urged, possessed of the advantage of being *farther away from the enemy than Corinth;* in other words, a defensive plan of operation upon the line of the Mississippi Central Railroad to cover Memphis. This, it is to be noted further, was simply returning to his old idea (*vide* his Bowling Green plan of the 7th of February) that the Confederate forces, left to operate west of the Tennessee, should be employed to cover Memphis, and retreat upon that point, or possibly even to Jackson, Mississippi.

*Letter of General A. S. Johnston, dated Decatur, March 18, 1862.

now that their forces were united, the high consideration of the Southern people might be speedily recovered, to which end Beauregard pledged all possible efforts on his own part to prepare that army for such a consummation. Under these circumstances, on the 29th of March, 1862, General Johnston assumed command of the "forces" in an order which I drew up from notes taken from General Beauregard before the order was submitted to General Johnston. In this order all the details of organization were prescribed, including the designation of General Beauregard as "second in command."* In another order of the same date I was named adjutant-general of that army. As prescribed in that order, the Confederate forces were got ready for the field with the utmost energy, day and night during the next five days, under the immediate direction in all things of General Beauregard. Upon this point I may quote the words of Colonel David Urquhart, the aide-de-camp nearest the person of General Bragg himself, in a letter to me dated August 25, 1880: "In fact, all which concerned the army from the time of its collection at Corinth, was arranged at and proceeded from General Beauregard's headquarters. Further, that, essentially, he exercised the command of the army."

As to who on the Confederate side planned the operations which led to the battle of Shiloh, nothing but special pleading and evasion of official evidence can support the pretense that the history of their *genesis* is not briefly as follows:

On the night of the 2d of April, 1862, after ten o'clock, a telegram reached me, signed by General Cheatham commanding a division of Polk's corps, stationed at Bethel on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, twenty-three miles north of Corinth, addressed to General Polk, which

*The forces were designated as the Army of the Mississippi. It was arranged into three corps, with a reserve force of two brigades. These corps were subdivided into divisions of not less than two brigades each, with a regiment of cavalry; the brigades as far as practicable of two thousand five hundred infantry, with a light battery of six pieces. General Bragg in this order was announced chief of staff. This was my own suggestion, to enable that officer in certain contingencies to give orders personally, in the name of General Johnston, to an officer senior to him, a power thought desirable by General Johnston, as well as by Beauregard. Bragg's duties as corps commander absorbed all his attention, and he did not in any sense perform the duties of a chief of staff unto the army. The only documentary trace of his connection with the duties during the ten days so announced is to be found in a note addressed to him as "chief of staff" by General Hardee, April 4, when the army was in motion to attack General Grant, and while Generals Johnston and Beauregard were to the rear as yet,—that is to say, when the very contingency was existing for which Bragg had been named chief of staff.

gave notice that a Federal force under General Lew Wallace was menacing his position. This dispatch Polk had sent to Beauregard, who, in turn, sent it to me, indorsed in effect: "Now is the time to advance upon Pittsburg Landing." Following that indorsement, addressed to General Johnston, was another to me, in substance, "Colonel Jordan had better carry this dispatch to General Johnston and explain the military situation." This paper with its indorsements I read at once to Colonel Jacob Thompson, aide-de-camp, and he will readily recall the pleasure it gave us—and how I manifested mine—that Beauregard had thus declared decisively for an immediate offensive. Then going to the quarters of General Johnston, a quarter of a mile away on the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, I handed him the open telegram, and, after he had read it and the indorsements (without one word of comment), he and I went directly across the railroad to the quarters of General Bragg, who, as we found, was already in bed. Admitted, however, to his bedside, the dispatch in question was given to and read by Bragg, who immediately said, "I agree with General Beauregard."

General Johnston advanced some objections, including the apprehension that our forces were too freshly assembled and poorly equipped for an offensive undertaking such as the proposed onset upon the Federal army in a position of General Grant's own selection; further, that he did not see whence we could assemble soon enough the necessary reserve. To these objections I was able to make such answer, chiefly regarding the reserve, that he consented to the operation proposed by Beauregard; thereupon, turning to a table in Bragg's chamber, I wrote a brief "circular order" to the three corps commanders (based on our experience in Virginia), substantially in these terms: "That each corps should be assembled under arms by 12 meridian on the 3d of April, each infantry soldier to be provided with forty rounds of ammunition in his cartridge-box, with sixty rounds to be carried in wagons, and with three days' cooked rations in haversack, with three days' more in wagons; each gun to be provided with forty rounds in the artillery caisson, with sixty more as a reserve." I also specified the maximum limit of baggage transportation, with certain other details. After I had read aloud the draft of this circular to General Johnston, the necessary copies were immediately made by aides-de-camp of Bragg. These copies, each one signed by me, were in the hands of Generals Hardee and Polk respectively by 1.40 A. M., as specified in their receipts therefor brought to my office. On my way back to my quarters, arousing Colonel Chisholm, aide-de-camp to

Beauregard, I asked him to apprise the general by 5 A. M. that the movement was ordered.

It was hardly sunrise when, called to General Beauregard's quarters, he gave me the notes of the order of march and battle in the handwriting of Colonel Chisholm, who had copied them from the general's own notes written during the night while in bed upon the backs of telegrams and envelopes, as the latter has told me. Asking Beauregard for a topographical sketch of the ground to be traversed, which was on his table, I returned with that and his notes to my office, to frame the orders including the proper details as to administration, a duty always left to me, and for the completeness of which I was always held responsible. Meanwhile, on my way to my breakfast, I met General Johnston on horseback, going to see Beauregard, with whom I found him, on my return, carefully discussing the details of the movement of the different corps by the several roads leading from Corinth in the direction of the enemy, which resulted in Johnston's final unqualified acceptance of the plan, including the tactical manner of entering into battle, sketched by Beauregard in the notes already in my possession. Polk, Bragg, and Hardee now being present, I stated that as it would take some time to frame the full text of the order and to have the necessary copies made, it were best, as a precaution against any delay in beginning the movement at mid-day, that the first day's movement should be explained orally by Beauregard to the corps commanders, which was done before I left the room.

During the forenoon I completed Special Orders No. 8, precisely as they were published under date of April 3, 1862, and, later on, the "Memorandum for Corps Commanders," without having received one word touching their tenor from any one except Beauregard. Nor did General Johnston see the orders until the next morning, when I handed him the copies specially prepared for him, which are printed pages 555-57 of his Life by his son.* This I did in front of my office, as he

*The "Memorandum for Corps Commanders" was written and signed by me, as will be seen. It remains to be said. the tenor of it was given to me by and emanated from General Beauregard late in the afternoon, as supplementary to the longer order. It was as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.
"CORINTH, April 3, 1862.

"*Memorandum for the Commanders of the Corps and of the Reserve.*

"I.—As soon as the reserve shall have taken position at Monterey, a strong working party will be sent to repair the bridges, causeway, and road across Lick Creek, on the direct road from Monterey to Pittsburg, so that it may be used in any forward movement of the reserve.

"II.—In the approaching battle every effort should be made to turn the left

called there with his personal staff, all mounted, *en route* for Monterey. Such is the true history of this perversely presented matter, and all other accounts essentially at variance with it are without the least historical foundation.

By midday on the 3d of April, the several Confederate corps densely filled the streets of Corinth, as also the railway tracks and all other approaches to the place, with a martial array of serried infantry, evidently eager for the campaign, with field batteries, cavalry, and baggage-trains all in marching order. But from some misunderstanding on the part of General Polk, his corps blocked the way for the egress of Hardee's troops, a fact not reported, however, to General Beauregard, as it should have been, earlier than 3 P. M. This untoward delay of the beginning of the movements from 12 M. to after 3 P. M., when all had been ready for the march even before the first hour, really delayed the Confederates twenty-four hours in reaching the field,—or not until Saturday, 3 P. M., instead of Friday, as had been expected. General Johnston himself left Corinth with his personal staff on the morning of the 4th of April, but finding that the mass of his forces would not be pushed materially beyond Monterey that night, he halted there, where General Bragg also had established his headquarters. To the same point, only eleven miles distant from Corinth, General Beauregard also repaired, reaching it a little before sunset. Just as we dismounted at the house occupied by Generals Johnston and

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flank of the enemy, so as to cut off his line of retreat to the Tennessee River, and throw him back on Owl Creek, where he will be obliged to surrender. Every precaution must also be taken on our part to prevent unnecessary exposure of our men to the enemy's gunboats."

This, I may add, is the order of battle upon which so much stress is laid by Mr. Preston Johnston, in his recent article upon the battle of Shiloh in the *Century* magazine, as being his father's order, rather than the more elaborate one issued the same day, towards which he assumes a critical posture not warranted by his acquaintance with the art and business of war. Every idea of that "Memorandum," however, belongs to Beauregard, and the words to the present writer.

In view of the criticisms of the detailed order of the same date as above, I am quite willing that professional soldiers should decide whether it is not an exceptionally clear and explicit order; one easily executed and likely to avoid confusion in moving an army of forty thousand men of all arms through a heavily wooded country, with few and narrow roads. Soldiers will understand the necessity for the tactical details that provided for the quick deployment of each corps upon reaching the ground of combat, in its proper position, as also the tactical order in which each corps moved into action by which deployment was made specially easy as it might be called for by the exigencies of the battle. Only the first line (Hardee) went into action deploye.

Bragg, a bare-headed young Federal officer, Major Crockett of the Seventy-ninth Ohio, was brought in from the front, where he had been captured in the course of a heavy reconnoissance that had been pushed with singular indiscretion from Bragg's corps almost into the enemy's lines. From an examination which I made of this officer, assisted by Major Gilmer, I was satisfied, and so reported to Generals Johnston and Beauregard, that as yet our approach was wholly unexpected, and that no intrenchments whatsoever had been thrown up for the protection of the Federal encampments. On Saturday, such was the clumsy handling of the troops that Hardee's corps was not in its prescribed position, deployed in line of battle, much before 3 P. M.,—an hour altogether too late for an attack that day. The unnecessary time taken in marching little more than twenty miles, and the untoward re-encounter had the day before with the Federal troops, coupled with the report now made by General Polk that his men had practically exhausted their five days' rations in three, led General Beauregard to the conclusion that the campaign had miscarried, for its success had depended mainly upon the element of a complete surprise, which we could no longer rationally anticipate, nor expect to find the Federal army otherwise than so strongly intrenched that it would be folly to attempt to attack it with so undisciplined an army as our own had been seen to be. General Johnston admitted the weight of what Beauregard said, but added that he still hoped we should not find the enemy intrenched or expecting an attack: therefore as he had taken the field for a battle, he should adventure the hazard. Thereupon the corps commanders repaired to their respective positions with the understanding that the attack should be made as early as possible the next morning, precisely in the tactical order and manner directed and explained to them before leaving Corinth. The front lines of the two armies were now less than two miles apart, and from the spot at which General Johnston bivouacked I heard that night the drums of the Federal troops as tattoo was beaten from their right to left, very distinctly.

Soon after 3 o'clock A. M., Sunday morning, the Confederates were astir, and, breakfasting hastily, their lines were formed as had been prescribed, except that fortunately, as we shall see, for Sherman's division, Hardee did not so extend the left of his corps, which formed the first line engaged, as to reach Owl Creek, as he had been directed to do. His corps, reinforced to nine thousand and twenty-four rank and file by Gladden's fine brigade of Withers's division of Bragg's corps, and embracing eight thousand five hundred bayonets, was deployed in line of battle.

Rearward some five or six hundred yards, Bragg's corps, less Gladden's brigade, was disposed as far as practicable in a line of regiments in double column at half-distance, carrying into action about ten thousand bayonets, or ten thousand seven hundred and thirty-one rank and file, including the artillery.

Polk's corps of nine thousand one hundred and thirty-five men with eight thousand five hundred bayonets constituted the third line, eight hundred yards to the rear of Bragg, and it was formed in a column of brigades, each one deployed in line.

Thus, including the reserve, under Breckenridge, of three brigades, numbering six thousand four hundred and thirty-nine men, the Confederate army, which about five o'clock that April morning was sent into action, aggregated thirty-three thousand infantry (or thirty-five thousand three hundred and twenty-nine artillery and infantry), with four thousand three hundred cavalry, more than half of which had no offensive power whatsoever for lack of proper arms, their only value being to watch upon the flanks for any hostile approach or menace.

Here a sketch of the precise ground occupied by the army about to be so rudely and unexpectedly roused from their comfortable encampments will serve to make more readily intelligible the occurrences and vicissitudes of the ensuing battle. Two streams, Lick and Owl Creeks, taking their start very near each other, somewhat westward of Monterey, in a ridge parting the waters that fall directly into the Mississippi from those that empty into the Tennessee, flowing sinuously with a general direction, the latter to the northeast and the former south of east, after its junction with Snake Creek, finally debouch into the Tennessee about four miles asunder. These water-courses embrace an area of undulating table-land some five miles in depth from the river, from three to five miles broad, and about one hundred feet above the low water level of the river. Intersected by a labyrinth of ravines, the drainage generally is into Owl and Snake Creeks, as the ground rises somewhat ridge-like near Lick Creek. Near to the river these ravines, deep and steep, have their water-shed either into Snake Creek or the Tennessee itself. At the time, recent heavy rains had filled them with springs or rills, making the soil boggy and difficult for the movement of artillery in many places. A primeval forest, cumbered with undergrowth, covered the whole region, except a few small farms of from fifty to seventy acres here and there. A warehouse and one or two dwellings by the river-side constituted Pittsburg Landing. It was near the mouth of Snake Creek, and about three miles below that of Lick Creek. The two roads leading from Corinth, while crossing Lick Creek a mile apart, unite two miles from the Landing. Other

roads traverse this area,—one passing Owl Creek by a bridge from the direction of Purdy also afforded one way of communication between Crump's and Pittsburg Landing, the other, or shorter way between the two points, being by a road and bridge across Snake Creek.

The Union army of five divisions, which occupied the ground which I have described, was, in effective force, thus constituted:

	Regiments.	Men.	Guns.
Sherman's division	12	8,830	16
Prentiss's division	8	5,463	12
McClernand's division	12	7,028	12
Hurlbut's division	12	7,302	10
Wallace's (W. H. L.) division	12	8,708	24
Total Union force at Pittsburg Landing.	56	37,331	74

Three of Sherman's brigades, supported by eighteen guns and eight companies of cavalry, were in position covering the Purdy road, the right resting against the bridge across Owl Creek. Prentiss's division was encamped to the left of Sherman, and on his left and the extreme Federal left was posted Stuart's brigade of Sherman's division at the crossing of the road from Pittsburg to Hamburg, and about one mile, by that road, from the Landing. This was the Federal front line. To the rearward of Sherman, within close supporting distance, McClernand's division was encamped at the confluence of the Purdy and Ridge roads, and ten of the twelve regiments of that division were entitled to have "Fort Donelson" inscribed on their flags. Hurlbut's and Wallace's (W. H. L.) divisions formed a second line nearly parallel with the course of the river, and stretching nearly perpendicular to the Corinth road, in the direction of and with its left reaching almost to Stuart's position. As is apparent, the several parts of the Federal army were well disposed for the quick support of the front line in the event of an attack. At the same time neither flank could be turned, as each rested upon a stream unfordable at that season.

That the attack, when it burst upon the Union army, just after sunrise on Sunday morning, was wholly unexpected, both by General Grant and General Sherman, really does not admit of candid doubt. In a note of the latter to the former, late in the afternoon of the 5th of April. it is reported, the "enemy is saucy, but got the worst of it yesterday." . . . *"I do not apprehend anything like an attack upon our position."* Later the same afternoon, General Grant wrote to his superior commander, General Halleck, at St. Louis, "Our outposts have

been attacked in considerable force. I immediately went up,* but found all quiet." . . . *"I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack (general one) being made upon us."* That they regarded the hostile force in their immediate front no larger than "two regiments of infantry and one battery of artillery six miles out," is made apparent by another note from General Sherman, to be found in the appendix to Badeau's sketch of the battle. Morever, Grant had been absent all the afternoon of the 5th of April at Savannah, where at three o'clock he visited the encampment of Colonel Ammen, one of our old West Point professors, to whom he said that steamers would be sent for his transportation to Pittsburg Landing on "Monday or Tuesday, or some time early in the week;" as also that there would be "no fight at Pittsburg Landing," but at "Corinth, where the rebels are fortified."† Sleeping at Savannah, the sound of many cannon at Shiloh gave the first tiding to the Federal commander-in-chief of a hostile juncture in that direction; but even that he can scarcely have regarded as the announcement of a serious offensive movement againist his position, for Nelson's whole division of Buell's army lay at Savannah, and as he was leaving by steamer for Pittsburg, General Grant merely ordered that division to march thither by the nearest road instead of sending it forward by the abundant steam tranportation available. However, as he steamed towards the scene, the western bank of the river was soon found alive with his men fleeing from the danger which early that morning had routed them from their comfortable tents.‡ Halting half-way, at Crump's Landing, as we are told, to communicate with and order Lew Wallace into action,§ he reached Pittsburg Landing, hardly before nine o'clock, to find his whole front line surprised and dislodged, and the ravines and river bank adjacent packed with thousands of crouching fugitives. These were not to be rallied or reorganized, or incited to return to the field and, by co-operation with those who there still battled manfully, make an effort to recover the fortunes of the day.

But it seems to me that, wholly aside from any documentary proof, it is impossible to believe that either General Grant or his trusted lieutenant, Sherman, had the faintest expectation of the attack impending

*From his headquarters at Savannah to Pittsburg Landing.

†Diary of Colonel Jacob Ammen, Nelson's divisions, p. 331, Reb. Rec., vol. x. chap. xxii.

‡"Agate" (Whitelaw Read),—*Cincinnati Gazette,* Reb. Rec., p. 387, vol. iv.

§General Grant's *Century* article.

from a hostile army, forty thousand strong, bivouacked within a mile and a half of Sherman's headquarters, when they wrote so confidentially of the improbability of any serious attack. The complete absence of those ordinary precautions that hedge an army in the field must forbid the future historian from regarding the first day's battle of Shiloh as other than the completest surprise ever inflicted on an army. Really, there were no infantry pickets or cavalry videttes exterior to the line of brigade sentinels, who, taken utterly unaware, were driven in from their posts, with barely time to discharge their pieces, and the Confederate masses pressed on close at their heels into many of the half-roused encampments, while to some regiments the first intimation of a hostile presence was a salute of grape in their very camp.* Officers and men were still numerously asleep in their blankets, many others dressing, many were cooking, the rest eating their breakfast, and the arms of all lay scattered around in the orderless fashion of holiday soldiers. Numbers, therefore, were killed or wounded in their beds or tents, and very many were not given time to clutch up either arms or accoutrements before their encampments were in possession of the enemy. In consequence, however, of the failure of Hardee to form his line with his left extended to Owl Creek, when the collision came it was only with the left brigade (Hildebrand's) of Sherman's division; but Prentiss was struck with overwhelming force from flank to flank. Hildebrand's brigade, swept from its encampments, scattered, and was heard of no more as a belligerent organization on that field either day. Prentiss's division rallying, however, was formed in good time on a neighboring ridge, but unable to stand the torrent that streamed after it, was pressed farther back. Meanwhile, Sherman's rightward brigades, which Hardee had left untouched, had been formed, and right stoutly did he avail himself of the advantages of the ground and strive to make head against Ruggles's division of Bragg's corps, that had now come strenuously into action. Sherman's position was one of natural strength, with a small water-course in front. It afforded a converging fire upon his assailants, and McClernand, apprised of Sherman's situation, was advancing to support him. But such was the pressure, meantime, upon Sherman that, with the loss of five or six guns, he was forced back just as McClernand came up. Both were now forced rearward to the line of the cross-road from Hamburg

*It is due to General Prentiss, however, to state that he alone seems to have taken any precautions against surprise by a substantial outpost a mile and a half in advance of his division, which became engaged with and was driven in by Hardee's skirmish line.

to Purdy. There gaining a foothold, and with several batteries favorably posted, they made a stand on a thickly-wooded ridge with a ravine in front. But such again was the fury with which Ruggles, in co-operation with some of Polk's brigades, assailed the position that the Federal line again yielded, and now receded to the position of McClernand's encampment, with the loss of several pieces of artillery.

Meantime Hurlbut, informed by the uproar in front, as well as by calls for aid, of what had happened there, threw Veach's brigade of his division forward at 7.30 to support Sherman, while he in person with his two other brigades moved swiftly to the succor of Prentiss, and with him went eight companies of cavalry and three batteries. Prentiss's division was meet, however, broken into fragments, which filtered through his lines as he formed along the edge of a field on favorable ground, sheltered by timber and thick undergrowth, near the Hamburg road, south of the position last taken by Sherman and McClernand. Here Hurlbut in turn was quickly assailed, but for several hours the Union troops maintained their position with great obstinacy, even after the early loss of Meyers's Ohio battery, which, under the fire of the Confederate artillery, was abandoned, horses as well as pieces and caissons, by their officers and men, who, as General Hurlbut reports, he did not see again until after the second day's battle, though the horses were soon recovered and the guns spiked. In this quarter of the field the Confederates moved to the attack, it seems, "in columns doubled on the centre,"* instead of being opportunely deployed by their immediate commanders, and, as a consequence, suffered severely. Meanwhile, Prentiss rallying a part of his troops on Hurlbut's right, and these two Union divisions gave back before the heavy onslaught upon their position but a short distance at a time, using effectively two 20-pounder guns, under the command of Surgeon Cornyn, as well as several light batteries, to stay the progress of their assailants. Meanwhile, however, the whole front line of Federal encampments was in the hands of the Confederates, filled with equipage and baggage, the most abundant and luxurious that ever encumbered any except an Oriental army.†

While Hurlbut and Prentiss were so obstinately fighting their adversaries, Polk's corps was mainly engaged with Sherman, who ably endeavored to redeem the losses of the morning. Several of his positions in the stages of his retrogression towards the river were quite

*See Report of General Hurlbut, Reb. Rec., S. 1, vol. ix.

†Including tent-stoves, trunks, and a species of *vest-armor* of sheet-iron or steel, whose owners had not time to don them.

strong, fronted, as they were, by tangled ravines and affording thick cover, from which his troops poured a desolating fire that more than once checked the ardent press of their adversaries. But gathering volume and renewing the onset, the Confederates still, though slowly, drove their enemy nearer the river with each hour, in that quarter of the field as elsewhere.

W. H. L. Wallace's division did not become involved in the battle before nine o'clock, apparently. It had been commanded and trained by so through a soldier as C. F. Smith, and had figured in the capture of Donelson. Wallace, a gallant soldier who had also fought at Donelson, handled his troops with decided stamina. Stuart's brigade of Sherman's division, on the extreme Federal left of the front line, having been attacked, made an obstinate stand, but was overpowered and driven from its ground rearward towards the river, and now the whole Federal line of battle had been pushed back to within a mile of the Landing, or to the ground of their last encampments. There were massed what remained of their artillery, and the fragments of Sherman's, Prentiss's, McClernand's, Hurlbut's, and Wallace's divisions greatly intermixed with each other.

In the meantime, from the nature of the field,—the net-work of ravines, the interlaced thickets, and wide scope of forest,—the Confederate organization had become greatly disordered. Not only divisions and brigades had been dislocated, but regiments also; and the troops of all three corps, in fact, were intermingled.* For the most part, confident of the issue and bent on pressing towards the enemy, there was, nevertheless, a lack of harmonious, properly propulsive movement on the part of the corps commanders. These superior officers, when the action was at its height, about meridian, who should have been occupied with the concentration and continuous projection of their corps in full strength upon the shattered Federal divisions, and fighting their batteries so massed as to employ not less than twelve pieces upon any one point, as had been especially enjoined upon them, through the present writer, the morning of the battle as a special feature of the attack pressed personally into the thickest or to the "perilous edge" of the battle, leading forward brigades and even single regiments into engagement with great personal intrepidity, and doing a great deal, no doubt, by their personal examples, to impel small bodies forward upon errands somewhat resultless compared with what must have happened had the same ardor been given to

*See Reports of General Bragg and of subordinate Confederate commanders, Reb. Rec., vol. x. ch. xxii., pages 446-66.

gathering and keeping their troops better in hand, and thrown in greater masses against their tottering, demoralized foe. Instead of attending to the swing and direction of the great war engine at their disposition, they became rather as it were so many heads of battering-rams of that machine. General Johnston himself, from an early period, was in the very front of the battle, chiefly in the Confederate right, stimulating personally the onset where the resistance seemed most stubborn. Repeatedly brigades had faltered, under the inspiration of the indifference with which he exposed his person and affronted danger, bore back the enemy and wrested the position fought for.

About eight o'clock I had left General Beauregard with his headquarters established upon the high ground between the Pittsburg and Hamburg roads, whence, with his staff, he was directing and hurrying the forward movement of the reserves. Aiming to join General Johnston, I rode forward with Colonel Jacob Thompson, who was carrying a special message to some part of the field. Upon reaching the scene of the first collision, I came upon many of the Confederate troops at a halt; sometimes a regiment or battery, sometimes a brigade, and even a whole division at order arms, separated from the rest of the organization to which they may have belonged, and wholly confused or at a loss for the proper orders or directions from their common superiors. Seeing this extraordinary situation of the field, and meeting also a large number of officers attached to the staff of the three corps commanders, who reported their inability to find their respective chiefs,* I saw that it was far more vital to the issue of the battle to endeavor to remedy this condition of the Confederate rear than to attempt to find General Johnston. Accordingly, instead of pressing to the front, I dispatched the superior staff-officers whom I had encountered to the right and left to mass as much as possible, and to press forward into action in the direction of the heaviest firing all the troops to be found not engaged, while accompanied by Col. William Preston, aide-de-camp to General Johnston, and Colonel David Urquhart, aide-de-camp to General Bragg, I now addressed myself specially to the duty of urging forward such troops as might be found either straggling or at a loss for orders or course of action.

Within the hollows, and on the slopes and flat ridges of that circumscribed Tennessee woodland more than sixty thousand muskets

*Including, at one time, near Shiloh Chapel, Major Garner, adjutant general to General Bragg; Major Williamson, adjutant general, and Major Blake, inspector general to General Polk; and Major Pickett, adjutant general to General Hardee.

and rifles were now incessantly employed in the dire work of carnage. The continuous rattle, roll, and roar, the blaze of small-arms, with the hurtle shriek and crash of rifle projectiles through the trees, the explosion of shells, the louder discharges and reverberation of more than a hundred cannon, and the hoarse continuous cheers and shouts, especially of the Confederates, filled every nook of the forest with the varied commingled, savage clamors of the bloodiest of modern battles. Meanwhile the sun had dissipated the fog of the early morning, and shone bright and warm through the young spring foliage.

(*To be Continued.*)

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

FIFTH PAPER.

GENERAL SITUATION.

IN the preceding chapter the operations by sea and land, up to the 12th of April, were briefly set forth and the general situation early in April was described in outline. A few remarks on the one weak element above all others which limited the Russian plans and determined the rate of their strategic deployment in the field of operations, namely, the Siberian railway, are here added. They are from the pen of General von Zepelin, of the German Army, and published in the *Army and Navy Gazette:*

"THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

"When the telegraph brought news of the attack of the Japanese on Port Arthur, the transport management of the Manchurian Army found itself in a very bad case, for there was a line nearly 4,970 miles long, leading from the center of Russia in Europe to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, with its interruption at Lake Baikal, which was to be guarded against the attacks of foes from the interior and the exterior, and against the forces of Nature also. The length of this line from Cheliabinsk, via Harbin, is 3,870 miles to Port Arthur and 3,970 miles to Vladivostok, and it runs through very difficult country in many places, requiring special measures of precaution. In addition, there was the necessity of making proper provision for the transport of troops over Lake Baikal during the inclement Siberian winter.

"If we look into the measures taken by the leaders of the Russian army, we cannot but recognize that they have not been found wanting either in energy or foresight. A great service was rendered by Prince Hilkoff, Minister of Railways and Transports, who hastened to Asia and personally carried out the necessary measures. * * *

"The Samara-Zlatoust line, and the Siberian Railway, as also the parts of the railway over and round Lake Baikal within the limits of the Siberian military zone, were placed under martial law, together with the track and the ice-breaker, and this measure was extended to the neighboring parts of the territories crossed.

"The former guard of the Eastern Chinese railway has, as is well known, been replaced by the four brigades of the frontier guard of the Trans-Amur District (Pogranitschnaja Strasha). It consists of all three arms, is encamped along the line for the protection of the railway stations, and is not only entrusted with the defence against attack from the exterior, but also with the service of the railway in a limited sense. At its head is Lieut.-Gen. Chitshagoff, who, during the military operations of 1900, was military governor of the Amur District and Ataman of the Assuri Cossack forces. To further strengthen the regular guard all Russian subjects living in Manchuria not under the obligation of military service are called upon to form volunteer corps in the villages situated along the line.

"With regard to measures for increasing the efficiency of the railway, these have consisted in laying over the ice of the lake a track, and by means of light engines it was found possible to take over to the east side of the lake no less than 1,693 closed goods vans, 436 passenger wagons, 262 open goods vans, and 65 engines, which had been taken to pieces, thereby forming a depôt for the Trans-Baikal, Eastern Chinese, and Ussuri railways, for meeting any requirements which might arise in the course of the war in the way of carrying troops forward or taking them back. For the accommodation of the troops which had to cover on foot the distance of about 25 miles, extending from the Baikal to the Tauchoj stations, buildings for 4,000 men and 90 horses were erected at Imsokentlevskaja Station, which lies about 44 miles west of Baikal. Here the troops were given a day's rest, after which they were sent to the Baikal Station, the departures being timed so that the march over Lake Baikal could begin at daybreak. In this march the troops were accompanied by sledges, on which the luggage was packed, and in which any sick could be placed. The vans belonging to the troops and to the artillery were drawn by their own horses. In case of very severe snowstorms, the troops also were taken over the lake in sledges. Over 3,000 sledges had to be requisitioned in the Trans-Baikal districts and in Siberia for this transport. Along the sledge-way a few heated shelters were erected, and, towards the middle, the Seredinga Station, where the troops made a longer halt in warm barracks. It is, of course, not possible to estimate how many troops were carried across Lake Baikal in this way.

"Another measure for increasing the efficiency of the Asiatic railway is the construction of sidings, of which the Minister has had a large number put in hand to the west of Baikal. At the end of April the ice begins breaking up on Lake Baikal, during which time the traffic even by boat is often interrupted. As the newspapers have an-

nounced, Prince Hilkoff recently again started for Lake Baikal. The object of his journey is apparently to add to the pontoons, which are capable of carrying about 40 wagons over the lake in a day, and to the number of other vessels which would be available for transport purposes. At the same time, it is hoped that the railway round the lake from Tauchoj to Kultuk will shortly be carried further, and that the portion extending from the end of the line at Kultuk up to the Baikal Station may be arranged temporarily, so as to be available for transport purposes."

NAVAL OPERATIONS.

Between March 28 and April 12, 1904, the Japanese fleet was not in touch with the Russian, but was occupied with covering the transports conveying the *Second Japanese Army*. The first section of this army, comprising the 4th Division, was at first held on transports at Chinampo (the port of Ping Yang), but was later landed at Yongampo, near the left bank of the Yalu mouth, which had been occupied by the *First Army*.

TENTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.*

(April 12, 1904.)

After the Japanese fleet, on March 27, 1904, retired from Port Arthur, Admiral Makarov, with portions of his squadron made several excursions out to sea, at one time going out as far as the island of Haiyuntan, in Corea Bay, about 110 miles east of Port Arthur.

Meanwhile, another attack on Port Arthur was planned by Admiral Togo, whose fleet was organized as follows:

I. (*Battleship*) *Squadron.*—Asahi (flag), Mikasa, Hatsuse, Shikishima, Fuji, Yashima.

II. (*Large Cruiser*) *Squadron.*—Asama, Tokiva, Yokumo, Izumo, Iwate, Azuma, Nishin, Kassuga.

III. (*Small Cruiser*) *Squadron.*—Chitose, Takasago, Kasagi, Yoshino, Akashi, Nütaka.

Destroyer Flotilla.—1st Division: Asashivo, Kasumi, Akatsuki. 2nd Division: Ikazuchi, Inazuma, Oboro, Akebono. 3rd Division: Sazanami, Shinome, Usugumo. 4th Division: Murakumo, Shiranui, Yagiri, Kagero. 5th Division: Harusane, Hayatori, Asagiri, Murasame.

Torpedo Flotilla.—9th Division: Chidori, Misasagi, Monazuru, Hayabusa. 14th Division: Zubame, Aotaka, Hato, Kari.

Train.—Mine Steamer: Koryo Maru.

On April 6th the outposts of this fleet began to make their ap-

*The Japanese call this the *eighth* attack; German authorities the *seventh*.

pearance in the waters about Port Arthur, indicating that another attack was being planned. The Russian fleet continued its reconnoissances, although the weather was heavy and the sea very rough.

At midnight, April 11-12, the 4th and 5th Destroyer Divisions, the 14th Torpedo Division, and the Koryo Maru, arrived in the roads at Port Arthur, and succeeded, in spite of the Russian searchlights playing on them constantly, in laying floating mines at various points. The night was dark and rainy.

The Russians had stationed the Bayan, with nets out, at the inner harbor entrance as guard ship, while farther to the front, on a line running eastward from the Liaotishan foothills, torpedo boats patrolled as outposts.

Favored by the heavy weather the Japanese slipped past these outposts unseen, and then laid their mines to one side of the harbor entrance, in the roadstead, where the Russian squadron generally maneuvered during an action. The mine laying was entirely unobserved by the Russians.

The Russian outpost torpedo division (eight boats) had made a reconnoissance out into the roads without encountering the Japanese flotilla, and was returning to the harbor when, at dawn, the 3rd Japanese squadron (under Admiral Dewa), with several torpedo boats, apparently in observation of Port Arthur, became visible on the horizon. Three of the Russian torpedo boats (the Strashny and two others) had become separated from the rest of the division, on account of the heavy weather, and at 6 A. M. were seen by the Japanese cruiser squadron and pursued by its torpedo boats with a view to cutting them off. One of the boats got in at dawn and escaped capture. The Strashy was overtaken by the second Destroyer Division, and sunk, while the third Russian boat escaped—by making a wide detour. The Bayan went to the assistance of the torpedo boats, but was too late to save the Strashny; the Japanese torpedo boats retired to the protection of the cruiser squadron. The Russian torpedo division returned to the harbor at 7.00 A. M., and soon after several Japanese ships began to approach Port Arthur.

The Strashy was sunk about 16 miles from Port Arthur. The Bayan saved 5 of the crew, but was fired on by the Japanese cruisers in the meantime, receiving a number of hits before she retired, but no serious damage. The Diana and 5 torpedo boats went to her assistance, as she was returning.

At 8.00 A. M., Admiral Makarov, with his flagship, the Petropavlovsk, the battleship Poltavia, the torpedo dispatch boat Gaidamac.

the cruisers Askold, Novik and Diana, and five torpedo boats, picked up the Bayan and moved out against the Japanese cruisers.

The Japanese light cruisers (III Squadron), which have nearly all a speed of 22.5 knots, had been sent out far to the front of the main fleet, which was still below the horizon, but in communication with the advanced squadron by means of wireless telegraphy.

The Russian squadron pursued the Japanese squadron for about 15 miles southeastward from Port Arthur. The Japanese vessels, on account of their superior speed, were able to keep beyond the danger zone of the Russian fire, and yet fight a delaying action. Meanwhile the I Japanese squadron had been informed of the movements of the Russians by means of wireless telegraphy, and this squadron, together with the Nishin and Kassuga, arrived on the scene and made for the Russian ships. The latter immediately (at about 8.40 A. M.) went about and retired toward Port Arthur, arriving under the protection of the shore guns before the Japanese came within range of the Russian ships.

The Russian squadron was reinforced in the Port Arthur roadstead by the Pobieda, the Peresviet and the Sevastopol, which had come out from the inner harbor, and the ships moved then in the following order:

Askold, Bayan, Diana, Petropavlovsk, Peresviet, Pobieda, Novik, with 5 torpedo boats and 2 destroyers on the left. On arriving opposite the inner harbor entrance the torpedo boats were signalled to enter the port, while the cruisers formed line.

The latter took up a position in battle formation in front of the Golden Hill on Tiger Peninsula. This change of formation brought the Petropavlovsk ahead, and she veered to the eastward. In taking the position, however, the flagship Petropavlovsk at 9:43 A. M., at a point south of the Golden Hill, about one mile outside the port entrance, struck a mine. The Poltava (following the flagship at 2 cables distance) stopped, and the other vessels were headed for the harbor entrance. The Petropavlovsk (on which the mine had evidently detonated a powder magazine) sank in two minutes, with all on board, only 85 of the complement of 500 men being rescued. Vice-Admiral Makarov and his chief of staff, Rear-Admiral Molas, were among the lost. The Pobieda, on arriving opposite the entrance, struck a mine amidships on the starboard side, but succeeded in reaching the inner harbor without assistance. The Russian ships still in the roads fired for some time into the surrounding waters, in order to destroy any remaining torpedoes, and then entered the inner harbor.

The Japanese fleet, remaining out of range, moved several times to and fro before the outer roadstead, the Russian batteries firing on it without effect. The fleet then retired behind the Liao-ti-shan promontory, and at about noon turned southward out to sea, leaving several light vessels in observation during the night and on the following day.

COMMENTS.

The purpose of Admiral Togo was evidently primarily to entice the Russian squadron out to sea in order to force it to battle and destroy it; the mines laid in the roadstead being only a secondary consideration. But the distance chosen, 15 nautical miles, was altogether too small. A hostile fleet is visible at sea at a distance of about 10 nautical miles, and can only be forced to fight if the attacker arrives within 3 nautical miles of it, consequently, since the speed of the Japanese battleships exceeds that of the Russian ships by only two knots (Japanese 18, Russian 16 knots), a distance from the base of at least 60 nautical miles is necessary in order to overtake them and force them to fight, at 8 miles out from the guns of the base.

At first sight it appears strange that the Japanese did not take advantage of the confusion in the Russian squadron after the explosion of the flagship, when a torpedo boat attack would certainly have promised success, but this is probably explained by the fact that the mines were so irregularly placed that there was too great danger of their running on one themselves, moreover, they are compelled to economize their fleet since they have no reserve.

The Russians originally had more large torpedo boats in the Far East than the Japanese, but they could not utilize their superiority by attacking the Japanese battleships at sea or in their harbors, because they did not have sufficient strength in battleships to enable them to approach the Japanese.

ELEVENTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

April 15, 1904.

On the morning after the attack just described, Vice-Roy Alexieff arrived at Port Arthur from Mukden, and took temporary command of the fleet. During this day (April 14) several Japanese cruisers remained in observation, and were visible on the horizon.

At 2.00 A. M., April 15, 1904. the Japanese 2d, 4th and 5th Divisions of Destroyers, and the 9th Division of Torpedo Boats appeared in the roads and picked up mines which had been laid by the Russians, three of which were exploded.

At 8.00 A. M. the III Japanese (light cruiser) squadron arrived, and took up the torpedo boats. At 9.15 A. M. the I and II Japanese squadrons approached. The Nishin and Kassuga took up a position west of Liao-ti-shan promontory and bombarded by indirect fire the forts and the city of Port Arthur until towards noon, firing in all about 185 shots. The I and the rest of the II squadron cruised up and down out of range, firing for a time on a new Russian battery on Liao-ti-shan, and silencing the latter. The Russian ships lying in the inner harbor (including the Pobieda) replied to the fire of the two Japanese cruisers.

At 12.40 P. M. the Japanese fleet retired out to sea.

The effects of the bombardment were insignificant; and there were but few losses on either side.

Vice-Admiral Skrydloff was appointed to succeed Admiral Makarov.

The Russian fleet in the Far East was organized as follows at that time:

IN PORT ARTHUR.

Battleships: Sevastopol (flag), Poltava, Peresviet, Retvizan, Cesarevitch (repairing), Pobieda (repairing).

Armored Cruiser: Bayan.

Poorly Protected Cruisers: Diana, Pallada, Askold.

Unarmored Cruiser: Novik.

Torpedo boats: 19 (several repairing).

IN VLADIVOSTOK.

Armored Cruisers: Rurik, Rossia, Gromoboi.

Poorly Protected Cruiser: Bogatyr.

Torped Boats: 6.

Besides several auxiliary cruisers and old vessels.

On April 14 the Vladivostok squadron steamed out of Vladivostok on a raid, but returned without any prizes. This fact, combined with the attack on Syong-chin, a Japanese colony on the Plaksin Bay, on the east coast of Corea, by a troop of Cossacks, on April 16, caused the Japanese to detach the II. squadron, with several small cruisers and a number of torpedo boats, under Admiral Kamimura, to the Japan Sea.

Kamimura coasted along the eastern shore of Corea, coming in sight of Gensan, and reaching the vicinity of Vladivostok on April 24, returning by the same route.

RAID OF THE RUSSIAN VLADIVOSTOK CRUISER SQUADRON.

April 23 to 27, 1904.

Rear-Admiral Yessen with his cruiser squadron, including the Rossia, Rurik, Gromoboi, Bogatyr and two torpedo boats, had meanwhile, at daybreak on April 23, 1904, steamed out of Vladivostok. On April 24, the Rurik returned to the harbor. The rest of the squadron arrived off Gensan on the morning of the 25th, the larger ships remaining 5 miles outside the harbor, while the two torpedo boats were sent in to look for Japanese vessels. They found only the small coastwise steamer Goyo Maru of 500 tons, and after sending the crew on shore they sank the vessel. A small detachment was landed to obtain information, and learned that four destroyers had left the port that morning.

After remaining about four hours in port the Russian torpedo boats returned to the squadron, which steamed out to sea. Another small freight steamer with war supplies was soon met, which the Gromoboi, after taking on board the crew and a Japanese detachment, sank.

In the night the cruisers met the Japanese transport Kinshiu Maru, of 2,380 tons, carrying coal for the Japanese fleet, as well as supplies and ammunition, besides an infantry company of the 4th Division, and over one hundred coolies and passengers. The infantry company had been reconnoitering in the vicinity of Iwen (about 50 miles south of Syong-chin) on the eastern coast road, and was being transported back to Gensan. The steamer was being convoyed by torpedo boats, but lost the latter towards evening in the heavy fog, and when it sighted the Russian squadron it took the latter for the Japanese squadron and reported by signal that it had coal aboard for it. The Russian admiral sent the Rossia alongside and lay to at about 1,600 yards with the rest of the squadron.

The captain of the Rossia directed the ship's officers to come aboard his vessel, and sent small boats to examine the transport. Meanwhile part of the crew and some of the coolies attempted to escape in small boats, but were overtaken and captured. The infantry officers and the crew and coolies then came aboard the Russian ship and surrendered, but the men of the infantry company locked themselves in and declined to give themselves up. After waiting an hour, the admiral signaled to abandon the transport, but as soon as the Russian boats cast off the soldiers came on deck and opened fire with the four 1.95 in. rapid fire guns aboard, wounding a number of Russians in a small boat. The Rossia then fired on the transport and a

torpedo soon sank her. Some of the soldiers and coolies nevertheless succeeded in saving themselves in small boats, and two days later landed on the island of Sinpo, Port Chestakoff harbor, about 65 miles south of Syong-chin.

The Russian squadron then returned to Vladivostok, arriving safely on the evening of April 27, with 210 prisoners aboard.

Admiral Kamimura arrived at Gensan from Vladivostok the day after the Russian squadron had been there, and awaited there the arrival of the transport Kinshiu Maru, but on the 27th, as she failed to arrive, he went to sea to look her up. As she was not found on her designated route the admiral steamed with all speed for Vladivostok, which he reached on the night of April 28-29, again one day too late. He sent torpedo boats in, during the night, as far as the eastern entrance, and at 7 A. M. took the entire squadron past Askold Island into Ussuri Bay, but the fog prevented further action. At 10 A. M. the squadron went to sea again.

COMMENTS.

The Japanese, in this part of the theatre of operations, invariably permitted the Russian ships to get out to sea, where they were difficult to find. This was due to the fact that they had no fast cruisers to spare for the observation of this port, which is over 400 nautical miles from the Japanese home base. The Russian cruisers were fast vessels (18½ to 20 knots), and several of them were well protected and armed, consequently the observing squadron had to be at least equal to them in both respects. The Japanese, therefore, contented themselves with sending out a strong squadron whenever they received reliable information that the Vladivostok squadron was at large, and this was sound policy, but of course they had to suffer occasional losses. On the other hand, if the Russian squadron had been met it could have been effectually dispersed or destroyed, whereas a weak observing squadron would run the risk of being itself destroyed.

(To be Continued.)

HOW RUSSIA BROUGHT ON WAR.*

A COMPLETE HISTORY

In this and a following article an attempt will be made to furnish a complete history of the course of events which led to the gigantic war now being waged in the Far East. As I shall endeavour to show, it was brought about solely by the action of Russia. I have sought to make my narrative concise, but if it should strike the reader as being here and there a trifle tedious, I must earnestly crave indulgence for the sake of the important bearing which the events recorded have had, and must continue to have, on the common interests of the civilized world. As regards the thorough accuracy of the statements herein made, I need only explain that they are based throughout upon the numerous State papers of the Powers concerned, and that my facts have one and all been gathered from these incontestable sources of information.

It is scarcely necessary to reiterate how Russia deprived Japan of her legitimate prize of war, the Liao-Tung Peninsula, in 1895, and how, after the lapse of only a few years, she appropriated to herself the most important and strategically valuable portion of that peninsula; nor is it essential that I should relate how, in doing this, Russia outwitted England, and how the British Government was driven to exact from China a lease of Wei-Hai-Wei in consequence as a set-off to Russia's acquisition of Port Arthur and adjacent territory. It will suffice to remember that the lease of Port Arthur to Russia as a naval station was viewed by the British Government, and so declared in its diplomatic correspondcence, as a "serious disturbance of and menace to the balance of power in the Gulf of Pe-Chih-li," and that as regards Wei-Hai-Wei the step taken by England was considered by her as having been forced upon her by the actions of Russia.

It is also perhaps needless to state that this acquisition of territory at Port Arthur was a direct self-contradiction of the theory that Russia had advanced, less than three years before, when she had urged Japan to give up that region, on the plea that "the possession

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of the peninsula of Liao-Tung, claimed by Japan, would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would at the same time render illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East."

The agreement for the cession of the "Kwantung Peninsula" and Port Arthur was first signed in Peking on the 27th of March, 1898, and was afterwards supplemented by another agreement signed in St. Petersburg on the 7th of May of the same year. On the day that the first agreement was signed the Russian Government suddenly made the following communication to the Powers:

"In virtue of the Agreement signed on the 15th (27th) March in Peking by the Representatives of Russia and the members of the Tsung-li Yamên, as respective Plenipotentiaries, Port Arthur and Talien-Wan, as well as the adjoining territory, have been ceded by the Chinese Government for the use of Russia.

"You are instructed to communicate the above to the Government to which you are accredited, and to add that the above-mentioned ports and territory will be occupied without delay by the forces of His Imperial Majesty, our august Monarch, and that the Russian flag, together with the Chinese, will be hoisted in them.

"You can at the same time inform the Minister for Foreign Affairs that Port Talien-Wan will be opened to foreign commerce, and that the ships of all friendly nations will there meet with the most wide hospitality."

From the *Official Messenger* and the text of the supplementary agreement, which subsequently came to the light, it was to be seen that the agreements provided for the cession of Port Arthur and Talien-Wan, as well as of the adjacent territory, for the use of Russia during a term of twenty-five years, which might be prolonged indefinitely by mutual arrangement, and for the construction of branches of railways to connect ports with the main Trans-Siberian Railway. No vessels, whether warships or merchantmen, of any nations but Russia and China were to be allowed access to Port Arthur; no subjects of other Powers were to be granted concessions for their use in the "neutral ground," which included the territory forming part of the Liao-Tung peninsula to the north of the portion actually leased to Russia, as far as Kai-chau on the north coast, and the mouth of the Ta-Yang River—*i. e.*, Takushan—on the south coast. No ports on the seacoasts east or west of the neutral ground were to be opened to the trade of other Powers, nor might any road or mining concessions, industrial or mercantile privileges, be granted in the neutral territory without Russia's consent first being obtained.

It is now an open secret that M. Hanotaux, at that time Foreign Minister of France, advised the Russian Government not to make Port Arthur a naval station, and that M. Witte, then the Finance Minister of Russia, was somewhat of the same opinion; but even the trifling element of moderation thus counselled went unheeded, and the Russian official organ, at the time that the Peking Agreement was signed, was encouraged, on the other hand, to indulge in the most extravagant utterances. Thus the *Novoe Vremya* wrote on the 6th of April, 1898, substantially as follows:

"Russia has the right to carry a line of railway from Talien-Wan along the western shore of the Liao-Tung peninsula to any point she may choose. The construction of a line to the west is as necessary for us as the construction of one to the east, along the northern shore of the Korean Gulf to the town of Yi-ju on the river Yalu, whence a French company has obtained the right to construct a line to the south on to Seoul. If the Russian Government do not find it necessary to acquire the railway from Chemulpho to Seoul, constructed by the American Morse and passing now into Japanese hands, it only shows our conviction that we shall possess our own rail from Manchuria to the capital of Korea. Such a line would be most advantageous to Japanese commerce and interests, and the Japanese Government, who are doing all they can to promote their trade, must choose between a risky game of political influence in Korea or the sale of their product in Korea and Manchuria *under the Russian flag and protected by Russian bayonets.* The construction of a Russian railway in Manchuria must at last open the eyes of Japan to the advantage of an understanding with Russia, which might save her from a financial crash and be advantageous to her southern population, which is compelled from poverty to emigrate. Let Japan play the commercial, while Russia plays the political rôle. * * * Common action between Russia and Japan might further hold England back from her risky enterprises in the Gulf of Pe-Chih-li, which is the natural sphere of Russian influence. England always wants some contribution to her own advantage on every political step forward which Russia makes. If England takes Wei-Hai-Wei, she will see Russia demanding extensions of territory in Central Asia; the rôles will be changed, and Russia will demand a heavy percentage for every English acquisition. Such a step would undoubtedly check the appetites of English politicians."

Again, the same paper went so far as to declare in the next issue that the treaty of 1895 (Anglo-Russian) ought to be regarded as being no longer in force.

There was, however, one thing worth noting—that was that, according to the best authority accessible, this agreement contained some provisions by which Chinese sovereignty in the localities indicated was guaranteed, and also that the railway concession therein referred to was "never to be used as a pretext for encroachment on Chinese territory, nor to be allowed to interfere with Chinese authority or interests."

On the 1st of June, 1898, the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* intimated, in the form of a circular to all his foreign colleagues at the Chinese capital, that by Count Mouravieff's order "passports were obligatory for Port Arthur and Talien-Wan," which occasioned great controversy, inasmuch as it was wholly inconsistent with the treaty rights of other Powers for Russia to make such a stipulation; but she contrived, on one pretext and another, to evade the issue, and the question was allowed to drag on without a complete settlement being reached.

The anti-Christian movement in North China, otherwise the Boxer troubles, of 1900 was a great turning-point in Far Eastern affairs. In the presence of this tremendous upheaval the concerns of Port Arthur and Talien-Wan waned almost into insignificance; and while these grave matters fell into comparative oblivion an excellent opportunity was given to Russia of playing off her tricky diplomacy and selfish efforts at aggrandizement to the detriment of other Powers. True it may be that what she said and did may not always have been intended to deceive, *ab initio,* but the results were the same. The Boxer troubles began in the early part of the year named, and by the beginning of June had assumed an alarming aspect. All the Powers did their best to cope with the emergency, and sent ships and landed marines to the fullest extent available. But from the very nature of the locality, the distance away, and the limited numbers of the forces at command, the measures taken were far from being effective. Japan was the only Power that could efficiently cope with the difficulty, and she was almost universally appealed to by public opinion at large to cast in her lot with the Christian nations against the Boxers by taking the foremost part in the measures designed for their suppression.

On the 13th of June, therefore, Viscount Aoki, who was then Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, intimated through the British *Chargé d'Affaires* to the British Government that "if the foreign naval detachments which had actually been landed should be surrounded or otherwise in danger, the Japanese Government would be ready to send at once a considerable force to their relief if her Majesty's Government concurred in such a course, but that otherwise his

Government did not intend to send soldiers," similar intimations being given to the representatives at Tokio of other great Powers interested.

This resolution of the Japanese Government was ascribable purely to their consideration of the claims of a common humanity, and beneath it were hidden no political or selfish motives or designs. The prevailing sentiment in Japan was still more plainly set forth in the statement of Mr. Matsui, Japanese *Chargé d'Affaires* in London, to Lord Salisbury on the 25th of June, when it was declared that, for the despatch of a considerable force from Japan, "some assurance would be required that there was no objection on the part of other Governments which have interests in the East." Japan's unselfishness was demonstrated, too, in Viscount Aoki's words to the British *Chargé d'Affaires,* when he modestly said that "although Japan had made great progress, she was not yet in a position to take an independent line of action in so grave a crisis. It was imperative for her to work in line with other Powers."

Japan entered upon the difficult task assigned to her in this spirit, and she acquitted herself, it is believed, thoroughly to the satisfaction of the Western Powers. By Great Britain, at all events, a generous acknowledgment of her services was conveyed in the following telegram, dispatched by Lord Salisbury to the British *Chargé d'Affaires* in Tokio on the completion of the operations undertaken for the rescue of the Peking legations:

"As her Majesty's Government specially pressed for the action of Japan in sending forces to effect the relief of the Legations, I think you may, without presumption, express to the Minister for Foreign Affairs their earnest admiration of the gallantry and efficiency displayed by the Japanese forces in the present operations, which contributed to the success of the expedition so very largely. [August 25, 1900.]"

But to take up again the thread of our argument. After Japan's indication of her readiness to comply with the desire expressed that she should send troops, diplomatic correspondence took place between the Powers with much expedition, and there was found not one that did not appreciate the expediency of the step to be taken by Japan, though there was already a somewhat sinister tone perceptible in the Russian dispatch, sent to Japan about the 28th of June, wherein this passage appeared:

"We can only highly appreciate the sentiments expressed by Japan in present circumstances, as also her view of Chinese affairs. We have no desire to hinder her liberty of action, particularly after her

expression of a firm intention to conform her action to that of the other Powers."

On the 4th of July the Marquis of Salisbury telegraphed to Mr. Whitehead, British *Chargé d'Affaires* at Tokio, after repeating Admiral Seymour's alarming telegram, as follows:

"This telegram indicates a position of extreme gravity. You should communicate at once to Japanese Ministers. Japan is the only Power which can send rapid reinforcements to Tien-tsin. No objection has been raised by any European Power to this course."

Barely two days later, on the 6th of July, the British Government reiterated its pressing request to Japan, and at the same time offered financial aid, the Marquis of Salisbury telegraphing to Mr. Whitehead thus:

"Japan is the only Power which can act with any hope of success for the urgent purpose of saving the Legations; and, if they delay, heavy responsibility must rest with them. We are prepared to furnish any financial assistance which is necessary, in addition to our forces already on the spot."

With regard to this financial assistance Lord Salisbury explained to Mr. Whitehead that the British Government was prepared to undertake the responsibility because international negotiations would only result in a fatal expenditure of time. On the same day Japan signified her intention of despatching as rapidly as possible a considerable force, sufficient, with those troops which she had already sent, to bring her total up to twenty thousand men. But with regard to financial aid, Japan did not, after all, desire it, as she considered that the task that she was then undertaking was a purely voluntary one for the common benefit of humanity, and, moreover, she stood in no immediate need of such assistance.

About the middle of the month (July, 1900) Russia submitted to the great Powers, including Japan, notes verbal embodying what she was pleased to term "fundamental principles." The date on which these notes reached the Powers was generally the 13th of July, or thereabouts, and the purport was one and the same. In the case of Japan, however, it bore the date of the 8th of July, and was handed by the Russian Minister to Viscount Aoki only on the 20th of that month. The English translation of the text given to Lord Salisbury is appended in full, as the subject is of the highest importance:

"On the 11th June our Minister at Tokio informed us that the Japanese Government had declared their readiness, in consideration of the perilous situation at Peking, to send their troops to China, with a view to saving, conjointly with the other States, the representatives

of the Powers who were besieged in Peking, and to rescuing the foreigners resident in the Empire, among whom are many Japanese subjects. Any co-operation, anything tending to the attainment of the object indicated, could only meet with the most sympathetic reception from all the Powers. Moreover, Japan being able, thanks to geographical conditions, by the despatch of a considerable contingent to facilitate essentially the task of the international detachments already at Tien-tsin, we hastened to inform the Cabinet at Tokio that we saw no reason to interfere with their liberty of action in this respect, especially as they have expressed their firm resolution of acting in complete harmony with the other Powers. The decision taken by the Japanese Government, under the above-mentioned conditions, was a very natural one, in consideration of the danger which menaced their representatives at Peking, as well as their numerous subjects resident in China; but from our point of view the accomplishment of this task could not confer the right to an independent solution of matters at Peking, or other privileges, with the exception, perhaps, of a larger pecuniary indemnity, should the Powers consider it necessary, later on, to demand one.

"We received almost simultaneously a communication on this subject from the Cabinet of London, which had reference, not to a spontaneous decision on the part of the Cabinet at Tokio to participate in the collective action of the Powers, but to a mission given by Europe to Japan to send considerable forces to China, not only to save the Legations and the foreign subjects, but with a view to the suppression of the insurrectionary movement provoked by the Boxers and the re-establishment of order at Peking and Tien-tsin.

"This way of putting the question might, in our opinion, to a certain extent encroach on the fundamental principles which had already been accepted by the majority of the Powers as the bases of their policy relative to events in China—that is to say, the maintenance of the union between the Powers; the maintenace of the existing system of government in China; the exclusion of anything which might lead to the partition of the Empire; finally, the re-establishment by common effort of a legitimate central Power, itself capable of assuring order and security to the country. The firm establishment and strict observance of these fundamental principles are, in our opinion, absolutely indispensable to the attainment of the chief object: the maintenance of a lasting peace in the Far East.

"The Imperial Government considers that, in view of the threatening events in China, which concern the vital interests of the Powers.

it is urgently necessary to avoid any misunderstanding or omission which might have still more dangerous consequences."

Broadly speaking, it appears to be true that the "fundamental principles" enunciated by Russia were the nearest approach to the ideas entertained at that time by the Powers in general, though none of those Powers seems to have been able to shape any clear insight as to the eventualities of the whole affair, save that not one of them entertained any thought of partitioning out the Chinese Empire. America had made public her views on this point early that month, and Russia, on being consulted by China, had expressed her willingness, so the Chinese Minister in London assured Lord Salisbury, to guarantee the integrity of the Chinese Empire, though her underlying intentions may, as we now can perceive, have been very different from those on the surface. As to Great Britain, she was from the first, as also were others of the Powers, firmly resolved upon the maintenance of Chinese territorial integrity.

There were, however, two points in the above-quoted Russian communication that specially invite comment. The first is that the claim which she put forward that her "fundamental prrinciples" had already been accepted by a majority of the Powers was altogether presumptuous and unwarrantable, for there had not then been any formal exchange of views btween the Powers on the subject. The second point is that the British suggestion of an invitation to Japan to send troops to China was interpreted by Russia as tending to confer upon Japan some shadowy "special rights" or privileges. On this latter point the statement made by Count Lamsdorff to the German Ambassador, and also to the British, a few days previously, had been much stronger, for he had spoken to the effect that there were grave objections to the giving of a "mandate" for independent action to any one Power in the face of so grave a crisis. As a matter of fact, there was not the slightest foundation for the insinuation that such a mandate was either sought by Japan or proposed by England; and the British Government, at all events, was indisposed to permit this wrongful suggestion to pass unchallenged. A brisk interchange of diplomatic correspondence between the Powers ensued on these two points, and in the end the incident was allowed to drop on Count Lamsdorff giving the following explanation, as reported by the British Ambassador, viz.:

"His Excellency (Count Lamsdorff) said that it was his wish to clear the Russian Government at once from the odious and entirely undeserved charge that they had hesitated to accept Japan's assistance, and had thereby assumed the grave responsibility of hindering the

prompt relief of the Legations. This charge had been insinuated in the Press and other quarters. His Excellency admitted that in the message which I communicated to him no mention had been made of any European mandate to Japan for independent action, and that co-operation was indicated in the arguments used by me, but he said that at Berlin your Lordship's question had been understood to imply an European mandate, and that it was possible to so interpret the words used: 'an expedition to restore order at Peking and Tien-tsin, if Japan is willing to undertake the task.' Although the misunderstanding had been promptly cleared up, unjust deductions had been drawn by the public Press, and it ought to have been made quite clear by the instructions sent to the Russian Minister at Tokio that all available prompt assistance from Japan, equally with the Powers concerned in meeting the common danger, would be gladly welcomed by Russia."

As a result of this incident, however, Russia remained even more solemnly pledged than ever to what she had declared to the world and to what she herself termed the "fundamental principles," and Japan proceeded promptly and whole-heartedly with the work asked of her, in concert with the Occidental Powers. It should be a matter of no slight interest to the reader to discover, as he will presently do, that the propagator and disseminator of these sublime "fundamental principles" was the first to try to frustrate their useful application, and that it was the Power against which an effort had been made to arouse and foment distrust that proved to be honest and patient in the execution of the task which it undertook to perform.

The siege of the Legations in Peking, and the narrative of the expedition of the combined forces for their rescue, form a history with which every one is now familiar, and there is scarcely any need here to relate how Sir Claude MacDonald was placed in supreme charge of the defences by his colleagues, how he gave to Lieutenant-Colonel Shiba, a young Japanese officer, command of a most important point, or how Sir Claude subsequently commended this officer for his skilful dispositions, and as having contested every inch of the ground at the most critical moment, thereby gaining time for the defences to be placed in thorough order, which was one direct cause of the success ultimately achieved, and of the preservation of many lives in a period of unexampled danger; nor is it needful further to allude to the splendid organization of the international expeditionary forces, and the conspicuous part that the Japanese played therein during the advance to the Chinese capital. Suffice it to say that, as a whole, the march to the succor of the beleaguered foreign residents.

and the final success and triumph over the forces of disorder and fanaticism, were episodes in the world's history and efforts in the cause of humanity which naught can ever efface, whilst at the same time the complete concord and sincerity of all the nations engaged in this glorious undertaking—save for the barbarity which was displayed by the Russian troops, as was much commented upon at the time, and also save for the one black shadow that at times intruded itself, as will be shown hereafter—were at once unprecedented and beneficent. The malign influence that began to make itself felt was due to Russia's having, even at this early stage, begun to betray something of her innate disposition to play an unworthy part; for early in July Russian troops had occupied the south bank of the Amur, opposite Blagovestchensk, under the trifling pretence that the Chinese had been guilty of some offence of which, in reality, the Russians had been the cause by their own provocative behavior. They had perpetrated that appalling massacre of the Chinese before which the whole civilized world stood aghast. It was on that occasion that—as Count Tolstoi incidentally describes in his recent remarkable letter—thousands of helpless men, women, and children were drowned or slaughtered by the Russians in compliance with the Russian Commander Gribsky's orders, he acting, as he declared, in consonance with Imperial decree.

Though the contingent which Russia sent to take part in the Peking Expedition was comparatively small, she despatched large numbers—though less than one-third of the number she pretended when she claimed compensation—of her troops into the three provinces of the Chinese Empire comprised under the head of Manchuria. Early in August she occupied the treaty port of Newchwang, hoisted the Russian flag, possessed herself of the Customs department, and began to collect revenue for her own purposes—an intrusion for which there was absolutely no justification—and she at the same time seized the railway between Newchwang and the Great Wall, of which more anon.

Russia's proceedings in Manchuria continued to be of this high-handed and unscrupulous character, until at last, in September, they had reached the pitch of celebrating a grand feast on the site of the Chinese town of Sakalin, previously burned in July, and which they had renamed Ilinsky, on the south bank of the Amur, in honor of the "relief," as they chose to designate it, of Blagovestchensk. The *Novoe Vremya,* in a telegram from that place, thus described this indecent and blasphemous function:

"To-day, on the Chinese bank of the Amur, on the ashes of Saka-

lin, a solemn thanksgiving service in memory of the relief of this place by the Russian forces, together with the ceremony of renaming the post Ilinsky, was held, in the presence of the authorities, the army, the English officer, Bigham, and a large crowd of people. The High Priest Konoploff said: 'Now is the Cross raised on that bank of the Amur which yesterday was Chinese. Mouravieff foretold that sooner or later this bank would be ours.' In a beautiful speech General Gribsky congratulated the victorious troops. [September 7.]"

Let us now see what Russia was doing all this time in the devious paths of her diplomacy.

When, in July, the idea of concentrating the general command of the international forces was mooted on the Continent, an idea which crystallized into the determination to despatch the German general, Count von Waldersee, to China, Russia, referring to the importance of the "ulterior military measures," and expressing herself as averse to the selection of a commander either on account of his seniority of rank among the generals in command, or the greater size of the contingent that he might control, invited the opinion of the interested Powers. The trend of her lurking motive was sufficiently obvious, and any effort on my part to expose it would now be superfluous. When, moreover, further explanations were sought from Count Lamsdorff by Great Britain concerning the "ulterior military measures" that Russia appeared to have in mind, and as to the suggested scope of the authority to be delegated to this *generalissimo,* the British Ambassador was informed that the field of action of the international forces might in practice be roughly defined as the province of Pe-Chih-li, and that as regards other parts of China where dangers might equally be present, it was clear that the direction of any necessary military measures would have to be undertaken independently. "For instance, Russia would have to undertake independent military action in the North of China bordering on her own territory and on her railway, and it was to be assumed that other Powers would act similarly in the south and center of China where their own territorial and special interests were more immediately concerned."

At a casual glance this proposal seemed to be very fair, but it was not difficult to perceive the specious nature of the arrangement that was veiled by these suggestions. Nevertheless, one thing was certain—namely, that if independent action should be taken, no matter in what part of China, it could not but be subject to the restrictions involved in the application of the broad line of policy which Russia had herself enunciated under the head of "fundamental

principles," and to which she stood committed in the eyes of all the world.

On the 14th of August, 1900, the international forces entered Peking, and the Legations were relieved. Eight days later, on the 22nd of the month, Sir Charles Scott, by the direction of Lord Salisbury, inquired of Count Lamsdorff about the affair at Newchwang, concerning which certain information, implying Russian aggression, had reached the British Government on the 20th. Count Lamsdorff at once replied that "any steps taken could only be of a provisional and temporary nature," but at the same time he promised to "inquire what were the real facts of the case." But with what result?

On the 28th of August, and during the next few days, identical communications were addressed by Russia to all the interested Powers, and the text of these despatches reads very like an attempt "to kill two birds with one stone." It began with a repetition of the time-honored declaration that she remained faithful to the "fundamental principles" which she had proposed to the Powers as a basis of common action, and announced her intention strictly to adhere, in the future, to the programme laid down therein. The despatch went on to state that the occupation of Newchwang and the sending of troops into Manchuria had been forced upon Russia by the progress of events, such as the attack by the rebels on Russian troops at Newchwang and the hostilities begun by the Chinese along the Russian frontier, and had been dictated solely by the absolute necessity of repelling the aggression of the Chinese rebels, and not in any way with interested motives, "which were absolutely foreign to the policy of the Imperial Government."

"Directly the pacification of Manchuria was attained [the communication continued], and the necessary measures had been taken to ensure the security of the railroad, Russia would not fail to withdraw her troops from Chinese territory, provided that such action did not meet with obstacles caused by the proceedings of other Powers."

The communication then proceeded to state that in occupying Peking the first and most important object—namely, the rescue of the Legations and of the foreigners besieged in Peking—had been attained. The second object—namely, that of rendering assistance to China in the restoration of order and the re-establishment of regular relations with the Powers—had been hindered by the absence of the Chinese Court from Peking. In these circumstances the Russian Government saw no reason for the Legation to remain in Peking, and proposed to withdraw it to Tien-tsin, together with the Russian troops,

whose presence in Peking now became useless in view of the decision taken not to exceed the limits of the task which, it was alleged, Russia had undertaken at the beginning of the disorders.

This communication served mainly to augment on all sides the growing suspicion regarding Russia's sincerity of purpose. It was all very well for her to repeat, as she did so often, the avowal of her "fundamental principles," but the vital question was whether or not she honestly intended herself to be bound by them. The phrase "unless she is prevented by the action of other Powers," which was more than once employed, was one to engender a certain amount of distrust. It could not receive any interpretation other than, as the sequel proved, the truly justifiable one of being an artful provision of a way of escape from the obligations of her pledges, for what other Power could there be disposed to hinder Russia so long as her own object should remain purely that of faithfully carrying out her own promises?

As to the proposal to withdraw her Legation as well as her troops —which, by the way, she promptly did, without waiting for the other Powers' concurrence—Peking had only a fortnight or so previously been rescued from a terrible fate, and the views entertained by other Governments were that there was still a great risk to be run in a too speedy evacuation of the Chinese capital; but Russia held to her own course with great tenacity. Her attitude towards the restoration of the Chinese Government, moreover, was almost inconsistent with the principles to which she ostentatiously professed, in the earlier part of the communication, to adhere, and in sober truth her behavior cannot be considered otherwise than as having purposely protracted the unsettled state of things in Central China in order that she might gain time for the establishment of a firm hold upon Manchuria.

Diplomatic correspondence was, of course, entered upon with alacrity, and I may here give the essence of the American reply to Russia's communication, for it seems to have embodied precisely the sentiments that were generally entertained among the Powers. It expressed satisfaction with the reiterated declaration of Russia that she entertained no design of territorial aggrandizement at China's expense, and also that assurances were forthcoming about the occupancy of Newchwang, which Russia had explained was merely incidental to military steps, so that the Russian troops would be withdrawn from the treaty port as soon as order should be re-established. It referred to the important tasks yet remaining, such as the restoration of order, the safety and general peace of China, and the pre-

servation of the Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protection of all rights guaranteed by treaty and international law to friendly Powers, and the safeguard for the world underlying the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire, and it proceded to state that these purposes could best be attained by continuing the joint occupation of Peking. Next it laid stress upon the importance of the Powers maintaining their concord, thus indirectly expressing disapproval of Russia's attitude.

On the 29th of August, just after Russia had sent round the abovementioned communication to the Powers, Count Lamsdorff, in a long conversation with the British Ambassador, spoke most forcibly of the Russian determination to adhere to the so-called "fundamental principles," and went on to remark that "it had been assumed that Russia was taking advantage of the present crisis to extend her territory and influence at the cost of China by permanently occupying territory on the right bank of the Amur in Manchuria, and at Newchwang, and by seizing control of the Customs and lines of railway in which foreign capital was interested. This was entirely incorrect. Russia had no such intention, and any places which she had been obliged by the attack of Chinese rebels on her frontier to occupy temporarily, she intended, when the *status quo ante* and order were re-established, to restore to their former position."

One may well be reminded of Ben Jonson's lines:

> The dignity of truth is lost
> With much protesting.

On the 11th of September Sir Charles Scott announced, by Lord Salisbury's direction, to Count Lamsdorff, that in the opinion of her Majesty's Government the time when it would be expedient to withdraw the British forces from Pekin had not arrived. It would appear that about this period public comment grew in intensity with the deepening of the obscurity in which the Russian motives and designs were enshrouded, and it was, we may fairly assume, with a wish to allay this increasing uneasiness that Count Lamsdorff begged Sir Charles Scott to make it clear to the British Government that the different course Russia had decided upon was not in any way to be taken as indicating the slightest intention of separating herself from the general action of the Powers, and that she had chosen that course on her part as she considered it desirable to have her troops as well as her Minister as soon as possible in a position where communication with their Government would be easy and rapid. He also asserted that the Emperor (of Russia) was more firmly determined than ever

to continue in loyal co-operation with all the other Powers, and to abide by his agreement with them as to common aim and direction, and the Russian action and aims would be faithfully kept within the limits of the statement made in Count Lamsdorff's own circular, and, further, that there was nothing more foreign to the Emperor's mind than to entertain the selfish aims or motives for his action with which certain foreign newspapers had credited him.

When, on the 13th of September, the British Ambassador called the attention of Count Lamsdorff to the report of the celebration of the so-called "relief of Blagovestchensk," described in a preceding page, criticising it as contrary to the expressed views of Russia. Count Lamsdorff begged the British representative to take no further notice of that action on the part of a military commander, and went on to confirm the assurances of the Russian Government's intention not to make territorial acquisitions in China. He urged in explanation of the proceedings at Blagovestchensk that distances were so great and means of communication so few that it was not easy to keep the authorities in distant parts of the Empire in touch with the views of the Central Government.

Truly this was explanation *à la Russe!*

While discussions of this kind were taking place in St. Petersburg, more audacious acts were continually being perpetrated in Manchuria itself. On the 17th of August a code of rules and regulations was published in the *Amur Gazette,* in the name of Lieut.-General Gribsky, the Military Governor, by which the Manchu territory of the Trans-Zeya, and the territory that had been occupied by the Russian troops on the right bank of the Amur, were proclaimed as having passed into the jurisdiction of the Russian authorities. The Chinese who had quitted the river bank for the Trans-Zeya region were forbidden to return, and their lands were appropriated to the exclusive use of Russian colonists. All private individuals were absolutely forbidden to settle in the former towns of Ai-gun and Sakalin—both on the Manchurian side of the frontier—as also in their vicinity. The re-establishment of these towns was interdicted, and the Chinese buildings which had remained in them undemolished were to be devoted to the warehousing of military stores and the quartering within their walls of Russian troops.

Such being the case, it was surely not to be wondered at that in some of the Continental organs it was declared that Russia had annexed the conterminous Manchurian territories. An official denial was published on the 1st of October, in the *Messager Officiel,* to the effect that the report of the annexation was entirely devoid of founda-

tion. It is possible that some of the acts of the military authorities had not obtained the full concurrence of the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg, but the general trend of Russian policy was sufficiently clear, and in the first week of October the whole of Manchuria was in the possession of Russia, including the palace of Mukden and the Ying-Kow terminus of the Shanhaikwan Railway, over which the Russian flag was hoisted, not to speak of most public offices and all telegraph wires and establishments.

It may be worth remembering that when the Russian troops occupied Newchwang and hoisted the Russian flag at the Customs flagstaff, the consuls of Great Britain, America, and Japan sent a formal notice to the Russian authorities that it was presumed this step had been taken as a temporary measure only, and was due to military exigencies, and that they claimed the reservation of all rights and privileges which their countries enjoyed. Admiral Alexeieff officially replied that the temporary administration which Russia was about to establish there was in the interests of the foreign residents in general, as well as the Russians, and that the rights and privileges they had enjoyed in the settlement (Ying-Kow) would not be infringed. The administration was established, but it was neither of a temporary character nor dictated by considerations of military expediency. It did not cease until long after even a pretence of its necessity could with decency be put forward—in fact, it was never relinquished until the end of July of this year, when military considerations of another kind prompted its hurried evacuation.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to recall briefly some incidents illustrative of Russia's high-handed proceedings concerning the Chinese railway joining Peking with Shanhaikwan and Newchwang.

On the 8th of July, 1900, the Russians seized this railway at Tientsin, and turned out Mr. Claude W. Kinder and his staff. Eight days afterwards, on the 16th of July, at a Council of Admirals convened on board H. B. M. S. *Centurion* at Taku at the instance of Admiral Alexeieff, it was decided by the majority that the railway between Tongku and Tien-tsin should be managed and guarded by the Russians, who were then in occupation, on condition that it should be given over to the former administration as soon as military circumstances would permit. It should not be forgotten that the construction of the Pekin and Newchwang line of railway was chiefly provided for by British capital, and British interests were therefore largely involved—the line is, indeed, with some exceptions, mortgaged to British bondholders—and it is, moreover, a fact that

Russia recognized this at the very outset. The British Government, however, expressed to the Russian Government its acquiescence in the above-mentioned decision of the Council of Admirals on the ground that it was an arrangement resorted to solely in compliance with the demands of military exigency.

Previously to this the Russians had, on the 18th of June, occupied that part of the foreign setlement in which are situated the railway offices. Thence they removed and shipped to Port Arthur a quantity of tools and appliances that were the property of the railway administration, and, not content with having done this, they broke open the safes, causing the loss of a considerable sum of money, and destroyed the archives. Finally, on the 28th of the month, they set fire to the offices, and the premises were entirely consumed in the flames.

Russia's next step was to claim the right herself to reconstruct the railroad from Tien-tsin to Peking, declaring that the whole of the line had been turned over to her by the above-mentioned Council of Admirals. This was totally at variance with fact, as the minutes of that meeting distinctly proved, for the action of Russia was expressly limited to the section between Tien-tsin and Tongku. To prefer an unjust claim and immediately act upon it was the normal course of procedure to be expected by the Russians, and accordingly we find that they began forthwith to occupy various points on the route and even to occupy the terminus at Peking the moment that the Chinese capital was entered by the allied relieving forces on the 14th of August. In short, as the British and Chinese Corporation justly complained, the Russian occupation of the northern railway was progressing so rapidly at that time and in such a manner as to give rise to the most serious apprehensions that there was a design to make the line a permanent Russian possession.

When, on the 30th of August, the British troops occupied Feng-tai railway station, and proceeded, in conjunction with the Japanese, to repair the line between Feng-tai and Yang-tsun, the Russians objected to this being done, and posted a detachment in front of Feng-tai depot. Three weeks afterwards, on the 23rd of September, they went so far as to tender a formal protest and request for the withdrawal of the British forecs on the ground that the entire line had been handed over to the Russians, the Russian commander assuring the British General, Sir A. Gaselee, that an Imperial (Russian) decree had been received to "construct" the railway to Peking, and that he, the Russian commander, had given orders accordingly.

The Russian's pretensions to a right to the whole line were simply a sham, as already shown. Of course the English officer did not yield to so transparent an artifice. On the contrary, he told the Russian commander that Russia was in the wrong. The dispute waxed warm, and the situation became acute, but in the beginning of October Count von Waldersee, who had arrived on the scene shortly before, took the matter up and decided that the construction and control of the railway from Tongku should as far as Yang-tsun be Russian, and from Yang-tsun onwards to Peking the line should be worked by Germany with the assistance of other Powers, and thus curtailed the Russian pretence; but at the same time he suggested that the section of railway between Tongku and Shanhaikwan should also be handed over to the Russians. The British had good reason to consider this suggestion as unjust.

As regards the practical repair and working of the line it had by this time become quite clear that the object sought would be more effectually attained by entrusting it to the former administration under Mr. Kinder and his staff, and on the 6th of October the commanders of the British, American, and Japanese troops suggested this to Count von Waldersee, but without effect. Previously to this, on the 30th of September, a British officer with eighteen men had occupied Shanhaikwan Station and there hoisted the British flag. Two days later, on the 2nd of October, a numerous body of Russian troops went there, by land and sea, and refused to acknowledge any rights *but those of conquest,* which they assumed, and laid claim to all the railway from Tongku throughout to Newchwang, solely on these grounds, as being Russian. On the 6th of October they occupied the Ying-Kow terminus of the Chinese railway and hoisted over it the Russian flag, fifty miles of railway material being simultaneously seized and sent off to Port Arthur.

At home in England telegraphic reports had reached the Government in quick succession from its diplomatic representative, general, and admiral, and from many other sources, and as the acts thus committed by the Russians in the Far East were entirely at variance with the assurances which have been given by the Russian Government, and there could be no rights of conquest, the Marquis of Salisbury took up the matter strongly and repeated protests were lodged at the St. Petersburg Foreign Office by the British Embassy at his direction. At the same time the attention of the German Government was also called to the unfairness of Count von Waldersee's decision, he having been led astray, as it seemed, by the exceeding astuteness of the Russians.

The Russian replies were, as is usual, invidious and inconsistent all through. But at last the false position which Russia had taken up had to be relinquished, and she sought to discover a way to escape, which she found in withrawing her troops from Peking, and subsequently from Tien tsin, as described in a previous page, and thus, on the 13th of November, Count Lamsdorff was able to assure Sir Charles (then Mr.) Hardinge, the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg, that the section from Tongku to Shanhaikwan, on the one hand, and from Tongku to Tien-tsin, on the other, were of special military importance to Russia only so long as Russian troops remained to occupy the province of Pe-Chih-li. On the 30th of October, however, the Russian Emperor ordered a reduction of the troops in Pe-Chih-li, and on their withdrawal from Peking to Tien-tsin the Yangtsun-Peking section was placed at the disposal of Count von Waldersee. On the retirement of the Russian troops from the Pe-Chih-li province the whole line from Yangtsun to Shanhaikwan would also be given over to the Field-Marshal.

As to the line joining Shanhaikwan with Newchwang, Count Lamsdorff indulged in further procrastination on the pretext of the economical and geographical gravity of the problem involved, and declared that its complete restoration to its former owners could not take place before all the outlays incurred in the re-establishment and exploitation of the whole line between Peking and Newchwang had been fully repaid to the Russian Government.

This claim to reimbursement was on the part of Russia wholly unwarranted, because, as was demonstrated on the 23rd of November by Lord Lansdowne, who had succeeded Lord Salisbury in the conduct of Great Britain's Foreign Affairs, Russia had no right to be placed in a preferential position in regard to the repayment of such outlays, inasmuch as all expeditionary expenses, including outlays of this discription, were ultimately to be indemnified by China, and, for another thing, Russia was not the only country that had incurred expenditures of this nature, for the Japanese had in reality themselves repaired a considerable length of the line, and when their "railway battalion" began work the Boxers were still in force in the vicinity, and it was necessary to disperse them as they worked, which resulted in the loss of an engineer officer and several non-commissioned officers and men, and it put Japan to much expense in many ways, for railway materials, being unobtainable on the spot, had to be sent over from home. The British, and to some extent the Germans, were also engaged in similar repair works. Hence diplomatic negotiations were carried on with unbated vigor,

but as Russia is not a country that is at all scrupulous in regard to the introduction of side issues and fresh pretexts for delay when it suits her, it is easy to understand that a long time elapsed before the matter was settled.

Before the excitement relating to the "Railway Incident" above described had hardly subsided there arose what was termed the "Tientsin Incident," which was equally, if not more, serious in its character.

At the beginning of November, 1900, the Russians seized land on the left bank of the Pei-ho, extending from the railway station as far as Messrs. Meyer's petroleum depot, and planted a number of Russian flags and notice boards at different points, and on the 6th of that month the Russian Acting Consul, M. Poppé, issued a circular to the Consuls of the Powers notifying them that the land in question had become the property of Russia by act of war. Comically enough, the Belgian Consul, in imitation of his Russian colleagues, next day issued a notice to the Consular body which began by saying, "In accordance with instructions from his Belgian Majesty's Legation at Peking I have this day occupied the territory situated, &c., &c.," and going on to describe its exact situation, which was contiguous to the extensive area appropriated by Russia. The Russian circular was one so truly audacious that I give its text in full:

"His Excellency Lieutenant-General Linévitch, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian expeditionary corps in Pe-Chih-li, instructs me to inform you that, as on the 4th (17th) of June of this year the Imperial Chinese troops joined the rebels in attacking the foreign concessions and the railway station occupied by Russian troops, and as on the 10th (23rd) Russian reinforcements relieved these troops, swept the left bank of the Pei-ho from above the railway station to beyond the petroleum depot of Messrs. H. Meyer & Co., and occupied it by right of conquest, having seized it by force of arms and at the cost of Russian blood spilt in order to prevent the Chinese returning there and reopening fire on the Concessions, his Excellency therefore considers the whole of this space, from above the railway station to beyond the petroleum depot, as property of the Russian troops from this day (10th (23rd) of June of this year) by act of war. Russian flags have been planted and notices posted on boards placed at many points in this territory, which has been occupied and patrolled under orders of the Russian military authorities.

"Consequently, his Excellency cannot and will not be able to recognize any cession, unless with his special authorization, of land included in this territory, of which he has taken full and complete possession.

"It is, of course, understood that all proprietary rights, duly registered in the name of foreigners (other than Chinese) before the 4th (17th) of June of this year, will be safeguarded."

The land claimed by Russia embraced practically the whole of the left bank of the river opposite the foreign settlement, and was a mile and a half in length, by 500 yards wide. In it was comprised a portion belonging to the railway administration's property and others belonging to the private property of some British firms, but the Russian flags waved over all. Apart from that, the Russians' contention that they had cleared the area by their own troops was one of which the accuracy was most doubtful, for it was a well-known fact that when the Russians were attacked by the Chinese near the railway station, the assistance gallantly rendered by the Japanese troops went very far towards the repulse of the assailants, and, indeed, saved the Russians from being routed. In truth, it is believed that the fighting ability of Russian troops was really measured by the Japanese on this occasion. In the battle of the 23rd of June the international forces were collectively engaged on a common footing, the British on that occasion playing a very conspicuous part in effecting a clearance from the quarter in question of the Chinese forces. Commander Cradock, in a memorandum specially drawn up for the Britissh authorities, in refutation of the Russian pretensions, went so far, indeed, as to assert that "on the whole of the advance our (the British) left flank touched the river, and the right was well extended toward the railway. No Russian or German troops had anything whatever to do with clearing the left bank of the river." Besides, the Russians enjoyed no special right of conquest, if there ever was such a right conferred upon the participators at large by that campaign, inasmuch as in their occupation of that or any other place the Russians could not but have been executing the tasks assigned to them as part and parcel of that war which was in process of being waged by the international relief forces in common. Again, the Russians, a little later on, systematically removed vast quantities of machinery and stores from the railway works at Tong-Shan to Port Arthur and elsewhere for their own use, and they deprived the Bridge Works Stores at Shanhaikwan of fifty thousand pounds' worth of material, the premises being completely denuded of all portable property. The Russians even took away the steam cranes and machinery of every description, having, as an expert's report states, seized "everything they could lay hands on."

All these outrageous proceedings were, of course, stoutly, challenged not only by the British authorities and the interested indi-

viduals in the East, who at every successive stage protested to the Russian authorities, but by the British Government, who time after time briskly remonstrated with the Russian Government. America also contended the forcible appropriation under claim of conquest was in conflict with the declared purposes of the Powers and disturbed their harmonious action. On the 16th of November the Russian Minister at Pekin wrote to the American Minister that if the communication of Mr. Poppé contained any expressions suggesting any question of acquiring territory by conquest they had been certainly erroneously used by him, and that the object of the Russian military authorities had been to prevent the seizure of, and speculation in, land by certain parties within the radius occupied by the Russian troops for military purposes since the preceding June. What a groundless insinuation! At last, when the Russians were no longer able to sustain their unjust designs, they endeavored, as usual, by their craft and subtleties to provide a loophole for escape. They procured from Li Hung-Chang the cession—made public on the 6th of January, 1901, in a circular from the Acting Russian Consul at Tien-tsin—of a piece of land for a new Russian settlement which was practically identical with the area that they had so audaciously invaded. True, the part in which were the private premises of British firms was this time excluded, but in respect of that belonging to the railway administration there was ambiguity; as a matter of fact, in the Concession Agreement, when it came to light, it was discovered that the exact delineation of the boundary had been left over for future arrangement.

Although England disdained to challenge the validity of the concession, though she entertained some doubt as to the mode in which it had been obtained, it was palpable that the ground already owned by the railway administration could not suddenly be wrenched from them in such fashion, and that in fact the Agreement could not be held to comprise those lands, so there immediately arose upon this point a most serious controversy.

As to the machinery of all sorts and the stores and materials which Russia took away from the railway, they were eventually restored to the rightful owners, the Russians putting forward the extraordinary plea that, as there were no workshops, no stores, and no materials to the north of Shanhaikwan, it would be impossible to work this northern section of the line after the southern section should have been handed over to Count von Waldersee, and that therefore Russia had "borrowed" the plant and stocks in question; but now that an arrangement was made that the Russians might use the Shanhaikwan workshops for the working of the northern section, they restored the bor-

rowed materials to the parties to whom they belonged. The memorandum of the Russian Government on the subject expressly declared that they had restored *everything*, but the report of the expert went to show that only a part of the whole was ever disgorged, and that in a very badly damaged and scattered condition.

Early in 1901 the railway near Tien-tsin was handed over by Count von Waldersee to the British contingent, which thereupon proceeded to construct a siding in the common interest of the international forces, beginning it on the 7th of March, on land which belonged to the railway administration. The Russians made objection to this on the basis that by the concession derived from Li Hung-Chang the ground belonged to Russia. They also greatly impeded the transfer of certain railway property at Tien-tsin, Tongku, and Shanhaikwan, contrary to the terms of the railway convention entered into the preceding month at Count Waldersee's instance. On the 15th of March the Russians placed sentries on the piece of land where the British were making the siding, in order to prevent the work being continued, and at the same time General Wogack, the Russian general, practically demanded the withdrawal of the British sentries from the ground. Naturally this sort of behavior quickly brought matters to a crisis, and Russia and Great Britain were on the verge of hostilities, so much so that next day, on the 16th of March, the India Office telegraphed to General Gaselee, giving him instructions, and added, "In the meantime do not use force except to repel aggression, and do not eject the Russian sentries." At the same time vigorous, but still conciliatory, protests were lodged by the British Government at St. Petersburg, and in the end an understanding was reached whereby the dispute about proprietary rights was left for future settlement,* and in the interval the British as well as the Russian troops were required to evacuate the plot of land in question. This arrangement was embodied in an Agreement that on the 21st of March was signed in the presence of Count von Waldersee by General Barrow, representing England, and General Wogack, representing Russia—Count von Waldersee adding his own signature to the document—whereby it was stipulated that both the Russian and British guards should be simultaneously withdrawn at 5 A. M. the next day.

The guards were duly withdrawn on both sides, but before the day was out, to the genuine surprise of everybody, save perhaps the

*The dispute was referred to a joint commission, who called upon Mr. Detring to arbitrate on two points whereon the two commissioners were not agreed, and the whole matter was recently settled mainly in favor of the British contention.

Russians themselves, the Russian flags were replanted on the siding itself, and work was recommenced by the Russian soldiers with such energy that three days later, on the 25th of March, the British military authorities had to telegraph home that "the Russians are working on the disputed ground at Tien-tsin in such a way as to render untenable the British position." Surely there could never be a more flagrant instance of Russian insincerity and duplicity! Protests were made, of course, by the British Government to that of St. Petersburg, and as a result the Russian flags gradually and grudgingly disappeared from the property, the last of them being displaced on the 4th of April following. Even while these high-handed proceedings were taking place at Tien-tsin Count Lamsdorff actually "expressed his surprise"—as he termed it—"at the temporary measures taken by the Russian authorities being regarded as in any way inconsistent with the assurances given that Russia would not make any territorial acquisitions in China."

Whilst the "Railway Incident" above described was attracting the attention of the Powers concerned, an Agreement was signed by Great Britain and Germany, on the 16th of October, 1900, in which it was mutually recognized that (*a*) it was a matter of joint and permanent international interest that all Chinese ports on the rivers and littoral should remain free and open for all nations, and the two Governments undertook to uphold the dictum for all Chinese territory, as far as they could exercise influence; (*b*) the two Governments, on their part, would not make use of existing complications to obtain any territorial advantages, and would direct their policy towards maintaining undiminished the territorial conditions of the Chinese Empire; (*c*) should another Power make use of that complication to obtain, under any form whatever, such territorial advantages, the two Governments reserved to themselves to come to a preliminary understanding as to the steps to be taken for the protection of their own interests in China; and (*d*) other Powers would be invited to accept the principle thus recorded.

Accordingly the Powers were invited, and Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, and America all expressed in due course their acceptance. In the case of Japan she specially asked the contracting Powers what was to be the effect of expressing acceptance, and having been told that an acceptor would stand in precisely the same position as an original signatory, she forthwith announced her acceptance in due form. It was plain, therefore, that other Powers also which accepted, though they may not have put the question, stood *pari passu* in the same position as the signatory Powers.

The best part of the joke, if I may be allowed to use this expres-

sion, lay in the situation in which Russia thus unexpectedly found herself. When the Agreement was communicated to her for her acceptance, the British representative in Russia was instructed by the Marquis of Salisbury to state—should any complaint be made of Russia not having previously been consulted—that the Russian Government had given many assurances, but little attention had been paid to the avowed policy of the Russian Government by its officers on the spot, and that this was how England was deterred from making a fuller communication.

The Russian Government, however, accepted the Agreement without wincing, in a communication which, briefly, was as follows:

(*a*) The first part of the Agreement can be favorably entertained by Russia, as this stipulation does not in any way infringe the *status quo* established in China by existing treaties.

(*b*) The second point corresponds all the more with the intentions of Russia, seeing that from the commencement of the present complications she was the first to lay down the maintenance of the integrity of the Chinese Empire as a fundamental principle of her policy.

(*c*) As regards the third point, relating to the eventuality of an infringement of this fundamental principle, the Russian Government can only renew the declaration that such an infringement would oblige Russia to modify her attitude according to circumstances.

When one reflects that, to judge from the then existent situation, there was absolutely no Power but Russia herself that was in any way likely to infringe the fundamental principle which she had enunciated, her lofty acquiescence in and expressed readiness to adhere strictly to the Anglo-German Agreement cannot but give rise to a smile and a chuckle over the manifest intention she thus betrayed of throwing dust in the eyes of Europe and America.

Russia's reckless and high-handed infractions of solemn pledges and treaties have been in the preceding pages but partially laid bare to the light of day, and unhappily there are still more serious counts in the indictment that must be reserved for a future article. As I shall have to show, the tenets upheld by Russian politicians, and particularly as exemplified in their treatment of Far Eastern Questions, are nothing short of a peril to the world at large, for they are of a character which must tend in time to sap the foundations of diplomatic intercourse and constitute a permanent menace to the peace of nations.

SUYEMATSU.

(*To be Concluded.*)

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

(*Continued from the September Number.*)

An analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the more important and valuable articles.

The *fourth* is an illustrative plate of the new English rifle and the Russian and Japanese weapons, the *fifth* containing the description to accompany the first of these:

"The new rifle is five inches shorter and 1 lb. to 1¼ lbs. lighter than the present Lee-Enfield Mark I* Rifle.

"The magazine holds ten rounds, and is filled by cartridges carried in chargers holding five rounds each in a manner similar to the Mauser rifle. Guides to hold the charger are fitted on the bolt-head and body, and the five cartridges can be pressed out of it into the magazine by the thumb, and to facilitate this the body is cut away somewhat on the left side. There is no cut-off, except in rifles made for the Navy. There is a safety catch on the left of the body which locks the bolt and cocking-piece in either the full cock or fired position. This catch is also made so as to obviate the possibility of the bolt being lost by mounted troops.

"The barrel is rather smaller in external diameter and five inches shorter than that of the existing rifle—*i. e.*, 25.2 inches long instead of 30.2 inches. The foresight block carries a barley-corn, which is adjusted before issue, so as to suit the shooting of the rifle. Hitherto the sighting of all rifles of one pattern has been determined by trials of a number of that pattern, whereby the best average position of the foresight has been ascertained, and then all rifles of that pattern have had their foresights (which were not adjustable) accurately manufactured in that position; this has been ensured by careful gauging, but the correctness of the sighting of each rifle has not been tested by shooting. As, however, the shooting of every rifle of one pattern is not identical, it has been decided that in future each rifle before issue is to have its sight tested by firing, and adjusted by the use of suitable barley-corns. High and low barley-corns differ from the normal by .015 inch.

"The back sight (which is very similar to that of the Krag-Jörgensen Rifle) consists of a leaf pivoted to the front end of the bed; it is raised by moving the slide which rests on curved ramps, and which is held in position by catches which engage in a toothed rack on each side of the leaf; the rack allows of the sight being set for every 50 yards from 200 to 2,000. The catches are released by studs made of bone, so that they can be handled however hot the rifle may be. The V is a small one, as that was generally preferred after trials of different shape. A pair of ears, or lugs, is provided, so as to protect the cap of the back sight. This cap is capable of a fine adjustment, by means of which any elevation intermediate between the 50-yard intervals can be given; the graduations of the fine adjustment fitting are equivalent to six inches on a vertical target at 100 yards range. There is a wind-gauge with similar graduations. A dial sight is provided, ranging from 1,600 to 2,800 yards.

"The mean muzzle velocity is 2,025 foot-seconds."

MILITARY GEOGRAPHY.

1. Manchuria.—*Jour. Arty.*, March, April.
2. Port Arthur.—*Same.*
3. Manchuria and Port Arthur.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, May.
4. From Irkutsk to Harbin.—*Same*, June.
5. The Russian Communications.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, May 14.
6. Sea and Land Routes to the Far East.—*Mar. Rund.*, April.

The *third* of the above articles, by Colonel Beresford, the late British military attaché at St. Petersburg, is of special interest, and very readable, and the *fourth* (by the same author) is quite as interesting. We quote a few remarks from the former:

"Russia, it must be remembered, is fighting some 5,000 miles away from home. She has driven a great railway through the heart of her Asiatic possessions, on which, since the command of the sea has been wrested from her by Japan, she has to depend entirely for the despatch of men, stores, ammunition, and some food to the Far East. As far as Lake Baikal the trains are lit by the electric light. The ordinary trains depend on candles as an illuminating power. The locomotives burn wood from Moscow to Krasnoyarsk, and coal onwards to Lake Baikal; wood in Trans-Baikalia and Manchuria. On the western side of the lake they are of French manufacture from Créil or St. Chamand. On the eastern side American engines are chiefly used. The rails do not, as with us, lie on chairs, but are simply nailed down to the sleepers by 10-inch nails, and secured at the junction by fish-plates, pierced with six holes for screws. Such

an arrangement may do well for light and slow traffic, but evidently rapid and heavy trains would in their passage tear such rails from the sleepers, and indeed, perhaps, the latter out of the ground. So in Russia proper no trains are long. The Siberian express consists of four passenger corridor cars, a luggage, a post van, the locomotive and tender. Each car is 11 metres long, so the total length of the train is about 70 yards. On the Trans-Baikal section trains are much longer, but the pace is not more than 15 miles an hour. The curves on this section are unnecessarily sharp. But that the carriages run on bogie wheels I do not think these curves could be managed. I believe that this matter is being remedied. Ballast, ballast, ballast, is what is urgently needed all along the line.

"In spite of all these disadvantages, the Siberian Railway is a most useful strategical factor in the campaign now taking place in East Asia. Since October, 1903, at least 240,000 men have been moved into Manchuria.

"Port Arthur Harbor is a land-locked inlet of a tidal sea, with a great flux. Thus at low tide, the room is comparatively small. Admiral Alexieff tried by dredging to remedy this unsatisfactory state of things. The total area of the harbor at high tide may be about equal one quarter that of Portsmouth. Its entrace is very narrow, and not more than a quarter of a mile broad at most. On the east side is the steep declivity of Zolotaia-Gora, or Golden Hill, with signal station and some eight batteries of heavy guns. On the west side a lower limestone rocky ridge, some 150 feet high, hides the whole harbor from the sea. On this are four great batteries, with from eight to eighteen guns of 7, 10 and 11-inch calibre, as described. As one steams in almost northwest by north, a low hill with an estuary to the southwest of it, appears facing the entrance. It is covered with rather mean houses, which will in time give way to official residences. Before proceeding far, and slowing down, one observes on the northeast a low masonry wall at the edge of the water. The sea laps its sides at high tide, leaving a yard or two of mud at low tide. On this are mounted some twenty quick-firing guns with shields. The battery is, perhaps, 150 yards long; the guns are very close to each other. They would be very deadly against boat attack, as they are trained, so to speak, on one spot, and can be fired night or day without change of aim. Opposite this on the port side to the southwest is another quick-firing battery. This battery mounts a dozen guns at least. It is immediately below the hill on Tiger-Tail peninsula. On this spit of land has been built the torpedo-boat shed, now in full working order. Here, if boats are not actually built, they are hauled

up on slips, and all possible repairs can be made. The shed has all the necessary engines, lathes, shops, etc. It is needless to say that this and the whole fortress, except the outlying forts, are lit with the electric light. At least two 10,000 candle-power projectors send their beams seaward at night to sweep the approaches with a flood of light."

MILITARY HYGIENE.

1. Military Veterinary Hygiene.—*Jour. Cav.*, July.
2. Glanders.—*Jour. Arty.*, May, June.
3. Army and Navy General Hospital at Hot Springs, Arkansas.—*Jour. Mil. Surg.*, June.
4. The Japanese as Military Sanitarians.—*Same.*
5. Chronic Dysentery.—*Same.*

We have space for but a few remarks on the *third* and *fourth* of these. The former is an interesting article by Colonel Torney, Medical Department, now in charge of the General Hospital at Presidio, San Francisco, Cal.; the latter is by Colonel Hoff, Medical Department. We quote a few words from the latter article:

"It will be recalled that less than half a century ago the Japanese finally concluded to adopt western civilization. That they might know what this civilization really was, they sent out commissions to visit all the great nations and bring back that which was best.

"In this pilgrimage it was found that France had the best army (views modified after the war of 1870), England the best navy, and the United States the best public school system, and these are the models on which Japan organized her public schools, her army and her navy.

"The admirable organization of the Japanese army extends equally to its sanitary department, for, though their national commission found among us no religion they could recommend or adopt, yet humanity seems to have been recognized by this people; in any event, they realized, humanity aside, that a properly organized sanitary department was absolutely essential to the effectiveness of an army, and, with their usual promptitude, organized one which in personnel, material and efficiency leaves little to be desired."

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Wireless in War.—*Jour. Arty.*, May, June.
2. Motor Wagons.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 5.
3. Military Automobiles.—*Same.*
4. Roentgen Apparatus for Military Use.—*Same*, 6.

NEW EXCHANGES.

Journal of the United States Infantry Association, Washington, D. C., monthly, $3.00 per year.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. Our Military System.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.,* Aug.
2. The Auxiliary Forces Commission.—*Same.*
3. Some Advantages and Disadvantages of the Army.—*Same.*
4. The Navy and the Colonies.—*Same.*
5. The Field Artillery of Armies.—*Jour. Arty.,* July-Aug.
6. Swiss Field Artillery Organization.—*Same.*
7. Subsistence Service in Armies.—*Jour. M. S. I.,* Sept.-Oct.
8. A Suggested National Organization of the Militia.—*Same.*
9. The Reorganization of the English Army.—*Same.*
10. The Navy and the Nation.—*A. and N. Gaz.,* Aug. 13.
11. The New Army Scheme.—*Same,* July 16.
12. Changes in the World's Armies and Navies.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.,* Aug.; *Int. Rev.,* July.

The *first* article relates to the changes going on in the organization of the British army at the present time,—the absorbing military subject in Great Britain,—which are culminating in sweeping changes throughout the army:

"A 'new' State engaged in the matter of building up a military system, or an 'old' State engaged in remodelling a military system which has proved inadequate, will do well to forbid its counsellors the consideration of more than three influences, to wit—

"1. *Policy,* the expression of national destiny, partially obvious and inevitable, but for the rest controllable by its statesmen, and therefore varying with the national temperament.

"2. *Geographical Situation,* which contributes so largely to the shaping of national characteristics, which predisposes peoples in favor of certain national ambitions, against others, and which may be modified from time to time by the acquisition or abandonment of territory, the fruits of policy.

"3. *National Idiosyncrasies,* partly the result of geographical situation, but largely influenced by the precepts and by the example of rulers and leaders.

"These three influences may be said to form the Trinity of Strategic Forces, each of which is complex, each of which is closely interwoven with the other two, and each of which is fixable by the exercise of national free will.

"The resultant of these three elemental forces decides, in direction and magnitude, the ideal military system. The direction prescribes the kind of military service which should be demanded of loyal subjects, the magnitude (considered side by side with geographical situation) will point the armed strength and the correct distribution of the armed forces within the territories of the State. * * *

"So far as our system rests upon the Regular Army, it dates only from 1870, when the crushing results achieved by Prussian preparation for war had set the civilized world a-thinking.

"Since that day, the German Empire has supplied the pattern and the model for everything that pertains to the science of military organization, and to the higher branches of warfare. To Germany we must look, now as then, but we must not allow ourselves to be hypnotized by German hats, buttons, or coat-tails. And if some are inclined to raise the 'Made in Germany' sneer, it is sufficient to remind them that Prussian military organization was 'made in Germany.' The organization that did that is no fit butt for cheap sarcasm.

"German military organization is as nearly perfect as can be, just because due consideration has been paid in framing it to elemental strategic forces, and because Germans do not shrink from undertaking necessary modifications. We should grasp the principles which underlie that perfection, and apply them, in our own way, to our own circumstances. * * *

"Granted the existence of a practical and widespread patriotism, of a temperate and amenable national character, of a strong and universal sense of national duty, a voluntary military system is, ethically, preferable to any form of compulsion.

"It is doubtless axiomatic to aver that a Volunteer is worth two pressed men, but the axiom assumes the patriotism, the temperate and amenable character, and the sense of duty. In the absence of these virtues the axiom becomes merely a shibboleth, a catch-word with which to play upon the ignorant and prejudiced.

"When patriotism wanes, or takes unpractical forms, when the national character is weakened and the reverse of amenable, when the sense of duty is dulled, then compulsion may rightly be called in to redress the balance, and, from the purely military standpoint, becomes absolutely essential, if possessions, prestige, and precedence are to be upheld in the interests of unborn generations who may aspire to higher ideals. A People's Army on a 'universal' basis is perhaps the most potent educational institution which a nation can possess.

"So it is with us to-day; and, in face of waning patriotism, degradescent national character, and an almost complete absence of any

sense of national duty in whole masses of our population, if we wish to go straight to the root of our military shortcomings, we can do so by putting our finger on the fact that our military service is *voluntary*.

"And, if we want to see the haphazard, go-as-you-please voluntary ideal in its perfection, we must go to the Volunteer Force. Considering the Volunteer Force in the light of our strategical requirements, its very existence is difficult to justify.* * *

"Stripped of all verbiage, the Volunteer Force is a mass of very indifferently trained, very 'unfit,' very badly equipped, very badly officered men, banded into an organization which is more social than military, which is financed partly from Army Funds, which is branded with the inglorious motto 'Defence, not defiance,' which is equally powerless for either offence or defence or defiance, and which alone, amidst the military forces of the Crown, is allowed to be politically active. * * *

"The absurdity of attempting to extract military efficiency from the Volunteer Force is made clear by a glance at the history of the recent 'crises.'

"Two generations of administration by indifferent Regular officers, with one foot in the grave of half-pay, and taught to supress any remnants of military common sense in presence of the Volunteer Ideal, a generation of public derogation (*vide* back numbers of *Punch*) followed by a generation of extravagant adulation, had led to the force establishing its own standards of military efficiency and preparedness for war.* * *

"Believing as I do that the Volunteer Force is the key of our present military system, that it has set up in our midst a false standard of military efficiency, worshipped by an ignorant general public which accepts the Volunteer Ideal at its own valuation, and that the further maintenance of such a body is mischievous, I see no hope of recasting our military system into any shape more suited to our strategic requirements of to-day until that force is removed from the path which it now encumbers."

The *second* article relates practically to the same subject, and considers the question of compulsory service:

"It has been pointed out by our late Inspector-General that the whole problem is, from the outset, governed by the geographical fact that, unlike Continental Powers, our home frontiers are not coterminous with those of any foe; the fleet of the first sea-power of the world is our outpost—watching as well as defence—line, and would, under any circumstances, give us more or less time for final

preparation. We are warned that, in some mysterious fashion, our squadrons might be decoyed away, or else beaten (in such case is it likely the enemy's fleet would be intact?), and that consequently the Channel would be left open for a longer or shorter period.

"At any rate there must first be a time of international and diplomatic tension before the blow can reach our shores, sufficient wherein, under our present laws, to call out and mobilize our Auxiliary Forces. On their part, our enemy or enemies would have to collect their invading troops, transports of all sorts to carry them over sea, and a convoy of fighting ships as escort and guard against our mosquito fleet; all this could not be done without some foreknowledge reaching us. Judging comparatively from the experience of our Japanese friends with their perfect organization, it would be impossible for any enemy to land 50,000 men on our coasts, complete with all details, under a fortnight or three weeks at the very least, and even then with the assurance that the force thus landed, a veritable forlorn hope, would be cut off at any moment from retreat or succor by our certain recovery of the local command of the sea.

"The problem therefore to be worked out should be put somewhat as follows:—Premising that we keep, say, at least 25,000 Regulars at home, how to assure that we shall have Auxiliary Troops, fully organized into Divisions and Brigades with their staffs, and ready after three weeks or so of hard training, after mobilization, to meet Continental Regulars invading our own country."

The author then, after admitting the inefficiency of the Volunteers, proceeds to discuss the causes and propose the remedies.

The *third* paper is an entertaining dissertation on the advantages and disadvantages of army life:

"Some conditions of life in the Army are susceptible of improvement, some are unavoidable consequences of that way of life. Most civilians have little knowledge of what the advantages and the disadvantages of the Army really are, though none the less bold to criticise and condemn. Let us discuss some of these from the point of view of the man who wears the belt.

"The first advantage is the consciousness of serving the country. I am afraid this feeling—patriotism—is not so much an everyday root of action as one could wish, but, from the General to the Drummer in a Volunteer Corps, it is there; and, in time of stress, its fruits are seen, and seen to be good. In time of peace other callings may be more attractive and almost all are certainly better paid—in money. Few people realize that the pay of a lieutenant-colonel, commanding an infantry battalion, is only £328 10s. a year; this,

after probably twenty-five to thirty years' service, at home and abroad. Even this is subject to income tax, and to deductions, obligatory or voluntary, for the good of the Service and of the Regiment. But these other ways of life miss the *camaraderie* that follows the sharing of good or bad luck with one's regiment, one's home all over the world. For the officer there is a certainty of a measure of social consideration; often a hereditary pride in the profession of arms; a life of travel; a life of adventure, it may be. On the other hand, for the vast majority, it will be a life with much monotonous but necessary drudgery. The absence of responsibility will deaden the professional pleasures of life; the frequent failure to see any result of labor will deaden ambition to achieve.

"Opportunities of adventure, of travel, of seeing men and cities, are great advantages. There are consequential disadvantages too. As a man gets older, he tires, or many do, of having no settled home; there is separation from family and friends; there are the expenses of taking leave from far off countries, of double establishments as children grow up, who must be educated at home.

"The pay is low, very low, but it has the advantage of certainty and of a pension. The terms of Service are hard on a man who, unlucky in promotion, must retire at an age when he is still able to be of service to the country as a soldier but is too old to start again in any other way of life. I know that this must be, to keep up the flow of promotion; nor do I, a poor man, desire to see the pay of officers much increased. A large increase of pay would alter the class of officer rather than improve it, I think,—

> 'For gold the merchant ploughs the main,
> The farmer ploughs the manor,
> But glory is the soldier's pride,
> The soldier's wealth is honor.'

"Leave is liberal in the Army, and that it is so is advantageous to the Army and to the State. It is well that men should go home to rebuild constitutions shaken by climates unnatural to them; it is well that they should get out of narrow Colonial views.

"As to style of living, it is well that it should be, as it is, high in comparison with the pay; and this is possible only by the system of messes. Few men starting life in other professions can afford to live as we do, thanks to our messes. Plate, glass, table-linen and the service of food generally are infinitely better than individual members could afford on their pay. It is desirable that the bearers of the King's Commission should live in a liberal style; the country

reaps a benefit from this, especially in the East, where externals count for so much.

"Continual examinations and continual new standards of examination we do not object to. They may be necessary, as the only possible tests of efficiency in peace time; but no one could read an average examination paper without seeing that many of the questions are purely academic. And as to the results of examinations; if any one ever got any advantage from passing "distinguished" in any subject, I never heard of it.

"Regimental officers are very rarely consulted in anything; if their advice is asked, it is even more rarely followed. The Staff are rather apt to forget that it is very easy to lose touch of regimental life."

The *fourth* paper relates to lack of interest of the Colonies in the British navy:.

"It is a matter of surprise to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom that the feeling of absolute dependency for very existence, which they themselves feel in the Navy, is not equally shared by the Colonials. It is a fact that this feeling does not extend in the same degree to the inhabitants of the Colonial possessions; they recognize that the extent of dependency upon the Navy is regulated by the geographical position, economic conditions, density and nature of the population. The population of the Empire is composed of such varied classes that it is only to be expected that their loyalty to the Crown will be shown in varied forms; and because it is more difficult to convince the bushman of Australia, the rancher of Canada and the farmer of South Africa, than the fisherman of Newfoundland or boatman of Deal, that the inviolability of the Empire depends on the Navy more than the rapid concentration of numerous Colonial contingents, it does not therefore follow that the former holds this inviolability less dear than the latter. It is but an instance of the influence of environment upon ideas. In the case of some of the larger Colonies, the seaboards of which have perhaps militated against a large seafaring community, the plains of the interior, long distances and sparse communications have favored and fostered an equestrian community whose knowledge of the sea is remote. It is therefore hardly a matter for surprise that a people seeing so little of the element, the command of which they are told is their security, should show some want of belief in this statement.

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"Now, before affirming or denying the latter portion of the axiom, that the Colonies should not contribute to the Navy—for the

former part is obviously correct, viz., that the Navy is as necessary to England with Colonies or not—it will be as well to attempt, judicially and dispassionately, to inquire into the naval requirements of the Colonies.

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"As the natural result of environment, the insular continent of Australia has been the first Colony to seriously discuss the advisability of creating a navy of her own. * * * * The feeling of national responsibility in Australia is due to a similar rapidly growing instinct in Canada, the proximity of foreign Powers, and the increasing commercial relations between them. In the past it was customary for all negotiations, whether commercial or otherwise, to pass through the Colonial Secretary; trade, however, is a poor respecter of persons until difficulties arise, then the official is quickly resorted to for assistance.

"In the Pacific we find both Germany and Holland coterminous with Australia in New Guinea; she is also in juxtaposition to France and Germany in New Caledonia and Samoa; the war now proceeding in the East brings us nearer to the naval and military Powers of Russia and Japan; and she is but a few days off America in Hawaii. Her intercourse with those Powers is ever becoming more brisk, and the possibility of conflict with one or more of them is becoming apparent, and is directly responsible for the rise of a national instinct which, if diplomatically guided, will mean strength rather than weakness to the Empire. * * *

"Australia has the nucleus of a very fine fighting force indeed; the value of their fighting powers were fully felt at a critical time; it is, then, the development of these latent powers that Imperial Defence requires, and not an immature scheme in the form of a wasteful force such as an independent navy that would only invite the attacks it would be utterly powerless to repel."

The *fifth* article, by Colonel Schenck, discusses the field artillery of the world's armies, its strength and organization (into regiments) and its proportion to the other arms, and arrives at the following conclusions:

"In time of peace, the field artillery regiments, with the exception of the siege, should consist of, for each regiment, a complete staff, and two battalions, each battalion having a staff, and three batteries of six guns each (if the guns of a battery are to be reduced to four, then the battalions should consist of four batteries each); with power vested in the President to increase the number of batteries in any or

all battalions by one gun-battery and one for the train, and also to increase the number of battalions in any or all regiments by one.

"The thirty batteries now in the Artillery Corps should be detached therefrom, and would provide at once five of these regiments, to which can be added annually one or more regiments until the number of regiments we should have is completed.

"It is only about three years since we witnessed the so-called re-organization of our army. To-day we find that the coast artillery personnel is deficient by more than 25,000 artillerymen, and hampered with an absurd and useless company organization. We find the field artillery coupled with the coast artillery, with which it will never be as closely associated as will the infantry, to whom must be intrusted the land defenses of the coast forts. We find thirty batteries of field artillery—about one-fourth the strength necessary—without any legal organization whatever beyond that of the battery, a state of affairs the like of which is not to be found upon the face of this green earth in any country having any pretense of an army, probably not even in China.

"The foregoing strength for our field artillery has been deduced from a consideration of facts other than those obtaining in the English army, from which we have inherited much of our military art, and whose military traditions and practices most nearly resemble our own."

The *sixth* paper gives a résumé of the new Swiss field artillery organization:

"The Swiss Federal Chambers have recently adopted the new re-organization scheme recommended by the Federal Council in consequence of the adoption of new R. F. material; 72 batteries of 4 guns each will be formed in place of the present 56 batteries of 6 guns each. or 16 batteries more, but 48 guns less; 2 to 3 batteries will form a brigade division; 2 to 3 brigade divisions will form a field artillery regiment. According to arrangements, brigade divisions of 3 batteries will be the rule; as regards the composition of the regiment, it will be adapted to the organization of the large units; the question with regard to the abolition of corps artillery remains an open one.

"Effectives of batteries, brigade divisions, and regiments will be fixed provisionally by decrees of the Federal Council. The allowance of ammunition is fixed at 800 rounds per gun, instead of 500 as at present; the battery will thus be supplied with 3,200, instead of 3,000 rounds. The total number of caissons remains as formerly; but the new battery consists of 4 guns, 10 caissons, 1 six-horse wagon with

forge and kitchen, 1 six-horse van, and 2 two-horse provision wagons. Each battery will, in addition, have 8 caissons parked."

The *seventh* and *eighth* articles are both interesting and instructive, but should be read in their entirety.

The *ninth* article contains an outline of the reorganization scheme for the British Army:

"The long-expected explanation of the reorganization of the English Army has at last been published by the Minister of War. According to this arrangement six army corps shall be organized in the United Kingdom. The main purpose of this is that the first three corps shall always be ready for war, and shall be stationed that upon notification they can be immediately sent abroad. The remaining three corps, aided by auxiliary troops, such as militia, imperial-yeomanry, and volunteers shall serve merely to protect the country.

"It must be taken into consideration that the regiments, batteries and battalions stationed in India are not included in this statement but in the usual manner must be relieved by troops from England.

The first three army corps are distributed as follows:

1st Armp Corps.....Aldershot.
2d Army Corps.....Salisbury Plain.
3d Army Corps.....Ireland.

"The 4th, 5th and 6th Army Corps are stationed in London, York and Scotland.

"Altogether the first three army corps shall be composed of the following:

Cavalry Regiments 15
Batteries of Artillery 78
Battalions of Infantry 72

"The 4th, 5th and 6th Army Corps shall be composed of the following:

	Regulars.	Auxiliary troops.
Cavalry Regiments	5	10
Batteries of Artillery	53	27
Battalions of Infantry	14	61

So that each Corps will contain

24 or 25 Battalions of Infantry.
26 Batteries of Artillery.
5 Regiments of Cavalry.

"But the establishment of the 5th and 6th Army Corps is at present not an established fact.

The entire strength of the regular army shall be:

Cavalry Regiments	21
Batteries of Artillery	131
Battalions of Infantry	86

The present strength is:

Cavalry Regiments	16
Batteries of Artillery	111
Batteries of Infantry	77

"It must be understood that every five cavalry regiments form a brigade and that the first cavalry brigade is attached to the 1st corps, etc. At present nothing is known about the disposition of troops of engineers and wagoners."

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The chief military event of the month has been the series of maneuvers carried out at Manassas, Virginia, on the old Bull Run battlefield. Troops of the Department of the East, with militia from Eastern and Southern States, were mobilized at that point and executed various problems during the week, followed by a review on Saturday. The object of the assemblage of the troops at a considerable cost of money was twofold, to give the brigade commanders an opportunity of moving considerable bodies of troops and to afford some opportunity for the militia to understand service conditions and to become somewhat familiar with them.

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The problems which were the ostensible object of the maneuvers were of secondary importance and were carried out as well as the necessary simultations would allow. At the same time it was evident that any amount of intelligent provision cannot take the place of conditions of actual warfare and that the incidental practice, rather than the accurate definition of means of meeting given situations is the valuable thing attained. For example, it is said that the line of the victorious army was so entended and attenuated that a comparatively small body of cavalry, supposing such to have existed, would have materially changed the result if thrown against the supposedly victorious line.

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This, however, is a trifling matter as opposed to the real good that has been done in giving the militia a new light and a new standard by which to gauge themselves and their performances and shortcomings. It was again demonstrated that the greatest military danger to the United States is the fact that the militia, which must make up the bulk of the armies of the country, are ignorant of how to take and keep the field. It is probable that the requirements were over severe and that the marches required were excessive and more than would be required of new troops freshly mobilized. But the militia to be of real value should not consider themselves or be considered as new troops on mobilization. A volunteer force which requires to be broken in is but of little more use than raw levies. The need of the

United States is for a volunteer force which can go into camp on call and undertake weeks or months of camp life without appreciable deterioration and be ready for service when the time comes.

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The value of the annual maneuvers, especially in the Eastern States, will come in the impression that will be made on the militia that they are not soldiers until they can live in tents without falling sick. Their first lesson, and the lesson sadly needed, is that of camp sanitation, and it is likely that some new ideas have been set adrift in militia circles that will grow into a system of camping drills.

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There is the usual inevitable complaint of hardships undergone, of scanty rations, of sore feet, of being out in the dark without the comforting city lights, and so on. Certain tender feelings and plants of pride have been stepped on and injured, and some of the outcry sounded much like that of the Spanish-American War, whose experiences have made the general public not so ready to extend a tender ear as it was at one time. It was developed, however, that there is a class of officers of the militia of the United States for whom the regular officers hold a distinct liking and respect. The parade and politics officer has not disappeared by any means, but it appears, and nowhere so strongly as at the late maneuvers, that there is a very large body of earnest military students among the volunteer soldiers, who are anxious and willing to learn, who appreciate that men who have made the military profession a life study have something to teach them and who occupy places in the militia for sheer love of military learning and exercise. These men, and they are in all grades, are the strength of the militia system, and they are being encouraged, recognized and assisted by the regular army to a degree which is creating a comradeship and mutual spirit of confidence that is the most hopeful sign in the difficult problem of an effective force for the defence of the United States.

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The annual reports from the heads of the various departments of the army are being given publicity as received by the War Department, and there has been the regular September newspaper comment on the views of the commanding officers. It seems to be a fixed habit for general officers to include comments on things in general relating to army matters in their annual reports. The personal views of the officer and the particulars in which the Department generally

does not agree with him are given an opportunity for expression, and the result is not always fortunate. It is true that without this feature of the reports, the annual summaries of the work done would attract little general attention, but it is to be questioned whether it is judicious for an officer to gain the reputation of an annual essayist on mooted points of military administration.

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Major General H. C. Corbin in his annual report calls attention to the disadvantage to young officers of an early marriage on which includes a menage on a pay basis solely. The advice given is such as young people in civil, as well as military life, are abundantly blessed with and which is usually disregarded, both in and out of the service. Gen. Corbin is right beyond doubt, but youth will continue to do foolish things and will either learn wisdom or contract endless trouble thereby. The point in Gen. Corbin's homily to which most serious exception has been taken is the suggestion that the consent of the Secretary of War ought to be requisite for the marriage of a young officer. It has been hinted that the idea is of foreign derivation, and that the general got it in Germany, and the course of affairs in German military circles is not universally commended even by strict militarists.

Another point which has been picked out from the remarks for comment is the statement that the uniforms and equipments of a young officer exhaust so much as remains of his pay after his subsistence has been provided for. The comment is made that the requirements of the uniforming should be lessened, so that this item of expense might be decreased and something left to cover the cost of civilian clothes of which a full outfit must be maintained under the theory that an officer should only wear his uniform when absolutely compelled to do so. The question of uniforms has been prominently in the minds of officers of the army in the past two or three years. The extensive changes and the departure from old standards in which certain economies had come to be possible have made the period one of the most expensive in this respect that the army has ever known, and it is probably the fortunate officer who has been able to keep his expenditure for uniforms within the limits of his current pay.

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Mr. Poultney Bigelow has added somewhat to the literature on the subject of a compulsory military training of citizens of the United States, a question on which there is to be a considerable amount of discus-

sion within the next few months. Mr. Bigelow reviews the German system and, characteristically, is with the German point of view to a considerable degree. Against his view will be found a considerable number of military men, as well as the bulk of the uninformed commentators on the subject. Mr. Bigelow's own article carries with it the statement of the chief argument against a compulsory enrollment, though he does not place the matter in that light. The German system has developed a class of professional soldiers from the total of citizen enrollments who have no intention of returning to civil life, are entirely divorced from civilianism and its associations and who have because of the fact grown hostile to it. When civilianism is placed in the power of this class through the enforced service of a yearly changing enrollment there comes the oppression and ill-treatment which has made the scandal of the German military system. It is the establishment of such a class in the United States that is the dread of those who speak against militarism and the danger of the creation of such a class is the danger of any system of compulsory military training.

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At the same time, in the discussion of this question it is not to be forgotten that historically, a compulsory service in the militia is an institution of the United States. The old training days when every ablebodied citizen between certain years was expected to appear, provided each with his sufficient musket and appurtenances, are only so far back as the childhood of the generation just passing away. It was not for fault in the equity or advisability of the system that it was abolished, but simply and solely because of the ludicrous inadequacy of the administration of the idea that it is the duty of every citizen of a free nation to bear arms in its defence that substituted a voluntary system of militia service. Unless such leaven of earnest students of military discipline as is referred to in another paragraph shall be found to be of sufficient vigor to leaven the whole loaf, it will be found that the militia system on a voluntary basis is inadequate to meet the need of the nation. It has been found that the new legislation on the subject known as the Dick bill has done somewhat. Perhaps it has done more even than is realized at the present time. That is a consummation devoutly to be hoped, for the fact is that without a change for the better, the militia had been on the road to absolute discredit as a force on which dependence for national defence could be placed.

The action of the Navy Department in placing the monitor Puritan before the city of Washington for the use of the naval militia of the District of Columbia is an indication of how far naval construction in the United States has gone in the past ten years Within two years the Puritan has been regarded as an active factor in the naval service, even in its subsidiary use as a target practice vessel. That it has been practically abandoned as the old sailing vessels and condemned gunboats have been abandoned indicates that the Navy has in reality and in earnestness taken its place among the naval establishments of the world. The action of the Department is by no means illogical since if the monitor type is of value at all it is strictly and solely of use in enclosed waters which may be defended by local levies and organizations. The success of the naval brigade of the District of Columbia with the Puritan will, it is to be hoped, lead the Navy Department to turn over the balance of the monitors, including the four mistakes of 1898, to the alongshore sailors, and make the officers and crews of the regular navy, now diverted to their use, available for commissioning the new seagoing ships.

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There is a marked contrast in the respective reports of the Boards of Visitors to the Naval and to the Military Academy. In the former case the visitors have a long summary of points on which they suggest a change in the Academy practice, some of them including a virtual overturn of the manner of the present administration. The shortening of the term of instruction is found objectionable, and a longer, rather than a shorter scholastic course is recommended. On the other hand, the board which visited the Military Academy apparently found, in its opinión, the best possible system of instruction and administration, and confines itself to recommendations on points tending to increase or retain the interest, picturesque and historical, of the surroundings of the Academy. With a maximum of good intention and with the possibility of making a lucky hit during a week's pleasant visit in detecting something not appreciated by those having daily familiarity with Academy conditions, the visiting boards may, nevertheless, be styled as archaic institutions good humoredly accepted by the powers that be and as good humoredly ignored. It is perhaps not easy to suggest a better plan for extraneous criticism, but it would be hardly possible to devise a less useful means of applying outside influence to the administration of the service schools.

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It is impossible to view without some astonishment the impetus toward the increase of weights in battleships that has been given by the Japanese-Russian war. It was anticipated in the earlier days of the contest that the outcome would be in the line of the light and speedy, rather than in the direction of the heavy and powerful. The comparatively unimportant showing of the torpedo craft and the work that was done with gunfire has changed the balance of opinion entirely, and if torpedo boats are not discredited, they are at least no stronger than they were at the opening of the war, while the battleship has gained immensely in prestige.

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One of the signs of the movement is in the increase of the length of the twelve-inch gun, the first of the examples of the new arm being now under construction at Washington. It was held not so very long ago that the weight of heavy seagoing ordnance had been sharply defined and that the limit of the metal had been reached. It appears, however, that there is need for more power still, and if the gun is over weight, other things must be brought up to allow for the difference. At the ranges and the penetration necessary, the twelve-inch gun is the one important arm, and length of bore to increase muzzle energy has come to be regarded as the thing of main importance.

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The result is, inevitably, an increase in the total weights and of the displacement of the coming battleship. Coincident with the supposed limitation of the weight of guns, there was a suggestion that the battleship had reached proportions beyond the economical limit. The "handy" ship had its advocates during one season, but the small and handy ship has gone the way of things which run against hard facts, and the twenty thousand ton battle ship is all but in the immediate future. The sixteen thousand ton vessels not yet off the building slips already appear to be but of moderate size and a mere addition of four thousand tons has been glibly done on paper. It is already being remarked that the future battleship will keep the sea largely because it will have to keep the sea or remain continuously in the few ports to which it can find entrance.

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In this connection, an article by Rear Admiral Melville in the *Youth's Companion* of September 22 is interesting. Writing for a non-technical publication, the Admiral is, perhaps, not so guarded in his statement of conclusions as he might have been had he been writing for technical read-

ers, and his opinion on the proper type of battleship, while it is characteristic, would be differed from by many, especially some of his contemporaries on the Board on Construction. Admiral Melville has never made any secret of his opinion that engine power and coal capacity are the things in a war vessel, and in the article referred to he almost inveighs against the increase of weights or armor and armament, while engine power shares a smaller proportion of the increase. Given that Russia had had two or three fleets of armored vessels of fifteen thousand tons displacement, capable of keeping the sea for considerable periods and sustaining a speed of twenty knots in rough weather with economical coal consumption and large bunker capacity bringing about the continuous cruising longevity above referred to and Japan would not have bridged the sea to Korea with transports. It is not the heavy guns that do the work, says the Admiral, but those of smaller caliber, and lighter guns and more engine power, with larger and more accessible coal bunkers, are the things in naval construction.

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All this, of course, is an echo of the old disputes in the Board on Construction in those doughty days when Admirals Bowles, O'Neil, Melville and Bradford engaged in the struggles of Titans. Each a man of maximum caliber and each confident that the portion of the whole represented by him was the most important consideration in the make up of a battleship. The navy of the United States profited hugely by the thrashing out that battleship ship construction got in this process, but the men of small ships were defeated by the irresistible logic of the table of weights and the engine power section was handicapped by the facts of the rapid running down of high speeds compared with the consistent performances of high powered armament. Until confronted with these facts, speed and coal capacity have a strong hold in the argument, but the picture of a ship purposely weakened in armor and armament in behalf of speed and with the extra two or three knots of speed gone because of foul bottoms, choked flues and sediment-impeded tubes swings the weight of opinion to the other side. The improvement of the turbine may bring renewed strength to Admiral Melville's contention, but high speed is too costly under present conditions.

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Publication has been made during the month to the effect that the Navy Department is to conduct a system of inspection of merchant vessels for the pur-

pose of determining their availability for use in case of war. The impression has been that this is a new departure, but the fact is, of course, that such determination has always been a part of the work of the Navy Department. The approval of a form for the reports of such inspections gave rise to the publication. The armament of merchant vessels would be a problem of no small magnitude, should it be required at the present time, since with the full capacity of ordnance production at work, the navy is at the very limit for guns and there is no reserve supply of powder since manufacture is being minimized pending the completion of the tests of the new forms. Finally, the experience with armed merchant steamers has not been such as to warrant reliance on them much beyond the stage of lightly armed auxiliaries.

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In connection with the current political campaign there is frequent comment on the amounts of money being spent for the army and navy establishments. For campaign purposes, it is of course convenient to disregard the results obtained by the comparative expenditures, but it is doubtful if the citizens of the United States are so green as to fail to recognize, for example, that there is economy in spending a hundred millions for a really efficient navy as against frittering away a quarter of that sum on an establishment of mere nominal value. On the side of the army there is a corresponding difference more than outweighing the difference in gross amounts in well established and efficient posts as against mere makeshifts of military occupancy, in a real and effective conjunction between the regular and volunteer forces, in a system of coast defence calculated to defend and in the wise expenditure of an adequate amount of money instead of a shabby patching with insufficient appropriations.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service" are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

CAMPAIGNING IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The morning of May 4, 1899, found General Lawton's forces resuming their march toward San Isidro. The next city to be taken possession of was Balinag, eight miles down the river. Colonel Summers of the Second Oregon, commanded, in addition to his own regiment, the Third U. S. Infantry, the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteers and Scott's battery.

The morning was bright and the balmy, tropical air was actually invigorating it seemed so sweet and fresh. On either side of the road along which the column marched were tall palms, affording delightful shade, and here and there underneath the palms grew the chocolate and the interesting little coffee tree, with its crimpled, glossy leaves.

Excepting occasional firing by prowling Insurgents and now and then a return shot from the advance guard, the morning's march was without incident; but by the time we had arrived within two miles of Balinag the enemy was making it so uncomfortable for the head of our column that the Third Infantry was thrown out into skirmish order and in this formation succeeded in driving the Insurgents back into the city. Colonel Summers' brigade was then halted.

I was a private in Company I of the Second Oregon Volunteers, but, on account of my connection with the Portland *Oregonian*, with the permission of Colonel Summers, I was enjoying the privilege of a newspaper correspondent—to move back and forth from one portion of the brigade to another in order to collect news. A few minutes after the column had halted from the front came the order,

"Bring up the Artillery double-quick!—'Pass it along the line.'"

The instant the message reached him Lieutenant Scott started his mules on the run. The battery consisted of three 3 2-10-inch guns, each drawn by four strong, splendid looking American mules, the clatter of whose great hoofs caused the numerous soldiers to give way to one side with even greater dispatch than a Broadway throng ordinarily yields right-of-way to a number of gong-clanging fire engines. In less than five minutes from the time the command begun being "passed along the line" the battery was in position, from which—across a rice field, about one and a half miles wide—could be seen fleeing rapidly to the north what appeared to be the entire population of the city. The procession, which extended along the road for a distance of two miles, was just clearing the outskirts of Balinag. It seemed thronged with women and children, carrying on their heads bundles of all

sizes and description, and was headed by what seemed to be a troop of mounted Insurgents. Colonel Summers and his staff were looking through their field glasses when the battery came up.

"I want to head off that procession," Colonel Summers said to Lieutenant Scott. "Take a position in the opening there to the right."

There were fully ten thousand Filipinos in the procession, the rear of which, now in view, seemed brought up by a large body of armed foot-soldiers, guarding what appeared to be men on stretchers.

"They are moving their hospital," one officer remarked.

"Let them have about half a dozen shrapnel," called Colonel Summers to Lieutenant Scott, who, standing midway between the group of officers and his battery, seemed eagerly awaiting orders. As the command, "Fire!" was about to be given, however, an officer of the regular army, who still looked through his glasses, called, somewhat excitedly:

"Colonel, I see a white flag! It's advancing toward us."

Lieutenant Scott was then ordered to hold his fire while Colonel Summers and the other officers present looked through their glasses; but no one could now make out any sign of a flag of truce and the officer who thought he had seen one decided that it must have been a woman's apron he had mistaken for a white flag. So the Colonel repeated his command—

"Give them a few shrapnel, Lieutenant, anyhow."

The first shell fell short, bursting in the air apparently about thirty yards from the center of the procession, but its ominous sound as it curved across the rice field and its loud, sharp report when it burst—though too far away to result in any serious damage—had its effect. Another had already left the second gun and with the same ominous sound of the first was rapidly nearing its mark. Where would that one strike? Without the aid of glasses it was plain that the women and children had already become panic-stricken. Those who carried bundles threw them to the ground; some through sheer fright, stood still in their tracks; others ran back, crowding in behind each other apparently in utter confusion, or, with a still more rapid pace, kept on toward the north; many carried young babies in their arms. But the procession as a whole, lead by mounted troops and brought up by the foot soldiers guarding the stretcher-bearers with their burden of sick and wounded, kept grimly on.

The men were either bareheaded or wore large straw hats. The soldiers were dressed in the Spanish, blue-striped, cotton uniform. Those too old or too young to be classed as soldiers wore a suit of thin white cotton made after the pattern of pajamas. Some wore only the trousers, and the little boys and girls under ten years old—those that were dressed at all—wore a tight-fitting underbody that came to the waist. The girls old enough to tuck up their hair were dressed like their mothers, in a loose, lowneck waist, suspended from one shoulder—the other, left bare—and a piece of dark or colored cloth thrown around them for a skirt.

The second shot still fell short, but it burst so near the procession that the effect could easily be imagined. The shot from the third gun, which quickly followed the second, was observed to fall and burst right in the midst of the thickest portion of the column of fleeing Filipinos. We were too far away to hear their cries, but, as each shot struck, the mass of waving humanity recoiling from the

flying fragments of the bursting shell was easily discernable, and as the smoke cleared away we could see men, and women too, rush to the rescue of those who had fallen—and still the procession moved grimly on!

Hearing the firing General Lawton, who had been slightly detained that morning at San Rafael, rode rapidly to the front. He was accompanied by his chief of staff, Major Clarence R. Edwards, and an orderly, carrying a large white flag. He was dressed in Khaki and wore a tall white helmet and was mounted on a large black horse he had brought with him from the United States. Dismounting he turned to Colonel Summers and said:

"Colonel, what' you shooting at?"

"Trying to head off that procession, sir," Colonel Summers replied, pointing toward the Filipinos. General Lawton was already looking through his glasses. The officer who thought he had seen the flag of truce began now, somewhat excitedly, to allude to the matter again.

"It's a shame," he said to another officer, "to be shelling those helpless women and children. I am sure I saw them start toward us with a white flag"—

"There is a white flag!" interrupted General Lawton. "I see a white flag —Colonel Summers," he called in stentorian tones, "stop that firing!"

"Cease firing!" shouted Colonel Summers to Lieutenant Scott, and simultaneously every officer present began looking through his glasses.

"Who will go out to meet a flag of truce?" Colonel Summers asked —sufficiently loud to be heard by a troop of dismounted cavalry and a battalion of infantry standing "at ease" about twenty paces to the rear.

Fearing that the number of volunteers eager for the adventure would greatly exceed those required, I did not wait for the opportunity to be taken advantage of by my superiors; but bringing my piece to a "right shoulder" I stepped rapidly up to Colonel Summers and, saluting, said:

"Sir, I would like to go."

Colonel Summers knew personally and by name nearly every man in his regiment, and as I saluted I am under the impression he recognized me:

"All right," he replied, "jump on any of those cavalry ponies."

Standing my rifle against a tree, I mounted the nearest pony, which had a carbine attached to its saddle. Up to this time the only other man who had responded to Colonel Summers' call was Sergeant Major Marshall, of the Oregons.

Several days before this I had received from an uncle of mine in Virginia a letter, addressed to Major Edwards, which I had delivered in person, and, as I mounted my horse, Major Edwards, recognizing me, called me by name and inquired if I spoke either Spanish or Tagalo. Replying that I did not, he called out

"Who is here who understands Spanish or Tagalo well enough to act as interpreter?"

"Captain Case," some one answered.

"Where is he?" asked General Lawton—"Find Captain Case!"

A few moments later he came up leading his horse.

"Captain Case," General Lawton said, "here are two men who have volunteered to meet a flag of truce; take charge of the expedition and have my color bearer accompany you with his white flag."

So, mounted on four Filipino ponies and carrying General Lawton's big, white, Eighth Army Corps flag, we struck out across the rice field. All firing had ceased, the long column of Insurgent refugees seemed to have halted and the attention of both sides was concentrated apparently on the

strange little party with the big white flag advancing across the rice field.

Half way over Captain Case halted and, looking through his glasses, spent several minutes searching for the white flag he had been sent out to meet. "I knew it was a wild goose chase," he finally remarked. "For a man with a wife and children back in America it's a poor business." He looked back at his own forces, nearly a mile away, then at the enemy.

"Poindexter," he said presently, "ride back to General Lawton; give him my compliments and report to him that from this distance, with the aid of a good pair of field glasses, I am unable to discover any sign of a flag of truce, but that bringing up the rear of the column, there is a large number of armed Insurgents."

Upon receiving this information General Lawton remarked, half to himself, "I don't want them to expose themselves—Tell the Captain," he said to me, "not to go too far; tell him to go far enough to satisfy himself that there is no flag of truce and then return."

As soon as I was near enough to make myself heard, I called to Captain Case, who had continued moving forward, to wait until I could overtake him. He had already reached a point within 500 yards of the Insurgents. We were near enough when I came up, to hear the voices of officers, galloping back and forth along the, column, giving orders. I delivered General Lawton's instructions and Captain Case, looking through his glasses again, replied:

"We'll go fifty yards farther and draw their fire anyhow."

Without the aid of glasses we could now plainly see the armed insurgents bringing up the rear. Their attention was evidently attracted toward us and it seemed they regarded us with no little curiosity. Several officers galloped toward each other, stopped, and, after a few moments' consultation, one of them put spurs to his horse and started toward the rear of the column.

While exciting, the sensation I began to experience now was not altogether a pleasant one. We had proceeded "fifty yards" farther. I wondered if Captain Case were really going to continue until he drew the enemy's fire. There was no sign of a flag of truce advancing to meet ours, though our color-bearer was taking particular pains to spread out as wide as possible the big white flag he carried. From the sound of voices the distance now to the enemy's line could not be much over 400 yards.

"Halt!" ordered Captain Case in an undertone. The order was unnecessary because, mechanically I presume, each one of us had already drawn up rein, for we now perceived advancing deliberately toward us a platoon of Insurgents, each man armed with a Mauser and a bolo. They advanced from their line only about twenty yards, however, when they knelt down, took deliberate aim and fired.

The bullets plowed the earth underneath our horses and whizzed past our ears. Simultaneously, without waiting for command or uttering a word, we each dismounted; then, like ball players sliding for a base, behind the nearest rice ridge we each sought cover—and, so flat did we lie to the ground, the little, low ridges afforded us good protection. Then, as volley after volley came pouring at us, we breathed more freely, for every moment we anticipated hearing the comforting music of a shrieking shell, from Scott's battery, passing over our heads; "then," we thought to ourselves, "our bold-faced assailants would at least give us an opportunity to escape into safe ground."

But, wait as we would and continue to be fired at, no shell came. So far, strangely enough, none of us had been struck; and more strange still, our ponies, which we had left a few steps away between us and the enemy, continued grazing apparently unhurt.

Presently the firing ceased. Then the platoon arose to its feet. Then we thought it began advancing a little nearer toward us! Were we going to remain there and be taken prisoners? Never.

Simultaneously again without command, none of us uttering a word, each crouching low to the ground, we sprang forward, remounted our horses and, in a flying gallop—the bullets from the Insurgents following thick after us—we returned to our forces; and, upon our arrival, General Lawton, Colonel Summers and Major Edwards complimented each one of us and congratulated us on what they termed a most remarkable escape from being either killed or captured.

Our battery did not resume firing, we learned, because we appeared so close to the enemy there would have been danger of the shell striking us.

FIELDING LEWIS POINDEXTER.

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JOHN JACOB ASTOR.

Capitalist; the fourth to bear that name, was born July 13, 1864; son of William Astor and great-grandson of the founder of the family; he received his preliminery education at St. Paul's School,' Concord, N. H., and was subsequently entered at Harvard, of whose Delta Phi Society he is still a member; he followed the example of his father in making an extended European tour; on his return to the United States he entered upon a course of American travel, visiting Cuba and Mexico, where he studied the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and making several expeditions to the Rocky Mountain region, along the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad; Mr. Astor's love of sport was no doubt inherited from his father, and in pursuance of it he has become a member of several societies devoted to out-door amusements; among these are the Riding, the Racquet and Tennis, the Country, the Tuxedo, and the New York Yacht Clubs; of the various forms of enjoyment, he is particularly addicted to yachting, his large steam yacht, Nourmahal, being kept actively cruising from port to port during. the summer months, under his personal direction. He attends daily to the interests of his great inherited estate when in New York, while he is also a director in numerous banks and trust companies. Like his ancestors he is modest and unassuming, but always ready to perform his full duty as a citizen; he built in 1897 the Astoria Hotel, adjoining the Waldorf, which later was built by his cousin. W. W. Astor, the two now forming the Waldorf-Astoria, one of the largest and costliest hotels in the world. He was a Colonel on the staff of Governor Morton, and in May, 1898, was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of United States Volunteers; he presented to the U. S. Government a completely equipped battery of mountain artillery for use in the Spanish-American War, was Inspector General on the staff of General Breckenridge, at Camp Chickamauga, and afterwards on the staff of Gen. Shafter, in the operations in Cuba; in one direction Astor has shown a power not previously manifested in his family, that of invention, several useful devices having been patented by him; one of which shown at the Chicago Exhibition is a pneumatic machine to remove worn-out material from roads before the new stone is laid down; it acts by means of an air-blast, which blows off the pulverized stone after being crushed. This is likely to prove of great utility in the macadamizing of country roads, and has been highly commended by the Scientific American. Another invention more ambitious, but of more doubtful utility, is one for the inducing of rain; its purpose is to move large volumes of surface air, by any suitable machinery, and convey this air to the upper atmosphere through a conduit; it is the conception rather than the mode of operation to which he has so far confined himself, he proposing to convey a volume of warm, moist air to the colder and drier upper regions, and prevent it mingling with the atmosphere while ascending, with the belief that it will then discharge its moisture as rain; he has also invented a practical turbine engine; in addition to these mechanical conceptions, Astor has entered the field of authorship, having published a novel entitled "A Journey in Other Worlds: A Romance of the Future," and which is devoted to an ideal conception of the inhabitants of the planets Jupiter and Saturn; the work is curious and interesting, its plot being handled in a very original manner. Astor was married in 1891 to Miss Ava L. Willing, of Philadelphia, a descendant of a prominent family of the Quaker City whose ancestors came to this country with William Penn, and who still hold much of the original family property. By this marriage two of the leading Knickerbocker and Quaker family stocks are united. Mr. Astor's mother being of the best blood of old Dutch New York. Mr. Astor is a member of many New York social clubs, including the Knickerbocker, the Union, the Metropolitan, and others, and the Society of Colonial Wars.

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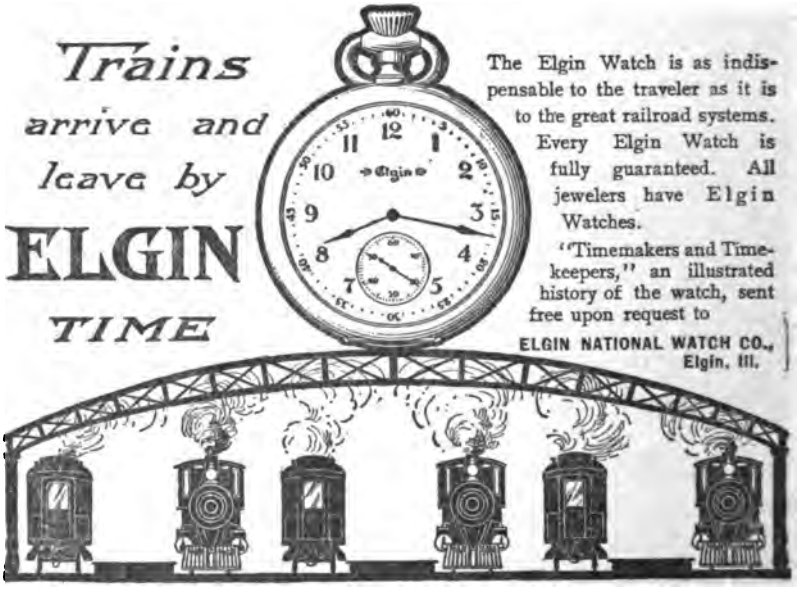

ARTHUR BURTIS,
REAR-ADMIRAL U. S. NAVY.

NOV 3 1904

THE

UNITED SERVICE

EDITED BY L. R. HAMERSLY, Jr.

NOVEMBER, 1904.

INSTRUCTION FOR THE MANAGEMENT, TRAINING AND USE OF THE WAR DOGS BY THE JAEGER (SHOOTERS') BATTALION.

Translated from the German for the Second Division, General Staff, U. S. A., by Captain George A. SKINNER, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A.

INTRODUCTION.

The extraordinary intelligence of dogs, their docility and watchfulness, the sharpness of certain senses, their attachment to men and their swiftness of foot, are qualities which combine to make them useful for military purposes.

Especially is the dog useful in trailing and watch duty; as a bearer of information to advance patrols; for assistance with the mails; for maintaining communication between the post and the outposts, also between different portions of the outposts.

1. *Breed. Requirements for the Trained War Dog.*

2. The most perfect dog for military purposes is found in the breed of Airedale Terriers. The trial with the short-haired German Pointers will be continued until further orders. Great care is to be observed that only pure bred dogs of known and good stock are selected for use; all doubtful material is to be rejected.

(B.) Qualifications for the Trained War Dogs.

3. For a trained war dog the following points are essential:

That he has undergone and mastered the thorough instruction of the training room.

That he can deliver a message, *i. e.*, from the advance patrol to the main body and return to his original post, thus keeping communication between these two bodies.

That he remain lying down (on guard).

That he is watchful and reports the approach of a stranger to the post.

II. *Breeding and Management of the Young Dogs Prior to the Beginning of their Training.*

(A) BREEDING.

4. The battalion, through breeding and purchase, must obtain the above described dogs. The proportion of trained dogs for the company is at least two, while more than twelve to a battalion will not be allowed. To avoid the production of an inferior breed it is necessary to procure new blood through purchase of whelps of the best pedigree, or by breeding the bitches of one organization with thoroughly tried dogs from a neighboring battalion.

5. The selection of the dogs for breeding is to be undertaken with great care, and is one of the principal duties of the officer in charge. Next to the purity of the breed of the dogs, pre-eminently is to be placed their utility. Physical beauty should form no part of the selection of dogs for breeding purposes.

In selecting dogs and bitches the officer should so choose that the best characteristics of both will be reproduced. So for an otherwise good, but somewhat slow, heavy bitch, a very active, fleet dog should be chosen, and for a faithful, but not unusually bright dog, an especially intelligent bitch.

Dogs with small flat chests, with long weak backs, poor legs, bright, unpleasing color, poor noses, subject to disease, and which in any way do not seem qualified to serve as war dogs, should positively be rejected from the pack.

6. Each battalion must have a strong iron barred kennel with an absolutely safe lock for the bitches in heat. It is even recommended that this kennel have gratings built around it to insure the bitch from the approach of the dog.

The bitch is confined in this kennel at the beginning of heat and is not allowed to go out except chained and in charge of a keeper. The keeper alone has a key to the kennel, and is therefore responsible that the bitch is not falsely covered. The bitch is thus confined about four weeks, or at any rate as long as necessary for the rutting to cease. The Officer in Charge designates the duration of the confinement of the bitch to the kennel.

7. The best time to breed the bitches in between the months of December and April; the pups come then in the early spring or summer, at a time in which the younger dogs are able to get the necessary exercise in the open air. Most fall and winter born pups are ruined by the effects of the cold.

8. The period of gestation of the bitch is nine weeks. Shortly before the pups are to be born the bitch is brought to a detached kennel, which is supplied with plenty of clean straw. At this time, as also during the period of suckling, the food should be plentiful and nourishing, and it is best to give from one to two liters of milk per day according to the size of the bitch.

When the bitch has whelped, the officer in charge should make the selection of the pups; more than five pups must not be left with the bitch; with weak and young bitches this number should be reduced to three. The selection must be made within the first eight days. In the selection, dogs that do not show their breeding, those brightly marked, as well as weak and delicate pups should not be chosen. Bitches should be retained for breeding purposes only. With a large litter it is not well to remove all the rejected pups at once.

The shortening of the tail follows, under the supervision of the Attending Officer, within the first four weeks.

9. The young dogs, especially at first, and even up to the age of six or eight months, are very sensitive to cold and wet and must be very carefully protected from climatic changes. For protection against vermin, especially flees, they should be frequently cleaned.

At the age of six weeks the young dogs are taken away from the mother at intervals, which are gradually lengthened, and fed with good milk from a flat plate and later with dog biscuit, in addition. Finely chopped fresh meat is healthful for young dogs and is eagerly taken. From the beginning a little salt should be added to the milk. as well as to other food, at each feeding period.

10. Not earlier than the age of ten weeks, better somewhat later, the dogs may be sent to another battalion.

(B) Management of the Young Dogs Prior to the beginning of Training.

11. The young dogs should not, from the first. be allowed out of the kennel without supervision. They should have as much exercise as possible in a closed yard with other young dogs of about the same age, or under the inspection of the trainer, may be allowed to tumble about. Up to the seventh month the young dogs should not be taken to any training exercises. While they should be out in the barrack yard and in the room much of the day in the company of their

trainers, the young dogs should be confined at night and during the necessary military absence of their keepers.

12. Food should be given three times daily during the first year and should be rich and nourishing. Good milk is unsurpassed until the ninth month. The young dogs must always have good food and care.

13. About the seventh month the trainer begins to teach the young dog to lead with a rope. For an exercise room a sufficiently large, light room should be chosen, for example, the gymnasium at a time when not in use, the barrack floor, the company dining hall or an empty room.

A training collar is fitted to the dog and the training line fastened to this by a simple knot. The line close to the collar is held in the left hand, the rest of the line held with the right hand resting quietly on the hip. The trainer then goes straight ahead ignoring any objection of the dog; next with the left hand close to the side so that the dog must follow with his nose close behind the left knee. As soon as the dog follows the trainer quietly they should go into the open yard. The pup will very soon spring forward; the trainer makes a sharp turn to the left and calls to the dog a sharp "back," pulling him back with the line.

14. When the dog has learned the call "back," it is well to walk through the barrack yard, for training purposes. The dog must follow quietly at the left side of the trainer with loose line, without running ahead or remaining behind. The walks are taken daily for a week; at the beginning, however, not longer than fifteen minutes, then gradually increasing until an hour is used.

From the beginning the dogs must be trained not to yelp at strange men, and an inclination to bark at their approach early checked. On the other hand, growling at an approaching stranger, especially in the twilight or darkness, is to be encouraged.

15. Where game may be expected, the young dog must be kept tied on the line so that he will never acquire the taste for hunting. The trainer must early seek such regions with the leashed dog, *e. g.*, rabbit or pheasant preserves—and restrain him through the commands "steady," "back" and light pulls on the line if he should start forward. The trainer should not thereby call the dog's attention to any passing game, much less set the dog after game and then punish him, but should pass all game unnoticed. If the dog comes to a fresh trail he must be restrained from lowering his head by the command "steady."

16. After the ninth month, or in especially well developed, bright

dogs earlier, they should be allowed to take part in prize running, and by association they will in a short time develop muscle, lungs and the passion for running.

17. During target practice, to which the young dog should be taken as early as possible in order to accustom him to the report of the gun, when the trainer cannot personally attend him he should be tied very short. Should the dog show any indication to shy he should not be whipped.

18. It should be strictly forbidden for any persons, except the trainer and his assistants to be employed with the dogs, or for them to play with them or feed them. The troops must be carefully instructed in this matter.

III. *The Training Room.*

(A) General Rules.

19. Each dog must be handled with tact and with regard for his own disposition. As there are bright and dull, tractible and ungovernable men, so there are willing and stubborn, easily and difficultly trained dogs. With some dogs one can correct a fault by a rebuking word, while with others the whip is necessary. It is the especial duty of the trainers to learn the disposition of each pupil and speak to him in the same manner during the whole course of training. The Officer in Charge will oversee the allotment of the dogs to the trainers, that nervous, bright dogs have especially quiet trainers, and in the case of a blunder in the choice of trainers the change to another person should be made at once.

20. Punishment should only be given when the trainer is convinced that the dog understands the lesson well and through stubbornness, playfulness, etc., will not perform. Therefore, a young, untrained dog should usually not be punished, and never with the whip. Temptation should never be thrown in the dog's way, as, for example, if a dog is passionately fond of hunting, he should be kept on the line while in a country where game abounds. Should the dog, however, misbehave himself in spite of these precautions, he should be repremanded by harsh words, through confinement in the kennel, or by being tied short on the chain. These last punishments are, however, only to be given to dogs that are over six months old. During the training, punishment is not to be entirely avoided; too frequent punishments will, however, be a sign of awkwardness on the part of the trainer. Actually stubborn dogs are seldom found, and never among thoroughbred dogs.

21. If a dog deserves punishment the trainer must never lose

his temper. The officer in charge will observe that the proper punishment is always given, and that a violent and easily excited person is not assigned as a trainer.

22. The punishment with the switch should be seldom given, and only for actually stubborn and unwilling dogs. This is best done quietly, and sufficiently heavy blows be given over the back and thighs. Prior to punishment the dog is tied up, and after punishment he must still be kept on the line for a short time. The dog must be struck only with the above mentioned whip and the use of any other object is forbidden.

23. A dog should never be dragged with the training collar for punishment. The punishment is given by a short jerk.

The principal advantages of the spiked collar is that the dog will punish himself by misconduct, for example, by pulling forward when he sees something wild, or when he will not follow on the line.

24. A good punishment for stubborn dogs is starvation and fastening them up with the chain—not the line—so that the dog can only sit down, not lie down. Hunger and fatigue will make the dog very obedient. The punishment is especially impressive if the trainer, after obtaining the desired obedience, rewards the dog with food.

25. As a reward for zeal and obedience, pieces of bread or meat may be given at short intervals during the training hour and caresses by stroking, patting and kind words. It is very important that the trainer on each occasion of praise or censure, should use the same words. Such expressions as "steady," "attention," "well done, my dog," are quickly impressed on the memory of the young dog.

26. When a dog that deserves punishment will not come to you, do not go after him or toward him, but rather step back a few steps, at the same time calling him. It is a mistake to carry the whip hidden and then coax the dog up for punishment; in this manner he loses all confidence in the trainer and is in danger of becoming cowed. If the dog cowers at the touch, the punishment with the whip must be stopped for a time and if necessary another method of punishment adopted.

27. The trainer must get his pupils thoroughly used to him. The dog can learn much in this manner. The training hour remains always an absolute requirement and must be strictly adhered to.

28. Outside the training hour nothing should be required of the dog that has not been thoroughly taught before. The execution of the lesson must be done with energy. The teacher must never yield to the will of the dog even in the least matter.

29. The training advances slowly from easy to difficult exercises. A departure from the above mentioned method is only permitted with the consent of the Officer in Charge.

A new exercise should not be given until the preceding work is well learned.

30. The training should always take place before the dog is fed. The length of the training hour cannot be definitely fixed; sometimes an object can be accomplished in one-fourth to one-half hour, while at other times two hours are sufficient. In general, this rule is of value: "If everything goes well we stop early; if it goes badly we stop late." The reward for the well executed lesson is the food that they will receive from the trainer at the end of the training hour. If at one time an exercise is not made clear to the dog, or it is necessary to resort to punishment, it is best to close the hour with some exercise that the dog knows well. If this does not go well, stop the training, lock the dog in the room or kennel, and wait a few hours until teacher and pupil are rested—then make another trial.

(B) The Teacher.

31. The entire training of the dogs of a battalion should be in the hands of an earnest, experienced officer—Second or First Lieutenants—with them the teaching staff, the trainers of the dogs and their assistants, chosen from the sergeants or other enlisted men.

32. The teachers or trainers of the dogs are sergeants, corporals or privates selected for their quiet, determined character, and who are suitable through education and training. That they have previously trained dogs is not necessary; it is enough that they have the desire to possess the ability, the zeal and diligence to learn, and that their enlistment should keep them in the service of the company a considerable time. Privates of the first class are those first in line for this branch of the service.

The oldest sergeant assists the officer in the superintendence of the entire war dog service.

33. In further course of training the assistants are assigned to trainers, which choice is regulated by the above mentioned qualifications, because they are then prepared to take the place of outgoing trainers. Frequent changes among trainers and assistants should be avoided.

34. The officer, with premission of the Company Commander, assigns the instructors. In case of disagreement, the battalion commander decides the matter for the best interest of the service.

(C) Duties of the Officer in Charge.

35. Under his jurisdiction comes the furnishing of the dog material; the distribution of dogs among the companies; the superintendence of the raising of the young dogs; the superintendence of feeding and attendance of dogs, and, above all, their training. He must prepare, guide and direct the teaching staff through constant instruction.

36. The following suggestions will serve him as a guide in these matters. The instruction of the trainers by the Officer in Charge should seek to accomplish the following points: Instructions in training by means of a course that must be closely adhered to; instruction in the keeping of a day book and the examination of the same. Interruptions which come in the course of the training should be investigated and mistakes remedied by the officer.

It is furthermore the duty of the officer to determine whether or not the trainers have those qualifications which are to be expected of them; it should be his endeavor to encourage and stimulate to untiring effort, if they lack such, through example and instruction.

(D) Articles Necessary for the Training and Equipment of Dogs.

(These rules and regulations for training are taken from the work, "The Training and Management of Useful Dogs," by Oberlander, fourth enlarged revised edition, Newdamm, 1899, edited by K. Newman, price 6 marks. The apparatus prescribed by articles 1, 2, 3, and 4, can be procured from Edward Ketter, Highstreet, 67, Cologne.)

37. (1) The training collar is a leather strap with the upper edges turned sharply outward.

(2) The dog whistle is adjusted for low or loud blast, and is especially adapted for war dogs, because the tone is so different from that of the other Jaeger whistle.

(3) A leather chain for leading the dog.

(4) Two leather straps, one of which is intended for the trainer and the other for his assistant. These straps are made of strong calf leather 1½ c. m. wide. The upper end is arranged so as to fasten with a buckle (for the trainer) and the lower part is about 85 c. m. long and has a strong snap at the end.

(5) The collar is from 50 to 60 c. m. long and fastens with a simple buckle. A second strap 2 c. m. wide is sewed onto this collar on which is fastened a small metal plate, having the name of the battalion and the number of the company engraved thereon; for example:

Jaeger Battalion 6, 4th Company.

also two or three common brass rings are sewed about 10 c. m. apart. The rings are for the purpose of hooking on the snap attached to the strap; several rings are advantageous, as one of them is always easily reached.

(6) The leather whip.

(7) The "training rope;" this is a hemp rope, about the size of a lead pencil and two meters long with a knot at each end.

(8) The straw bar, made of wheat or rye straw, 40 c. m. long, tied in the middle about 15 c. m. wide with strong cord, in a manner so as to form a cylinder about 5 c. m. in diameter. A bunch of straw, a fur cone or other similar object is inserted at the ends, loose straw drawn over it and securely tied. The middle or concave part of the bar is the part which the dog should grasp.

(9) The message case, made of tin, adjusted so as to be fastened to the collar, is about 12 c. m. long. and 3½ c. m. in diameter; the top of this case is secured by a spring snap.

38. The training of the dog to be carried on indoors will begin at the age of one year, or, according to his physical and mental development, one or two months sooner or later.

39. *Lesson* 1. Repetition of exercises laid down in part 2 until thoroughly understood.

40. *Lesson* 2. "Sit down." "Here." The duration of this lesson is about six days. The right hand grasps the strap near the collar, the left hand resting on the dog's back presses the hindquarters of the dog down and at the same time saying "sit down." The dog is kept in the sitting position for one or two minutes until the call "here;" the lesson is repeated until thoroughly understood.

The dog being in a sitting position, the trainer now lengthens the strap little by little and places himself, always holding the strap in his hand, first in front, then to the right, left and behind the dog. Should the dog try to rise from the sitting position during this exercise, command "sit down." This lesson is repeated for three or four days until the dog allows the trainer to shift his position at will without trying to rise from a sitting position. The trainer now lets the strap drop from his hand and increases the distance between himself and the dog gradually. All lessons are to be closed with the above exercises during the training, which is to be carried on in a closed room, so as to make the escape of the dog impossible. During the lessons, which should alternate with walks, the command "here" will now be replaced with a light whistle until the dog learns to obey the whistle as if the word "here" were used. The trainer now increases the dis-

tance between himself and the sitting dog steadily, posts himself in the doorway, and later on even leaves the room altogether, until the dog will keep a sitting position at least fifteen minutes without rising.

In the course of the following lessons all former lessons will constantly be repeated and increased.

41. *Lesson* 3. "Fetch." Duration about eight days. The dog is in the sitting position. The trainer, holding the straw bar in his right hand, places himself at a right half face in front of the dog, holds the straw before his mouth, and gently laying the left hand from above over the fangs, open his mouth, by pressure of the thumb and middle finger, and at the same time with his right hand placing the straw bar easily behind the fangs in the mouth of the dog. The trainer, encouragingly saying "fetch," now slowly withdraws the left hand and with it supports the dog's lower jaw, having also let go of the straw bar with his right hand. Any attempt of the dog to throw out the bar should be prevented with the left hand, at the same time talking gently and encouragingly. This lesson should be taught with the greatest patience, and under no circumstances, not even with stubborn dogs, should be subjected to punishment. Great caution should be observed not to hurt the dog's mouth while opening it and inserting the straw bar. To take the bar from the dog the trainer gently says "out," at the same time taking hold of the bar with his right hand and gradually withdrawing it from the mouth. After a few lessons the dog will know this lesson and at the word "fetch" will of his own accord open his mouth. The trainer now will hold the bar a few inches in front of the dog's mouth and gently push his head with the left hand toward the bar until the dog takes hold of it of his own accord. The trainer now holds the straw bar a little further off, now higher, now lower, but always in easy grasp of the sitting dog. While sitting, the dog is now required to hold the straw bar, first for a short time, later on for a longer period, in his mouth. Should he, however, drop the bar, he will be reproved and after a few walks around the room the lesson will be repeated. After the sitting dog has learned to hold the bar for a few minutes without dropping it, the teacher will pass on to

42. *Lesson* 4. Carrying of the straw bar; duration about six days. The dog sits with the bar in his mouth; the trainer stands in front of the dog facing him. The left hand takes hold of the strap about 10 c. m. from the collar, the right hand supporting the lower jaw. The trainer commands "here," at the same time stepping backward. The dog, anxious to obey the well known command "here" will very likely try to drop the bar, but is prevented from doing so

with the right hand. The left hand will at the same time with the strap draw the dog gently forward. Should the lesson be a failure and the dog drop the bar, the trainer will, after a few turns about for exercise commence again from the beginning with "sit down." Finally, however, the dog will, at first slowly and later with more assurance, follow. As the lesson progresses, the trainer will assume gradually a more upright position. The right hand gradually releases the jaw until he finally turns away from the dog altogether, and the dog, the bar between his teeth, follows him at his left side when taking walking exercises.

43. *Lesson* 5. "Down." "Here." Duration about eight days. The dog is sitting down, and the strap lies on the ground. The trainer places his right hand from above on the neck and the left on the back of the dog. At the command "down" the trainer with his right hand gently presses the dog down to the floor, his left hand at the same time preventing the dog from drawing back. The dog is kept lying flat on the floor with his head stretched out for about thirty seconds. Every attempt of the dog to rise is frustrated by the pressure of the hands of the trainer, who also commands "down." In this lesson great caution is to be observed to see that the training collar is put on right, *i. e.,* the spikes at the back of the neck to prevent pricking. The trainer now calls "here" and walks several steps or around the room. The lesson is to be repeated about twenty times daily. The trainer now takes the leather whip in his left hand and places the right on the neck of the sitting dog. At the command "down" he gives the dog a light touch across the croup so that he will lie down quicker.

The lesson is to be repeated until the dog, first without the help of the right hand, next at the touch of the whip only, and finally at the command "down" lies flat on the ground. In the course of this lesson the position of the lying dog will be gradually improved until he rests flat on the belly, the head being stretched between the fore legs. The trainer now rises to stand erect, and should the dog try to rise also, he will be given with the command "down" a light blow across the shoulders.

44. Should the dog lie down quietly, the trainer will step right, left, or sideways, close to and finally behind the dog, punishing and preventing any attempt of the dog to rise or to look back, with a slight blow across the shoulders. The trainer lastly circles round the dog, jumps over his back, etc. If the dog remains in this lying position the trainer withdraws gradually increasing the distance, and finally leaves the room for a short time, later for a longer period. This lesson, which should be interrupted frequently with a repetition of former

lessons and especially by walking exercises, is gradually increased until the dog will keep the lying position for at least an hour without moving out of place or raising his head. It is recommended that the training hour be closed with this lesson. This lesson requires the greatest attention as it is the preliminary exercise for "lying" (on guard). During the progress of this lesson make use of the whistle instead of the command "here" as in lesson 2.

45. *Lesson* 6. "Fetch." Bringing back the thrown straw bar. Duration about 6 days.

If the dog voluntarily takes hold of the straw bar held in the hands of the trainer, either high or low, and carries the same, he is made to execute "down." The bar is now placed about a foot in front of the dog's nose, the left hand grasping the strap, which is left long, and at the command "fetch" compels the dog with the help of the strap, to creep toward the bar. The right hand moves the bar slightly toward the dog so as to assist him in catching it. When the dog has taken hold of the bar, give the command "here" and take a few turns around the room.

The bar is now placed gradually at a greater distance from the dog's mouth, until he at the command "fetch" readily creeps toward the bar about three feet away to fetch it. If the dog performs this well, the trainer places the bar at a greater distance and allows the dog to rise for the purpose of fetching it, the strap remaining on until he voluntarily fetches the bar a distance of 25 to 30 feet. Progressing slowly the trainer will let the dog fetch also from a starting position, always requiring him to sit down before taking the bar out of his mouth, and not tolerating any shaking, throwing or tearing of the bar or other object used in fetching.

46. From now on the trainer may, according to the progress the dog is making, require him to fetch other objects than the straw bar, *e. g.*, an old forage cap, a cartridge box, etc., but at no time demanding too much of the dog. Should he refuse to bring any object that is strange to him, the trainer will at once resume the use of the straw bar or other familiar object.

47. The jump. Duration 2 to 3 days.

Take a light rod, place the end loosely against the wall, the other end resting on an empty box or held by an assistant, about the height of the knee, but loosely so that upon being struck the rod falls to the floor. The trainer, holding the dog by the strap, walks to the right so as to always keep at his left, along the wall of the training room. Arriving in front of the horizontal bar, he calls out "jump," at the same time jumping quickly over the bar himself. The strap held in

the left hand prevents the dog crawling underneath the bar and this compels him to follow the trainer over it. Care should be taken to give the strap the right length, otherwise the spikes in the training collar will hurt the dog's neck. The bar will gradually be raised to the height of the waist.

48. If the dog jumps willingly over the bar with his trainer, he is made to sit down at ten feet from the bar, which is placed at knee height, and the strap wrapped several times around the collar to prevent trailing. The trainer now takes his position on the other side of the bar, gives the command "here" or a short whistle and when the dog approaches close to the bar, he commands "jump." Increase the height of the bar according to the progress the dog is making. Beside the advantage to be gained from this exercise in jumping fences and other obstacles, this lesson is also conducive to the strengthening of the muscles of the back of the dog and increasing his fleetness of foot.

49. When the dog understands all these lessons thoroughly the teacher will gradually drill him in the same on the outside on open ground and without the strap, until he understands exactly every lesson so far learned, and executes them as well as if conducted with the aid of the strap in the training room.

50. Carrying the strawbar from the assistant to the trainer and the reverse, in the training room.

The dog at the "sit down" at one end of the room, holds the straw bar in his mouth; the assistant places himself at his side; the trainer takes his position at the other end of the room. The assistant, taking hold of the dog's collar, points with his hand toward the trainer, at the same time saying "away" or "there." (The word "away" is preferable to the word "there," which is hard to distinguish from "here.") The trainer at once gives a short whistle, and when the dog comes to him takes the strawbar away, caressing him at the same time. The dog will easily comprehend this and will soon run to the trainer and deliver the bar at the command "away" without the use of the whistle.

51. The lesson to "carry from trainer to assistant" presents more difficulties. Commence at first with a small distance, the trainer guiding the dog toward the assistant with the strap; after the dog sits down the assistant takes the bar from his mouth. The giving of tidbits to the dog is here very appropriate, as it helps much to teach the dog this rather hard lesson. This exercise constitutes also the transition to the "bearing of messages" and should consequently be thoroughly understood and well executed.

52. Repetition of all lessons out of doors, first with, later without the strap, until thoroughly understood and executed. The trainer will particularly practice walks through timber and brush, which compels the dog to always follow close to the heels of his trainer, as otherwise his strap would entangle him in the underbrush.

Now follows gradually an increase of all lessons, an increase in the distance of sending the dog between trainer and assistant and back. In the beginning of this exercise, select out of the way places where there is little to attract the dog's attention; also choose good weather. Later on conduct the exercises in more lively places and in fair or foul weather, especially on rainy and hot days so as to accustom the dog to obey his orders under all climatic conditions.

The training collar will now be discarded and the ordinary collar used. But should the dog show himself obstinate or unwilling, the training collar will again be used.

53. *Lesson* 9. "Lost."

This lesson will be practiced first of all on a road. The dog, tied to the strap, walks with the trainer along the road. The trainer drops the straw bar on the ground, taking care that the dog notices it. After going 20 or 30 steps further he commands the dog to "sit down," and pointing with his hand toward the bar and says "lost." He then induces the dog to run back and bring the strawbar. While the dog is gone for the bar, the trainer quickly moves several steps farther away, and takes it from him when he returns, caressing him at the same time. The distance is gradually increased up to 200 steps. The trainer will not wait for the return of the dog at the place from which he started, but always steps further away, compelling the dog to return to him at any distance. The lesson will now be made more difficult by exercising in the open field, later in the woods, always beginning with short distances. Instead of the strawbar, other objects, such as gloves, handkerchiefs, etc., should be used. This lesson will gradually be increased to 1,000 yards or further, according to the progress the dog is making. It should be carefully and frequently practiced and repeated, as it teaches the dog to follow the human track by the means of the sense of smell.

54. *Lesson* 10. "Lying down." (On guard.)

The trainer takes the dog to the woods, preferably young timber, attaches training collar and strap and fastens him securely to a tree. He now commands "down," takes an object from his own person, such as a belt, haversack cap, handkerchief, or the like—but never a whip, strap, etc.—and places it on the ground so that it can be seen. The trainer now withdraws to about fifty yards, with the wind to

leeward, until he can no longer be seen by the dog. When the trainer observes that the dog is getting restless he calls "down" in a threatening voice, and if the dog continues to be unruly walks back to him, speaks to him severely, or punishes him with a few strokes of the leather whip. If the dog remains quietly in the position "down" for at least half an hour after a few days' training, the assistant should fire shot somewhere near the dog or attempt through shooting and different commands to make him restless. If he succeeds, and the dog attempts to rise or whines, he will be punished in the same way as just mentioned. The object deposited near the dog must be a pledge to him that his trainer will return, and under no circumstances will he be allowed to abandon the pledge, not even when disturbed through shooting and shouting. Then obeying the command "down" and there is no object placed for him to guard, he will be made to follow his trainer at the call or whistle.

When the dog has learned to remain quietly in this position for a period up to two hours, this lesson will be commenced over again without tying him. This lesson, being rather difficult, will require at least eight or fifteen days' practice, but it is of importance, as otherwise the dog might be troublesome to passing patrols or scouts.

55. *Lesson* 11. Running matches.

Running matches will be carried out as follows: While assistants hold the dogs, the trainers withdraw, first on a straight road, later on in the open field, which should gradually present more and more obstacles to a distance of fifty yards, which will be slowly increased to five hundred yards and over, and at a given signal or at a time agreed on the dogs will be released and dispatched toward the trainers. In the beginning of this exercise the trainers will, after leaving the dogs, look frequently back at them and through kind words and whistling induce them to follow. This exercise, in which the young dogs about nine months old run with older ones, arouses in them a great passion for quick delivery of messages, etc., and consequently should be practiced at every lesson. But care should be taken that running matches do not follow one another too soon, as under these circumstances the dogs will lose interest in them.

56. *Lesson* 12. Errands.

At the beginning of this lesson the dog will be provided with a collar, attached to which is a message case. At first repeat lesson 6 several times, then begin with a distance of about fifty yards, omit the strawbar and dispatch the dog as otherwise prescribed in lesson 6, from assistant to trainer and vice versa. The trainer or assistant will accustom himself from the beginning to insert a slip of paper into the

case before the dog starts and while he is still sitting, and also to extract the slip from the message case every time the dog arrives The dog will soon notice that the safe delivery of the slip of paper is very important. Later on the paper slip is used to record the time of departure and arrival at each errand, and serves also to control his speed. Three to five minutes per kilometer is considered a good, five to six minutes a satisfactory, and seven minutes or over a bad performance; but in this the contour, the temperature and other circumstances, should always be taken into consideration.

The dog, having been thoroughly trained in lessons 6 and 7, will comprehend this most important part of his training quickly. This lesson will be practiced at first on roads and the distance gradually increased to such an extent that assistant and trainer can not see each other; later in the open field, and finally on broken ground possessing all sorts of obstacles. The distance will also be increased continually. The dog whose training has been finished, should be able to deliver messages safely up to 5 k. m.

57. The running of errands by means of round-about ways, byways, and short cuts, will be practiced at first in open and later in broken country, in the following manner. The dog is conducted across country by the assistant in a zig-zag fashion, and then sent back to the trainer, during which practice, after the dog has learned the lesson, the distances should be gradually increased.

58. The lesson of "doing errands" will at first be practiced in out-of-the-way places, so as to prevent the dog coming in contact with other people. If the dog executes the lesson satisfactorily, it will be made more difficult by practicing on much frequented roads, public highways and in villages, etc. The perfectly trained dog will not allow himself to be caught or driven back, but will go round about any obstacle. To thoroughly train the dog to do this, the trainer will engage strangers to disturb the dog on his errands, through threats and scares. This part of the lesson should not be practiced until the dog has been doing errands for a considerable period, as otherwise more harm than good is accomplished.

59. A further difficulty is presented by watercourses. To accustom the dog to these, the trainer will, at first, guiding him by the strap, step with him into shallow water, *i. e.*, about knee deep. Or the trainer, leaving his assistant with the young and an old trained dog on the bank of the creek, will cross the stream in a boat, and at his call or whistle the assistant will release the dogs simultaneously.

This must be practiced during the hot part of the year only; but

never allow the dog to be thrown, drawn or thrust into the water by force.

60. The dog will run during the night time more surely, because his attention will be less diverted; nevertheless, this must be practiced frequently.

61. After the dog runs with certainty from assistant to trainer and the reverse, he will be accustomed to run to other members of his company also, and furthermore allow himself to be dispatched by others than his trainer or assistant; but every one sending or receiving the dog will be minutely instructed how to handle and lead him, and in what manner he should be dispatched with a message. These instructions will be given always to all men in charge of patrols or scouts, and to a few other members of the company.

62. *Lesson* 13. Development of watchfulness.

Watchfulness is inbred and requires only to be developed through proper training.

A war dog, kept always near his master in garrison or field, is expected to indicate the approach of strangers through growls and snarls, and to do the same when with a sentry. This service will be required only at night or in much obstructed country.

63. The exercises for the perfection of watchfulness will at first be carried on indoors. The trainer, being with his dog in the training room, will see that his immediate neighborhood is kept very quiet. He now causes his assistant to knock on the door from the outside, and at the same time draws the attention of the dog to the noise and induces him with the command "watch" to growl. If the dog commences to bark the trainer will not at present stop him, as this might discourage him.

64. The trainer will not pass on to the next stage until the dog has grown stronger in body and more vigorous in disposition, and in this manner gained in confidence and spirit. The trainer posts himself in a solitary place with his dog, which is to be led on the strap at night, during which time he is more attentive and quicker of hearing. The assistant now stealthily approaches from the windward, which at the beginning should not be done too quietly. If the dog does not bark of his own accord, the trainer will incite him to do so.

Care will be taken to prevent the dog from leaping against the assistant, and to avoid making him fierce and dangerous and thereby unfit for the service. A watching dog will never be permitted to attack an approaching person. It is important to have an assistant, at least at the beginning of this lesson, a person that is unknown to the dog.

65. When the dog has learned to indicate an approaching person by barking, he is then taught to announce such approach through growls only. It is a maxim that the perfectly trained dog shall "announce" only by growls. This can be done by exercises similar to those in other lessons. The dog, who always growls before barking, should be prevented from barking by a warning word from his trainer; or, if necessary, by closing his mouth with the hand.

66. These lessons should be practiced mostly during the night time, and especially during maneuvers, which afford the best opportunities, and where suitable men can always be found for assistants.

IV. THE TRAINED WAR DOG IN ACTIVE SERVICE.

The last described lesson finishes the training proper. It remains now to perfect all that which has been learned by practical application. Beside the regular training of war dogs, which will be held at least twice a week under the personal supervision of the officer detailed for that purpose, the dogs will be taken by their companies and battalions to every field exercise. Attention will be paid to see that the dogs accompany such patrols as will very likely come in contact with the enemy, which will afford an opportunity for the dog to "announce" and to carry messages. If no information concerning the enemy can be secured the dog will be sent back to the outpost before the return of the patrol.

It is the duty of the trainers to see that the dogs are kept continually busy.

63. All the healthy and sufficiently strong dogs will accompany the troops to the maneuvers. Dogs whose training has not been completed, will be left behind only when their trainers do not take part in the maneuvers. If practicable, arrangements will be made at the beginning of the training course so as not to have the maneuvers interfere.

A non-commissioned officer, especially detailed for this purpose from the barrack guard by the battalion commander, will take charge of all sick and young dogs, which are left behind. Having been thoroughly instructed in his duties, he will see that all dogs are carefully nursed and regularly exercised.

69. It rests with the battalion commander to decide to which functions the dogs are to be taken. Generally the dogs will accompany their trainers to all duties, but exceptions will be made in the case of company and battalion drills and other duties that require the undivided attention of the trainers.

70. Trainers are very much occupied with caring for and drilling their dogs and it is therefore recommended that they be excused as far as practicable from minor duties. It is further recommended that the trainers march without heavy equipment during drills and maneuvers.

71. The purpose of war dogs, their treatment and the method of communication with them will be repeatedly discussed during instruction hours.

V. EXAMINATION OF WAR DOGS.

72. Besides being uninterruptedly under the care of officers especially charged with the control of the training course, the progress of the training and the completion thereof must be tested by examination. These examinations will be conducted in the presence of the battalion commander, or in the presence of a company commander designated to represent him.

The subject of the examination and the necessary preparations are dependent on the age and degree of perfection of the dog to be examined. The day-book (Appendix 2) will give the required information regarding the degree of training acquired.

73. The trials will embrace all branches of the training course, but the highest value should be placed on the ability of the dog to transmit messages. These trials will be held on ground that has not been used during the training course, and should take place in the order and manner laid down in articles 38 and following.

In order to arrive at a proper decision as to the usefulness of the dog, whose training has been completed, it is necessary that the distance over which messages are carried should at least be 1 to 2 kilometers in length. From time to time it is also well to try the dog in carrying messages over longer distances.

The dog, while en route, should not delay, but should run readily and allow himself to be taken willingly on the strap either by the trainer or his assistant. In carrying messages, the certainty of execution is to be preferred to swiftness. It will also be observed whether the dog takes the shortest possible route over open or obstructed country without being diverted by tracks of game, etc. The ability of the dog to transmit messages securely even when interrupted by shouting of strangers will be determined by running over public highways, through villages, etc., but such molestations should never be carried on by soldiers.

74. It is within the province of the battalion commander to award prizes to trainers whose dogs have made excellent records during the

training course. The prizes are to be taken from the sums appropriated for the keeping of the dogs.

The proportion and number of premiums will depend on the condition of the available funds and will not be increased at the expense of the keeping of the dogs on hand. The prizes should not amount to more than $4 for each trainer and $2.50 for each assistant.

VI. FEEDING AND CARE.

75. The raising of young dogs requires the greatest attention. Up to the age of one year the food will consist principally of milk and cakes especially prepared for this purpose. Other feed will then be added gradually. Wholesome food is influential in imparting to the young dog power to resist disease, and is necessary for his physical development.

76. To the subsistence of dogs of greater age will also be added any waste from the mess of the enlisted men. The addition of dog cakes and the preparation of porridge of ground barley or oats boiled in water is much recommended.

77. The dogs will be kept in an enclosure surrounded by a brick wall or one of planks, the inside of which is generally arranged as follows:

(*a*) A kennel of ample dimensions, which has on the inside and running lengthwise, a wooden platform, which serves as a common abode for healthy dogs of advanced age. In the door is inserted a board swinging freely on hinges back or forward, and just large enough to allow the dogs to run in and out at pleasure. The floor must be covered with bricks or cement, and should be sufficiently inclined to allow water and excrement to run off easily.

(*b*) In front of the kennel is a yard enclosed with a wire netting, which is of sufficient size to allow the dogs to run about for exercise.

(*c*) Separated from the main kennel is the enclosure for bitches in heat mentioned in article 6.

(*d*) A smaller kennel, arranged like the one described under (*a*), which is separated from the other huts, serves for the keeping of sick dogs, and should have an enclosure to allow the dogs to run about.

In building new kennels or rebuilding old ones, these specifications will prove of value. Furthermore, the kennels should be so arranged that they get the benefit of the greatest amount of sunlight possible.

In case the kennels are too much exposed to the weather it is recommended that quick growing shade trees be planted around them.

78. Daily cleanings of the kennels and yards, under supervision

of a non-commissioned officer, is absolutely necessary. The kennels will be swept out once a day and the yards cleaned of excrement at least twice a day. The metal feeding bowls will be scoured every day and are taken out of the kennel after being used. Fresh drinking water will be given the dogs twice daily.

79. Sick dogs will be immediately isolated from the healthy, and placed in the kennel provided for that purpose. If the sickness does not yield promptly under ordinary treatment, the assistance of a veterinary surgeon is to be sought.

INSPECTOR OF THE JAEGERS AND SHOOTERS.

BERLIN, December 13, 1902.

APPENDIX 1.

.....Battalion of Scouts (Jaeger).

.....Company.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF A WAR DOG.*

Name.	Breed.	Sex.	Stock.	Age. Month and year of birth.	Purchased or home bred; for instance, from where assigned.	Beginning of training course.	Trainer of dog. name of trainer.	Sickness. from to	Remarks.

APPENDIX 2.

MODEL FOR THE DAY-BOOK.

Year, Month, Day.	Specifications of Training.	Remarks of Trainer.	Remarks of the Supervising Officer.
1902. 10.5 A. M.	In door training.	Lesson 3 (fetching). Dog takes willingly to the offered straw bar and while in a sitting position holds it in his mouth for five minutes.	
11.5	In door training and repetition of lessons 1-5 out of doors.	Dog very timid and inattentive when out of doors.	
7.20 P. M.	Practiced in the vicinity of H. village.	Dog carried message four times safely at a distance of 2½ kilometers. Required 5 minutes per K. M.	
7-23 1902.	Rest.	Dog appears to be sick since yesterday. I have kept him with me in the room.	
7-24. 1902.		Diagnosed distemper. Transferred to the kennel for sick dogs. (State medicine given.)	

*The descriptive list is to be attached to the front of the day-book.

*HOW RUSSIA BROUGHT ON WAR.**

A COMPLETE HISTORY.

(*Concluded.*)

At the period alluded to in the closing paragraph of Part I. of this article, the peace negotiations had begun to assume concrete form. China had throughout evinced a willingness to accede to reasonable demands, and towards the end of August 1900 Prince Ching and Li Hung-Chang were nominated as her co-plenipotentiaries. Views were actively interchanged between the Powers, and matters had progressed so far that in October the Chinese plenipotentiaries submitted a memorandum for the consideration of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking. In this, among other things, China acknowledged her fault in laying siege to the Foreign Legations, and promised that it should never occur again; admitted her liability to pay an adequate indemnity; and showed a readiness to revise commercial treaties. Eventually by the combined efforts of the Ministers of the Powers, a joint note was agreed upon and presented to the Chinese Government, toward the latter part of December, embodying twelve demands, the fulfillment of which was deemed necessary for the restoration of normal relations between China and the Powers.

Russia was, of course, a party to all these proceedings, but she secretly cherished the idea of independently making a great stroke herself which was extremely well calculated to thwart and paralyze the concerted policy of the Powers in general in at least one portion of the Celestial Empire. This design crystallized into the so-called Manchurian Agreement.

The hole-and-corner arrangement which it was sought to carry through was actually entered into at Mukden by a subordinate of Tseng, the Tartar general stationed there—a person with no authority whatever to make such a treaty, as the Chinese Government rightly complained—with a representative of Admiral Alexieff, viz. General Korostovitch, and the purport of it all was first disclosed to an astonished world by a telegram published in the London *Times*

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from its correspondent in Peking, dated the last day of 1900. It was an enumeration of conditions which were dictated, as is credibly reported, to the accompaniment of very significant threats from the Russian side, leaving absolutely no alternative for the Chinese but to acquiesce, and only upon compliance with which would Russia consent to allow the Tartar General and the Chinese officials to resume the civil government of Manchuria.

These new conditions, plus the concessions previously acquired, were tantamount to an annexation of Manchuria. It may be remembered that, soon after the Chino-Japan war, Russia seized the opportunity and, by successive machinations, partly by threats and partly by gilding the pills in many ways, chiefly at the cost of Japan and England, exacted from China, under the so-called Cassini convention and others, not only a concession of the right of constructing the trans-Manchurian railway line, having no other credible object than a military one, right across Manchuria to Vladivostok, which she utilized in substitution of her own trans-Siberian line, but also a similar right of construction from Harbin down to Port Arthur and Talienwan, and also that of stationing all necessary troops nominally for the protection of these railways. Add to these the new concessions embodied in the Manchurian convention, and it could not amount to other than a consummation of Russia's long-cherished designs. Hence the next step taken by her was to seek to obtain recognition of the compact by the supreme authority at Peking, and to have it embodied in the form of a recognized treaty, and this demand was forthwith pressed upon the Chinese Government at the capital with all imaginable vehemence and persistency.

Diplomatic correspondence immediately followed the disclosure of Russia's secret endeavors, and the utmost alacrity was shown by the Governments of America, Britain, Germany, and Japan in dealing with the question. The Russian Government pretended that the Agreement had no more than a local significance and application, but it was like trying to smother the electric light under a fold of crape, for the real meaning of the compact was always visible. The successive communications and replies that Russia made to the Powers in response to their protests were all alike. Here is one which Count Lamsdorff telegraphed to M. Iswolsky, then Russian Minister at Tokio:

"You are authorized to deny most categorically the false reports about a treaty between Russia and China concerning an alleged protectorate in Manchuria. Negotiations which are yet to take place between the Russian and Chinese Governments will bear on the mani-

fold questions relating to the installation of Chinese Administration in Manchuria and the establishment in this province of permanent order capable of insuring the tranquillity of our [Russia's] extensive borderland, as well as the construction of the railway, which is the object of a special Russo-Chinese Convention. As to the Agreement signed between the Chief of our [Russian] forces and the Dziandjiem of Mukden, it is but a temporary arrangement laying down rules for the relations between the local authorities and the Russian troops while those are still in Manchuria. The aforesaid false reports are particularly malignant at the present juncture, when the Russian Government is about to hand over Manchuria to China, in harmony with Russia's previous declarations."

There was, however, another and very pregnant allusion in this telegram, which was handed by M. Iswolsky to Mr. Kato, then Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, but as it bore upon a somewhat different branch of the subject, reference will be made to it later on.

Here is another, which was sent to the Marquis of Lansdowne by the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, and, with the full consent and cognizance of the Russian Government, presented at the time to the British Parliament:

"Count Lamsdorff said that the Emperor had no intention of departing in any way from the assurances which he had publicly given that Manchuria would be entirely restored to its former condition in the Chinese Empire as soon as circumstances admitted of it. 'Russia,' he added, 'was in the same position with regard to fixing a final date for evacuating Manchuria as the allies found themselves with regard to the evacuation of Peking and the province of Pe-chi-li. When it came to the final and complete evacuation of Manchuria, the Russian Government would be obliged to obtain from the Central Government of China an effective guarantee against the recurrence of the recent attack on the frontier and the destruction of her railway, but had no intention of seeking this guarantee in any acquisition of territory or of any actual or virtual protectorate of Manchuria. * * * Manchuria would be restored to China, when all the temporary measures taken by the Russian military authorities would cease, and everything at Newchwang and elsewhere would be replaced in its former position."

All these asseverations and protestations of Russia were ostensibly genuine, but in reality they little corresponded with her actions. Remonstrances from the aggrieved nations continued, and China was herself by no means inclined to concede the Russian demands. She

sought the conjoint mediation between herself and Russia of America, Germany, Great Britain, and Japan. It was at this critical moment that the Emperor of China, ruler of a huge empire with 400,000,000 of inhabitants, made in an Imperial Edict the following truly pitiable avowal:

"Russia proposes an Agreement of twelve articles. We have authorized our plenipotentiary to amend and modify them, so as to preserve our right of sovereignty. The foreign representatives also advise China not to accept them. But in reflecting upon the present situation, though we are grateful for the advice of the foreign representatives, *it is impossible for China alone to incur the displeasure of Russia by remaining firm.* This is not only a question for China to study with all possible care in order that it may be solved without any danger to her, but also a question in which the foreign Governments interested should maintain the balance of power."

Meanwhile the suggestion, or rather complaint, had been made by Count Lamsdorff that garbled versions of the Agreement made at Mukden were being circulated by the Chinese Government in order to create dissension between the Powers, but this was all a farce. The Emperor of China speaks in his solemn edict of the twelve demands of the Russians, and we have here in full the actual document as translated from the Chinese by no less an authority than Sir Ernest Satow, who succeeded Sir Claude Macdonald in Peking. He stated that the Chinese version had evidently been translated direct from the Russian text.

"(1) The Emperor of Russia, being anxious to give evidence of his friendly feeling towards China, is willing to forget the hostile acts committed in Manchuria, and to hand back the whole of that country to China—its administration to be carried on as heretofore.

"(2) Under Article 6 of the Manchurian Railway Agreement the Administration is authorized to maintain troops for the protection of the line. The country, however, being at present in an unsettled condition, and such troops few in number, a body of soldiers must be retained until order is restored, and until China shall have carried out the provisions of the last four articles of the present Convention.

"(3) In the event of grave disturbances, the Russian garrisons will afford China every assistance in suppressing the same, that lies in their power.

"(4) In the recent attacks against Russia, Chinese troops having taken a prominent part, China agrees, pending the completion of the line and its opening to traffic, not to establish an army in those provinces. She will consult with Russia as to the number of troops she

may subsequently wish to establish there. The importation of munitions of war into Manchuria is prohibited.

"(5) With a view to safeguarding the interests of the territory in question, China will, on representations being made by Russia, at once deprive of office any military governor or other high official whose conduct of affairs may prove antagonistic to the maintenance of friendly relations.

"A police force, consisting of mounted and unmounted units, may be organized in the interior of Manchuria. Its numbers shall be determined after consultation with Russia, and from its armament artillery shall be excluded. The services of the subjects of any other Power shall not be employed in connection therewith.

"(6) In conformity with the undertaking given by China at an earlier date, she will not employ the subjects of any other Power in training Chinese soldiers or sailors in North China.

"(7) The neighboring local authorities will, in the interest of peace and order, draw up new special regulations with reference to the neutral zone (see Agreement of the 27th of March, 1898) treated of in Article 5 of the Agreement relating to the lease of part of the Liao-tung Peninsula.

"China's autonomous rights in the city of Chinchou (Kinchau, near Port Arthur), secured to her by Article 4 of the Special Agreement of the 7th of May, 1898, are hereby abrogated.

"(8) China shall not, without the consent of Russia, grant to any other Power, or the subjects thereof, privileges with regard to mines, railroads, or other matters in conterminous [*i. e.*, with Russia] regions, such as Manchuria, Mongolia, and the sections of the new dominion known as Tarbagati, Ili, Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten. Nor shall China, without Russia's consent, construct railroads there herself.

"Except as far as Newchwang is concerned, no leases of land shall be granted to the subjects of any other Power.

"(9) China being under obligation to pay Russia's war expenses and the claims of other Powers, arising out of the recent troubles, the amount of the indemnity presented in the name of Russia, the period within which it will have to be paid, and the security therefor, will all be arranged in concert with the other Powers.

"(10) The compensation to be paid for the destruction of the railway lines, for the robbery of property belonging to the railway administration and its employees, as well as claims for delay in carrying on the construction of the lines, will form subject of arrangement between China and the Administration.

"(11) The above-mentioned claims may, by agreement with the Administration, either in part or in whole, be commuted for other privileges. The grant of such privileges would involve a complete revision of the previous agreement.

"(12) In conformity with the undertaking previously given by China, it is agreed that a line may be constructed for either the trunk line or the branch line [of the Manchurian railway] in the direction of Peking up to the Great Wall, its administration to be governed by the regulations at present in force."

Although in some respects a little difference in the form and scope is to be perceived between this version of the Convention and one which had been telegraphed to the *Times* by its Peking representative, their purport is substantially the same. In any case, however, China was bound hand and foot under the heel of Russia, and that, too, contrary to Russia's solemn pledge to maintain concord with other Powers.

The strenuous opposition of the Powers interested continued, however, and at last, in April, 1901, Russia had to abandon the project. On the 5th of that month the Government of St. Petersburg published an official *communiqué* in the *Official Messenger,* which explained her position at great length, interspersed with the usual protestations to the effect that in every case the course which she had adopted was a temporary measure, and that she meant to withdraw her troops from Manchuria when order had been permanently restored, and everything possible had been done to safeguard the railway, *provided that no obstacle was placed in the way by other Powers.* The motive of this qualifying phrase will be obvious to my readers. The *communiqué* went on to declare that the reported Agreement was only intended to serve as a starting-point towards the realization of the restoration of Manchuria, but owing to obstacles having been put in the way of the conclusion of that Agreement it became impossible for her to immediately take the contemplated measures of evacuation, and that, remaining true to her original programme, she would quietly await the further progress of events.

Subsequently to the publication of this *communiqué* on the 8th of April, M. Iswolsky handed at Tokio to Mr. Kato a *Note Verbale,* which, after it had announced Russia's abandonment of the project, viz., the Manchurian agreement, on a plea similar to that advanced in the *communiqué,* proceeded thus:

"Divers information having shown that under the actual circumstances such an understanding might cause all sorts of difficulties to the neighboring Empire instead of serving to clearly show the friendly

intentions of Russia with regard to the interests of China, Russia would not only *not insist, vis-à-vis* the Chinese Government, upon the conclusion of this understanding, but even renounce all further negotiations on the subject."

A similar announcement was, of course, made to the other Powers. Here we have Russia affecting to ride off in dudgeon upon her high horse, whilst retaining in her own hands that which was the actual object of dispute—viz., the possession of Manchuria.

I might here perhaps venture to recall to the remembrance of my readers that prior to the middle of January, 1901, Russia, as far as her Foreign Office was concerned, consistently held that a state of war did not exist between the Powers and China, but that *subsequent* to that date she began to insinuate that she had the right to hold Manchuria as a result of conquest. Thus we see that on the 4th of July, 1900, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in a despatch reporting to the Marquis of Salisbury the particulars of an interview with Count Lamsdorff, said: "There was one point on which Count Lamsdorff laid particular stress in his conversation with me, and it was that the European Powers should proceed on the assumption that they were not in a state of war with the constituted Government of China, but with rebels and anarchists." Again, on the 29th of August, 1900, Count Lamsdorff said to the British Ambassador: "We had been proceeding * * * on the assumption hitherto that we were not in a formal state of war with the recognized Government of China, but with a nation in a state of rebellion." On the 27th of September Count Lamsdorff said to the British *Chargé d'Affaires* that "his view was that there had never been any rupture of diplomatic relations [between the Powers and China], as had been strikingly proved by the fact that a new German Minister had been appointed." Then came, in January, 1901, a faint suggestion of the *ballon d'essai* in the next recorded expression of Count Lamsdorff's informal but candid opinion, as telegraphed by the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg to Mr. Kato at Tokio. The Russian Minister declared that "the Russian occupation of Manchuria being the result of self-defence on the part of Russia against the Chinese aggression upon her frontiers, she would be in perfect right even if she should choose to make the occupation permanent, but in point of fact she entertains no intention of exercising the right of conquest." And in the telegram handed by M. Iswolsky to Mr. Kato—to which previous reference has been made as embodying an allusion of much significance—Count Lamsdorff declared that Russia, in harmony with her previous declarations, was about to hand over Manchuria to China, "instead of possessing herself by right of

conquest of this province [Manchuria], from which came an attack on her boundaries." As to the Russian military authorities, they have, from almost the very moment that opportunities for increased activity in the Far East presented themselves—after the Boxer rising—made pretensions, as we have seen already, to these so-termed rights of conquest, shadowy in the extreme as they must have known such rights to be.

While, on the one hand, Russia had been giving interminable trouble to the Powers by her action in the railway and Tien-tsin incidents, and her intrigues in connection with the Manchurian Agreement, the real peace negotiations, on the other hand, between China and the Powers, Russia included, had made satisfactory progress, and the final Peking Protocol was signed on the 7th of September, 1901, wherein the Powers declared that the international forces should evacuate Peking itself on the 17th of September and the province of Pe-chi-li five days later, save for certain trifling exceptions provided for in the protocol. The Chinese Court returned from Hsi-An-Fu, to which city it had resorted on the approach of the Allies to Peking, and the old order of things was revived at the Chinese capital in January, 1902. It may be remembered that by this protocol the importation of arms into China was forbidden for two years, with a proviso to the effect that this term might be prolonged if requisite, according to circumstances. In the course of the discussion of the terms of the protocol a sub-committee of the Conference of Ministers of the Powers had proposed that the period of prohibition should be five years. But the American, Belgian, and Japanese delegates held to the opinion that two years, with a proviso, would suffice. This view prevailed, and before the clause was finally embodied in the protocol China had published an Imperial Edict in anticipation. The Russian delegate, however, was of opinion that the term should be *ten* years. This marked divergence of Russia's views from those entertained by other Powers was eminently suggestive, now that we can calmly reflect upon it, of some lurking sinister motive.

In the meantime Russia was eagerly engaged in an intrigue for the revival of that objectionable Manchurian Agreement which she professed to have abandoned months before. Her diplomacy on this occasion was precisely similar in its base and cynical disregard of all moral obligations to that she had employed decades before in depriving China of the "Maritime Province." The Marquis of Lansdowne was apprised in August, 1901, of the fact that, despite her denial thereof, Russia was seeking to obtain China's signature to a

Manchurian Agreement, and a week later it was definitely stated in reliable quarters that as soon as the final Peking Protocol should be signed, Russia's negotiations concerning Manchuria would be recommenced at Peking or St. Petersburg. The protocol was, as we have seen, signed on the 7th of September, and it is to be presumed that thenceforward Russia was busily occupied with the furtherance of her schemes.

It was at this juncture that the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of alliance took practical shape, and was signed in London on the 30th of January, 1902, it being entered into between Great Britain and Japan solely from a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the Extreme East. This Agreement is to remain in full force for five years, and is terminable after the expiration of that period at one year's notice. When, however, one of the Allies happens, in the meantime, to be engeged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded. The aims and motives of the Agreement were admirably summed up in an eminently statesmanlike despatch from the Marquis of Landsdowne to Sir Claude Macdonald at Tokio, as is well known to the students of history.

The publication of this Agreement was followed on the 16th of March by the issue of a Russo-French Memorandum, being communicated in due course to the Powers concerned. It ran as under:

"The Allied Governments of Russia and France have received a copy of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of the 30th January, 1902, concluded with the object of maintaining the *status quo* and the general peace in the Far East, and preserving the independence of China and Korea, which are to remain open to the commerce and industry of all nations, and have been fully satisfied to find therein affirmed the fundamental principles which they have themselves, on several occasions, declared to form the basis of their policy, and which still remain so.

"The two Governments consider that the observance of these principles is at the same time a guarantee of their special interests in the Far East. Nevertheless, being obliged themselves also to take into consideration the case in which either the aggressive action of third Powers, or the recurrence of disturbances in China, jeopardising the integrity and free development of that Power, might become a menace to their own interests, the two Allied Governments reserve to themselves the right to consult in that contingency as to the means to be adopted for securing those interests."

Simultaneously with the issue of this Memorandum was published in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* of the 20th of March an official

communiqué, omitting to consider how and why it came about that an Anglo-Japanese Agreement came to be entered into, and insinuating that two of the eleven Powers (Britain and Japan being meant) which had quite recently signed the Peking Protocol were seeking to separate themselves from the others, and to place themselves in a "special situation in respect to the Celestial Empire," and after repeating the usual rigmarole about Russia's guiding principles and desire for peace, wound up with the assertation that the French and Russian Governments found it needful to formulate their views owing to "the ever-persistent agitation concerning the Anglo-Japanese Arrangement."

France appears to have felt some sort of reluctance to associate herself with the Russian policy in the Far East, but she was persuaded to do so on account of Russia being most studious in making her believe that the Muscovite Government were sincere as to their intention of evacuation.

What America thought of these matters was to be seen from Secretary Hay's Memorandum, which, after expressing America's gratification on finding in both the Anglo-Japanese Agreement and the Russo-French Memorandum renewed assurances of the concurrence of their views with those held by America in respect of Far Eastern affairs, ended thus:

"With regard to the concluding paragraph of the Russian Memorandum, the Government of the United States, while sharing the views therein expressed as to the continuance of the Open Door policy against possible encroachment from whatever quarter, and while equally solicitous for the unfettered development of independent China, reserves for itself entire liberty of action should circumstances unexpectedly arise whereby the policy and interests of the United States in China and Korea might be disturbed or impaired."

This was an indirect way of telling Russia that America was not to be inveigled into any sanction or acceptance of "suitable means" to be devised by her, and it is not difficult to understand how little trust was at that time placed by America in Russian avowals. Indeed, the American people were just then irritated by the friction which had arisen between the Russians and the American consular and naval authorities, as well as the American mercantile community at large, owing to the iniquitous retention by the Russian military authorities of the treaty port of Newchwang and the resultant interference with telegraphic and mail facilities, and obstacles to comcerce at large, in consequence of which America had several times made representations to the St. Petersburg Government, to say noth-

ing of the many anxieties concerning graver subjects created by Russia's policy.

At the very moment when the Russo-French Memorandum was being circulated, Russia was, in point of fact, maturing her second Manchurian Convention, which was as objectionable as the first one. Mr. Conger, the American Minister in Peking, had in December, 1901, reported to Washington that Prince Ching had returned to Peking armed with authority to sign a Manchurian Convention, and also that the British and Japanese Ministers were warning China not to enter into it. He asked for instructions as to the course he should take, giving the substance of the provisions of this proposed Convention which had come to his knowledge.

Mr. Hay thereupon instructed Mr. Conger to advise Prince Ching that America trusted and expected that no arrangement which would permanently impair the territorial integrity of China, injure the legitimate interests of the United States, or impair the ability of China to meet her international obligations, would be made with any single Power. Prince Ching, in assenting, said he would insist on the Russian evacuation in one year instead of three, that matters concerning Chinese troops should be left to China herself to arrange, and likewise as to guarding the railways or building railway bridges. Russia's claim for expenses in repairing and maintaining the railway would not be paid if it was found that it had been covered by the general indemnity. But Mr. Conger confessed that he had grave doubts regarding the Prince's ability to secure consent to the terms he proposed.

Mr. Tower, the Amercan Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was then instructed by Mr. Hay to remonstrate with the Russian Government on the ground that by permitting or creating any monopoly by one Power of the trade of the region, China would contravene the provisions of the treaties with other Powers, and such action would infallibly lead to the impairment of Chinese sovereignty, and tend to diminish the ability of China to meet its obligations; and further that other Powers as well might be expected to seek similar exclusive advantages in different parts of the Chinese Empire. This would be destructive of the policy of equal treatment for all the Powers, and contrary to Russian assurances regarding the preservation of an "open door" in China. Mr. Conger was simultaneously directed to warn the Chinese Government still further.

The Russian reply to America was handed to Mr. Tower on the 9th of February, and it must be characterized as one of the most remarkable of Russia's many remarkable despatches. After declaring that Russia was fully disposed to remove the causes of anxiety to

the American Cabinet, but that it felt bound at the same time to assert that negotiations carried on between two entirely independent States were not subject to be submitted to other Powers, it proceeded thus:

"There is no thought of attacking the principle of the 'open door,' as that principle is understood by the Imperial Government of Russia, and Russia has no intention whatever to change the policy followed by her in that respect up to the present time.

"If the Russo-Chinese Bank should obtain concessions in China, the agreements of a private character relating to them would not differ from those heretofore concluded by so many other foreign corporations. But would it not be very strange if the 'door' that is 'open' to certain nations should be closed to Russia, whose frontier adjoins that of Manchuria, and who has been forced by recent events to send her troops into that province to re-establish order in the plain and common interest of all nations? It is true that Russia has conquered Manchuria, but she still maintains her firm determination to restore it to China and recall her troops as soon as the conditions of evacuation shall have been agreed upon and the necessary steps taken to prevent a fresh outbreak of troubles in the neighboring territory.

"It is impossible to deny to an independent State the right to grant to others such concessions as it is free to dispose of, and I have every reason to believe that the demands of the Russo-Chinese Bank do not in the least exceed those that have been so often formulated by other foreign companies, and I feel that under the circumstances it would not be easy for the Imperial Government to deny to Russian companies that support which is given by other governments to companies and syndicates of their own nationalities."

And it concludes by stating that there is not, nor can there be, any question of the contradiction of the assurances which had been given by Russia under the orders of the Emperor. Was it not a scandalous thing that Russia, the promulgator of the so-called "fundamental principles," should have the hardihood to claim for her clandestine negotiations with China that they were no concern of the Powers? Was it not positively outrageous that Russia, whose contention it had been that the Powers were not at war with the constituted Government of China, should declare, when it suited her purpose and in a formal State document, that she had a claim on Manchuria by conquest?

It will be remembered that the Powers which took most interest in the affairs at this period were Britain, America and Japan. As to

Germany, she seems to have made the best use of the Anglo-German Agreement during the peace negotiations with China, as shown by the report of Mr. Rockhill, the American Commissioner, to his Government, which states that "the position of Germany on the question of the indemnity was most uncompromising," and that "the urgent necessity for Great Britain to maintain her *entente* with Germany in China was responsible for the numerous concessions that she had made to Germany's insistence on being paid the last cent of her expenses." Germany, however, soon showed herself lukewarm, and in March, 1901, Count von Bülow announced in the Reichstag that her interpretation of the Agreement was that it had no application to Manchuria! He even went so far, in an attempt to minimize its scope, as to designate it "the Yang-tse Convention!"—not, however, without evoking much comment and surprise, nay, even some suspicion, in England and elsewhere. Such being the German attitude, the Imperial Chancellor, speaking in the Reichstag on the 3rd of March, 1902, in reference to the Anglo-Japanese Agreement, remarked quite unconcernedly that no exception could be taken to it by Germany as it did not in any way interfere with the Anglo-German Agreement of the 16th of October, 1900, *with regard to the Yang-tse Valley,* or with declarations exchanged by the several Powers with regard to the "open door."

Russia continued to exert the utmost pressure at Peking, and on the 8th of April, 1902, the Manchurian Convention was signed at Peking by the Russian and Chinese Plenipotentiaries. The *Journal Officiel* of St. Petersburg published the text of it four days later, and this veritably Satanic triumph was crowned by China formally expressing her obligations to the Powers whose counsel she had sought, viz. America, Britain and Japan. True it was that the terms were perhaps more favorable to China than she would have secured had she been left entirely to the tender mercies or Russsia, but they were, in all conscience, onerous and degrading enough. The truth was that China's helplessness to resist Russian coercion was coupled with an intense anxiety on the part of the Manchu Court to regain possession of that part of the empire which, for dynastic reasons, was most dear to it. The dilemma in which the Chinese Court found itself is well illustrated in a report by Mr. Conger to the American Government, dated the 29th of January, in which he states:

"On the 27th I had a conference with Prince Ching, who informed me, substantially, that he was in a most difficult position. He had used, he said, every effort in his power to come to some agreement with Russia whereby the evacuation of Manchuria might be secured

without the great sacrifice, on the part of China, which Li Hung-Chang had agreed to. He had, he said, secured some very material concessions on the part of Russia, but they would yield no further, and he was convinced, if China held out longer, that they would never again secure terms as lenient; that the Russians were in full possession of the territory, and their treatment of the Chinese was so aggravating that longer occupation was intolerable; that they must be got out, and that the only way left for China to accomplish this was to make the best possible terms. The only terms that Russia would consent to was the signing of both the Convention and the Russo-Chinese Bank Agreement."

Accompanying the text of the Agreement there was published in the Russian official organ an explanatory communication to the effect that, having been "repaid the material expenses to which she was put by her military operations in China," Russia saw no necessity thenceforward "for leaving armed forces within the confines of the neighboring territory," and therefore this Agreement had been made by Imperial will. The stipulations of this Convention are tolerably well known, but they may be briefly stated:

The right to exercise authority in Manchuria to be restored to China, and the Russian troops, within six months after signature—*i. e.*, 8th of October, 1902—to be withdrawn from the South-West Province up to the Liao River, and the railways handed over to China.

[Prince Ching said he thought Newchwang was included, but, as the sequel showed, the Russians thought otherwise.]

Within the following six months the remainder of the Mukden Province, plus the Kirin Province, to be evacuated, and finally, within another six months, to quit Hei-Lung-Chiang; thus all three provinces were to be restored to the Chinese Empire by, at the latest, the 8th of October, 1903.

Of course, as a set off to this magnanimous return of wrongly acquired property, Russia laid a number of restrictions on China.

She was limited as to the numbers and disposition of the troops she was to place in Manchuria.

She was to protect the Russian railways there, and the persons employed thereon, in their various undertakings.

Nor might she invite any Power to participate in protecting, constructing or working her own railway—viz. that from Shan-hai-Kwan to Newchwang and Hsin-Min-tsun—nor allow any other Power to occupy the territory vacated by the Russians.

China might neither extend nor construct, nor erect a bridge

nor remove the terminus, at Newchwang, without first discussing the matter with the Russian Government.

Finally, China was to pay Russia's expenses incurred in the working and repair of the Chinese railway in Manchuria, which sums, it was declared, were not included in the total of the previous claim.

Could any rational being fail to perceive that in these stipulations there were direct infringements of the sovereignty and integrity of an independent State? They evoked, indeed, on all sides, the severest criticism. Yet because it was presumed that Russia would keep her word on the essential points—the evacuation by given dates of the three occupied provinces—the Powers were willing, it would seem, to acquiesce.

I may here remark in passing that the Russian share of the indemnity included not only the expenses incurred by her in Pe-chi-li but also in Manchuria. For all that it was altogether exorbitant, as was much commented upon at the time, when compared with the claims of other Powers, not to speak of the extreme moderation of Japan's claim, which was actually recognized by the British Government in a telegram to Sir Ernest Satow. Now that Russia insisted on claiming an extra indemnity on account of railway, the iniquity of it all became the more glaring.

For some time after this, things appeared to be going tolerably well, though some anxiety was left in certain quarters as to Russia's sincerity. The 8th of October, 1902, was the day on which the first part of the Russian evacuation was to be completed, and towards the end of that month the Chinese Government was enabled to announce the restoration of the southwest portion of Mukden Province, and all the Chinese railways outside the Great Wall, as previously stipulated. Then came the second part of the evacuation—Newchwang included—which had to be carried out by the 8th of April, 1903. Not only did the Russians not evacuate Newchwang and other parts of the territory as agreed upon, but signs were perceptible that they had altogether changed their programme. Rumors began to circulate that Russian troops were being moved towards the Korean frontier. On the 17th of April the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking telegraphed to Lord Lansdowne, "There is a growing feeling here that either the evacuation will not take place or that Russia is exacting conditions." When inquiry was made about it at St. Petersburg by the Chinese Minister, both Count Lamsdorff and M. de Witte assured him that, as to the movement of troops, neither the Imperial Government nor the Russo-Chinese Bank had any interest whatever in any timber concessions which private individuals might have ac-

quired, and they repudiated the idea that troops had been sent there to guard these concessions which were said to have been obtained from China and Korea. General Kuropatkin, then War Minister, did not deny, however, that M. Besobrazoff had acquired certain forest rights in Manchuria, and thought it possible that Admiral Alexieff had "granted" some soldiers to protect these rights. The Chinese Minister, who persisted in his inquiries, was assured that the delay of the second stage of the evacuation was but temporary, and was caused by the presence of foreign ships at Newchwang; Admiral Alexieff feared, so he said, that the Chinese might admit some other Power as soon as the Russians had gone away. Count Lamsdorff was nevertheless positive in affirming that the Emperor's commands would be fulfilled. By this time, however, things had begun to assume a very alarming aspect in Peking, for in reality the Russian representative was once more vigorously pressing there his daring new "seven demands," the purport of which could not for long be hidden from the diplomatic circle there, and the British *Chargé d'Affaires* briefly outlined their scope in a telegram on the 23rd of April, 1903, to his Government. They comprised:

"(1) A demand that no portion of the territory restored to China by Russia, especially at Newchwang, should be leased or sold, under any circumstances, to any other Power.

"(2) The system of government actually existing throughout Mongolia should not be altered.

"(3) China to engage herself not to open new ports or towns in Manchuria without notice to Russia, nor permit foreign Consuls to reside at such ports or towns.

"(4) Foreigners engaged by China for the administration of any affairs shall exert no authority in the northern provinces, where Russia has predominant interests.

"(5) As long as a telegraph line may exist at Newchwang and Port Arthur, the Newchwang and Peking line must be maintained, as the telegraph at Newchwang and Port Arthur and throughout Shing-King Province is under Russia's control, and its connection with her line on the Chinese telegraph poles at Newchwang, Port Arthur and Peking is of the utmost importance.

"(6) After the restoration of Newchwang to China, the Customs receipts shall, as at present, be deposited with the Russo-Chinese Bank.

"(7) No rights which have been acquired in Manchuria by Russian subjects or foreign companies during the Russian occupation shall be affected by the evacuation. Quarantine to be established in Newchwang against the spread of epidemics to the northern provinces.

Russians only eligible for Commissionership of Customs at ports or the post of Customs Physician, under control of Inspector General of Maritime Customs. Permanent Sanitary Board under presidency of Customs Tao-tai to be instituted."

All of these demands were not divulged at first, but what leaked out was bad enough, and diplomatic activity was stimulated to the highest pitch, though mainly by Britain, America and Japan. China herself wished to reject the demands *in toto,* and at the same time solicited the support of these three Powers, which at once was promised. Russia, on the other hand, exerted all her craft and subtlety to gain her ends, but in vain. On the 29th of April the Chinese Government finally intimated its refusal to comply. M. Plançon, the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires,* continued to grumble, and insisted that his Government should be "reassured" that (*a*) there was no intention of assimilating the administration of Mongolia to that of China proper; (*b*) that no cession of territory to a foreign Power in the Liao River region was in contemplation; and (*c*) that no foreign consuls were to be appointed in other places in Manchuria, even with China's consent. Prince Ching told M. Plançon point blank that there had never been any intention of ceding territory—that no alteration of the administrative system of Mongolia was for the present under consideration, and that the extent to which trade might be developed would alone decide the question of the opening of treaty ports and the appointment of consuls. M. Plançon promised the Prince that this answer, which he insisted was to be given as a note, should be transmitted to the St. Petersburg Government, and he then volunteered to state, with much apparent candor, that the delays of the evacuation had been brought about by the military party in Russia, and that this reply by the Prince would go far to allay anxiety, so that, in his opinion, Newchwang would shortly be evacuated. As will presently be seen, this proceeding was simply a farce.

The report of a movement of Russian troops towards the Korean frontier was only too true. Some time previously a timber-cutting concession had been exacted by Russia from China, as regarded the right bank of the Yalu, and from Korea as to the left, nominally on behalf of some private individuals who transferred their rights to M. Besobrazoff. But, as the world came eventually to know, Admiral Alexieff, certain grand dukes, and even the highest personages in the Muscovite Empire, were implicated in this transaction. Private and public concerns were thus intermingled, and the movement of Russian troops to the Yalu banks was undoubtedly connected therewith. And though Russia had for decades coveted the Korean penin-

sula, it was by this means that the affairs of Manchuria and Korea were artfully blended, and the military forces were brought to bear to further the ends both of private avarice and the unscrupulous territorial aggrandisement of Russia.

As before shown, the time limit for the second stage of the evacuation of Manchuria was the 8th of April, 1903. At Mukden the Russian troops once made a feint of evacuation; they even actually did withdraw, in part, but the remainder simply marched to the railway station and marched back again to their old quarters, without entraining. At Newchwang too, they once appeared as though they were preparing for evacuation; but the aspect of affairs suddenly changed when the 8th of April arrived, and it was urged in excuse for the troops' retention that the Tao-tai was not present to have the place handed over to him. This was the crowning impudence, for the Russians themselves had the Tao-tai safely in their own hands at Mukden. Simultaneously, M. Plançon was trying hard at Peking to get his demands acceded to; true, he once told Prince Ching, on the 29th of April, that the evacuation would probably be proceeded with; but next day the cloven hoof peeped out, for in returning to the charge with his seven demands M. Plançon allowed himself to say that if they were not acceded to there would be no evacuation at all!

From that time Russia's military activity grew apace. At the Yalu the Chunchuses were enlisted by her ostensibly as "forest police" for the timber-cutting district, and coals and munitions of war were brought to Yongampho, at the mount of the river, in vessels specially chartered, be it observed, by the *Russian military authorities.* Here a settlement was quickly formed, to which was given the title of Port Nicholas, and this was used thenceforward in all official documents.

Parenthetically it may be mentioned that, in accordance with Article 11 of the Peking Protocol, England negotiated with China and concluded a new Anglo-Chinese Commercial Treaty in September of the preceding year, 1902. Then America, and some time afterwards Japan, were likewise in negotiation with China. As, however, the opening of Antung and Mukden was included in the project of the Chino-American Treaty, and of Ta-tung-kau and Mukden in the Chino-Japanese Treaty, to which also a provision for the concession of a "settlement" was attached, the Russian representative at Peking repeatedly opposed it, at times indirectly, and at others directly; and as the Chinese Government was anxious first of all to see Manchuria freed from Russian domination, the definite conclusion of the Treaties was put off for a time. While these tricks were being played by Russian agents in the East, at St. Petersburg the most plausible

tales were being told as usual to the Powers' representatives. Count Lamsdorff declared solemnly that no demands were being made at Peking, and that China was simply endeavoring by her tortuous diplomacy to sow discord between the Powers. At another time it was that Russia merely sought to obtain guarantees, and that there was no idea of excluding the consuls or obstructing foreign commerce.

But on the 19th of May, on the British *Chargé d'Affaires* paying a call at the Russian Legation in Peking, it being the Tsar's birthday, M. de Plançon at once "took occasion to speak about the existing state of affairs at Newchwang. He represented that the port could not be held to be included in that part of Manchuria which should have been evacuated during the last month, since it more properly formed part of the section evacuated in October last, and was held by the Russians much as Tien-tsin was formerly held by the Powers." Needless to say, M. de Plançon's visitor was astounded at this proposition. For it had been at Russia's own instance that Newchwang had been placed outside the sphere which formed the first part of the evacuation provided for in the Agreement. Perfidy could no farther go! M. Lessar returned to Peking, but there was no change of Russian diplomacy! And now Russia found it time to shift her ground once more, as the discrepancy between promises and actions had become too pronounced for even her lax notions of diplomatic morality. So Count Benckendorff called on the Marquis of Lansdowne in London and assured him that (*a*) whatever might be the outcome of the pending Russo-Chinese negotiations, Russia had no intention of opposing the *gradual* opening of some towns in Manchuria as commercial relations might develop, excluding, however, the right to establish "settlements." But (*b*) this declaration was not to apply to Harbin. That town, being within the limits of the concession for the "Eastern Chinese Railway," said he, was not unrestrictedly subject to China, and the establishment of foreign consuls there must depend on the consent of the Russian Government. Lord Lansdowne frankly told the Russian Ambassador that this was a qualification of Russia's previous assurances, and that the exclusion of Harbin was something quite new. Russia's representative begged that Britain would discourage Chinese opposition to Russia's demands; but Lord Lansdowne plainly said that England must first be fully informed of the nature of those demands. A few days later Count Lamsdorff, who had been informed of this answer, observed in conversation with the British *Chargé d'Affaires* that this desire for information was natural, but he could not supply it until General Kuropatkin's return from the East, whither he had been on a visit. General Kuropatkin

did, in fact, at this time visit the East. He went to Japan by way of Manchuria, ostensibly on a pleasure trip only, but no doubt in reality to form his opinion of her naval and military strength and resources, and on his return westwards he called at Port Arthur, and held the now famous conference with Admiral Alexieff and M. Besobrazoff.

On the 29th of July, 1903, the Russian Ambassador in London once more approached Lord Lansdowne with a view of coming to an understanding with Great Britain, saying that it might be arrived at by Russia's not opposing England in the Yang-tse Valley. To this Lord Lansdowne peremptorily replied that the British difficulty with Russia lay more in the Manchurian question. As to the Yang-tse Valley, his impression was that by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1897 a partial understanding had already been arrived at, and that unless the British Government were more frankly made acquainted with the terms Russia was endeavoring to obtain from China no hope existed of coming to an understanding.

At this juncture her first approach to Russia, which led to the subsequent negotiations, was made by Japan—viz., on the 28th of July, 1903; but of this more anon.

The conference at Port Arthur had had no pacific tendency. On the contrary, whilst the Russian Ambassador was suggesting to Lord Lansdowne an utterly unacceptable *modus vivendi* on the one hand, and entering to all appearances willingly upon negotiations with Japan on the other, the Russian Government was planning the audacious *coup d'état* embodied in the Imperial ukase of the 12th of August (the 30th of July, O. S.), 1903, creating a Russian viceregency out of the Amur and Kwan-Tung territories. By this the Tzar's representative was invested with full administrative control, the command of both military and naval forces, and supreme power for the maintenance of order and security in "the zone of the Eastern Railway of China," as well as with the duty of providing for the needs of the Russian populations in "the frontier possessions beyond the Imperial Lieutenancy." He was also given control of the diplomatic relations of these provinces with neighboring States. By the same ukase a special committee under the presidency of the Emperor was appointed to control the Viceroy, thus making the office independent of any Ministry or Department, and Admiral Alexieff was nominated Viceroy. This, of course, was Russia's defiant intimation to the world that she meant to hold Manchuria in perpetuity.

Early in the ensuing month of September, 1903, the Russian

Minister at Peking made five demands as conditions of evacuation. Briefly these were that:

"(1) Assurances should be given by China that the three provinces should never be ceded to any other Power, nor any scrap of land therein pledged, leased, or disposed of in any way whatever.

"(2) Russia should construct wharves at several points along the Sungari, and should station troops for the protection of the telegraph lines along the river and of the vessels plying thereon. Russia should also establish stations at various points on the roads between Tsitsihar, Mergen and Blagovestchensk.

"(3) No specially heavy duty to be imposed on goods carried by railway, nor any heavier duties to be levied on goods conveyed into Manchuria by rail from one station to another than on those transported overland or by waterways.

"(4) The branch offices of the Russo-Chinese Bank in various parts of Manchuria to be protected by the troops of the Tartar General of Mukden, the expense of lodging such troops to be defrayed by the Bank.

"(5) Needful sanitary measures, similar to those in Shanghai and Tien-tsin, to be taken by the Chinese authorities in order to prevent the importation of plague through Newchwang; and within the territories appertaining to the Chinese Eastern Railway, Russia to adopt the necessary measures. Where the Toa-tai has charge of these measures a Russian physician to be appointed, so as to secure due accord between the steps to be taken by the Chinese and Russian authorities respectively."

The Russian Minister further demanded a prolongation of the period for evacuation, representing to Prince Ching that on these conditions Russia would withdraw her troops from Newchwang and other places within the province of Mukden on the 8th of October, 1903, from the province of Kirin within four months, and from that of Hei-Lung-Chiang within one year. The creation of foreign settlements was still, however, objected to, and there was, according to a report emanating from a source deserving of all confidence, another proposal, designed to overthrow the provisions contained in Article VIII., section 10, of the Mackey Treaty, by the establishment of a separate Inspectorate of Customs for Manchuria, to be presided over and manned exclusively by Russian officials.

The more one examines these proposals the more one realizes the gravity of their purport. Had China accepted them, as Prince Ching observed to Sir Ernest Satow, and Russia had nominally withdrawn, the Russians would still have remained in actual possession, to all

intents and purposes, of Manchuria. Phince Ching, however, animated by the assurances of America, Britain, and Japan, on the 25th of September finally refused the Russian demands, at the same time pointing out that by a solemn convention entered into by plenipotentiaries of both Powers, and ratified by their respective Sovereigns, Russia was bound to complete the second stage of the evacuation by the 8th of April, which in reality had already passed, and the third by the 8th of October, 1903. China was willing, he said, to discuss international matters needing settlement as soon as the evacuation had been completed in accord with that convention; and on the 6th of October the Chinese Government formally requested the Russian Minister to carry out the promised evacuation by the 8th, to which the answer given by him was that unless China accepted the Russian conditions, the evacuation was not practicable.

The new Chino-Amercian Treaty, and also the Chino-Japanese Treaty, were signed, despite Russian opposition, simultaneously with the expiration of the third term of the Manchurian evacuation, and, by virtue of these treaties, Antung, Tatungkau, and Mukden were opened to foreign commerce. China's original wish was to sign these treaties subsequently to the Russian evacuation, so as to give Russia no offence; but the Russian threat that, unless the new conditions she proposed were accepted, the evacuation would be impracticable, decided the Chinese statesmen to wait no longer.

The day that the Chino-American Treaty was signed the Russian Minister actually wrote to Prince Ching upbraiding him, and threatening that unless he reconsidered his action Russia would herself carry out the projects contained in the five proposals, and from that day forth the military and naval activities of Russia, which had been for more than half a year before incessantly pursued, were redoubled in intensity. Forts were constructed, additional warships were sent out from Europe, more troops were moved to the Korean borders, and in one way and another the Manchurian and Korean affairs were inextricably blended, and everything assumed a most warlike and menacing aspect.

On the 28th of October Russian troops occupied the Chinese castle and palace of Mukden, possessed themselves of the public offices and archives, and next day imprisoned the Tartar General. The castle gates were guarded by Russians, the telegraphs seized; the pretext for all this was that a Chunchus bandit, one of those enlisted by Russia for service at the Yalu, had been condemned to death for an offence against Chinese law by the Tao-tai's chief aide-de-camp. The

Russians demanded that the latter should himself be beheaded and the Tao-tai dismissed.

On the Korean side of the Yalu Russian aggression became particularly noticeable. The Government of Seoul was pressed to grant a lease of Yongampho similiar to that extorted from China for Port Arthur. Telegraph lines were set up without consulting Korea at all, and, without waiting for an answer about Yongampho, forts were begun. (One of the first completed was reported at the beginning of October, by a military *attaché* sent from the Japanese Legation at Seoul to investigate matters, to be twenty metres in height, with three embrasures for guns.) Koreans having business connections with Japanese were arrested without cause, timber which the Japanese residents had found floating down the Yalu and had brought to bank for their own use was violenty wrested from them on the plea that every fragment belonged of right to the Russian concessionaires, and things had become so unbearable to the Japanese that they were preparing to quit when Mr. Hagiwara, Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Seoul, was dispatched to investigate and report on the condition of affairs in general. The Russians refused to let him land at Yongampho from the steamer, and he was obliged to return with his mission unachieved, though later on the Russian Minister at Seoul acknowledged that his people had been indiscreet. All these high-handed proceedings could have no other object than that of securing the Russian position beforehand, in defiance of international obligations and solemn pledges, and with the express purpose of driving Japan to extremities. Both the United States and Japan had strongly advocated the opening of Yongampho to the trade of all nations. The opinion of the British representative at Seoul was similar; but this course was systematically and strenuously opposed by Russia.

We now come to the stage of the purely Russo-Japanese negotiations, but as my article is already of great length, and, moreover, as I have already given full details of this branch of the subject, I will simply give the substance thereof in brief.

Japan had always, from time immemorial, possessed large interests in Korea, and it was in the determination to uphold her rights there that she did not hesitate to throw down the gauntlet to the Chinese ten years ago, at a time when China's naval and military strength was considered by many to be far superior to that of Japan. She staked her existence on the result then, and she has done so now for much the same cause, with the additional reason that she has interests in Manchuria likewise which she cannot afford to sacrifice. More than all,

the presence of any foreign power in Manchuria tends to become a constant menace to Korea, and he territorial integrity of the peninsular kingdom is absolutely indispensable to Japan's safety. Russia's ambitions had for years run counter to this, and thus it was that, in Japan there was perpetual anxiety and unrest. When matters in Manchuria and Korea began to assume the unmistakable character which has been described in the foregoing pages, and which was totally at variance with all the pledges Russia had given, not to Japan alone, but to the whole world, it was high time that Japan paid some attention to her own interests and allowed herself to be actuated by the instinct of self-preservation. She therefore addressed herself to Russia direct, in the early autumn of last year, and sought to open up negotiations with the aim of bringing about a more desirable condition of things both in Korea and Manchuria, in order that the advantages of a permanent peace might be secured for all.

Japan was willing from the first to recognize Russia's special interests in Manchuria, in so far as they had been acquired by legitimate means, but she desired that Russia should keep her word by entering into an international compact with Japan to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China in respect of those provinces, as being vital to Japan's special position in Korea, and which, in its turn, was vital to the Japanese Empire's own existence.

Japan's demands were presented only when the most careful consideration had been given to every phase of the question, and after the interests of other powers as well as her own had been taken into account. Russia had all along perfectly understood Japan's position, and there was absolutely nothing in the Japanese demands that was new or extravagant. In their extreme moderation they scarcely satisfied the aspirations of the nation, but it was the government's aim to avoid any disturbance of the peace of the Far East. Russia had pledged herself, in her various communications at different times to the powers, to accord practically everything that Japan asked for, but when it came to a request that the Russian avowals should be embodied in an international compact she practically ignored all. After this barefaced avowal it was plain to Japan that Russia would have to be kept up to the mark if the promises that had been given so freely were not to become a dead letter.

The negotiations were by Russia made to drag on month by month, whilst she was unremitting in her efforts to strengthen her armaments in the Far East by land and sea, until Japan's patience was exhausted and an answer to her final inquiry was requested by

a certain day, the only response being a further irritating postponement.

To conclude, I have, I hope, fairly set forth in this and my previous article all that is necessary to show how Russia brought on war. My aim has been to show how she was prolific in self-denying ordinances, but resolute in her practice of ignoring them as soon as they could be supposed to have served her turn. And from all that I have urged it will be plain that the present war in the Far East is not in reality a conflict which has arisen merely out of a dispute between the two combatants. It is rather to be ascribed to the general revolt of all the civilized peoples of the earth against the perfidy and insincerity of Russia, who for many years past has sought to outwit the other powers. It was because Japan felt all along that her interests, more than those of any other country, were involved, and because China's helplessness to cope with her own calamity was out of the question, that Japan, little as she is, at last resolved that she would take up the cudgels, and was content to do battle with Russia single-handed, in advance of the other nations whose prospects were similarly jeopardized. It cannot be too often pointed out that in so doing Japan risked her very existence as a nation, and this is why we demand so boldly, as I am sure we are entitled to do, the common sympathy of the world at large in our huge undertaking, on which we embraked in the interests of justice and humanity. It is my proud privilege to perceive that, excepting in certain quarters, which have reasons of their own for the attitude they adopt, this sympathy has from the very beginning been cordially and universally extended to us.

SUYEMATSU.

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

(*Sixth Paper.*)

GENERAL SITUATION.

THE general situation at sea towards the end of April, 1904, may be briefly summed up here. The Russian Squadron in Vladivostok, the port being free of ice at that season, could at any time run out to sea, consequently the Japanese had detached a squadron to the Japan Sea to observe it, and if possible bring it to fight while still at sea. The Port Arthur Squadron had lost its most active and able commander, Admiral Makaroff, and the new commander had not yet arrived. The Japanese main fleet was still in the Yellow Sea, with outposts observing Port Arthur.

The Russian advanced troops held the line of the Yalu, as well as Port Arthur and Vladivostok, and the main army was between Mukden and Karbin (or Harbin).

The Japanese *First Army* was preparing to cross the Yalu, the *Second Army* was partly under way on transports, and the *Third Army* was being mobilized.

The Japanese landings on the eastern coast of Corea, reported in the early stages of the campaign, were insignificant in character, and were limited to the occupation of a few important points and the protection of several Japanese settlements. Gensan was one of the principal points where landings were made, and this was done partly to quiet the inhabitants, and partly to secure a coaling place and a port of entry for communication purposes.

OPERATIONS ON LAND.

(April 13-May 2, 1904.)

The operations on land, up to April 18, 1904, were limited to skirmishes between the advance guards or outposts of the two armies. The Japanese had obtained possession of the left bank of the Yalu, occupying Wiju and Yongampo, and extending up the river to Pomakhou. Opposite Shahodzu (south of Antung) they had constructed

entrenchments, and had placed Wiju and Yongampo in a state of defense.

The Russians held the right bank of the Yalu, with their principal positions at Antung and opposite Wiju.

Both armies had outposts on islands in the stream.

The commanders of the respective forces directly concerned were:

Russian: Lieutenant General Sassulitch.

Japanese: Lieutenant General Kuroki.

The troops comprised the following:

Russian: III Army Corps (3d and 6th Divisions); with two regiments cavalry, under General Mishenko. In all 17,000 infantry, 4,500 cavalry and 72 guns.

Japanese: 2d, 12th and 13th (Guards) Divisions. In all 40,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, 124 guns.

From the time the armies came in contact on the Yalu, early in April, reconnaissances were carried on vigorously by both sides: the Russians to determine the strength, character and movements of the Japanese; and the latter to learn the same with respect to the Russian troops before them to determine the practicability of the country bordering the Yalu, and to obtain definite information as to roads and passes, as well as the present character of the branches of the Yalu (which had changed considerably since 1895, when last studied by the Japanese officers).

THE BATTLE OF THE YALU.*

On April 20, 1904, the Japanese troops had taken position as follows:

The *right*: 12th Division, about 2 miles southeast of Wiju.

The *center*: 13th (Guards) Division, farther south and west, about the same distance from Wiju.

The *left*: 2d Division, about 2 miles directly south of Wiju.

The Russian troops occupied the following positions at about the same time (April 25), beginning on the Russian right:

The *right*: Near the mouth of the Yalu river, 1,000 cavalry; Sou-ta-kou (southwest of Antung), 100 infantry and 8 guns.

The *center*: Antung, 3,500 infantry and 20 guns; Bandoko (1½ miles northwest of Antung), 2,000 infantry and 8 guns. Chiu-lien-cheng (about 6 miles northeast of Antung on the Yalu, at the mouth of its branch, the Ay-ho river) and Conical Hill (1 mile north of Chiu-lien-cheng), 6,500 infantry and 24 guns.

*The information for this description was obtaned mainly from *Marine Rundschau* and the pamphlet published by our Gen ral Staff.

The *left*: To the northeast, some distance up the Yalu, 1,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and several guns.

Reserve: Tenzanshi (5 miles north of Antung, 3 miles back from the river), some infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 8 guns. Hamatan (2 miles northwest of Tenzanshi), 1,000 infantry and some cavalry; Feng-wang-cheng (50 miles northwest of Antung), 3,000 infantry, 12 light guns and some cavalry,—marching toward Chiu-lien-cheng.

As early as April 20, Russian patrols reported movements of Japanese detachments upstream from Wiju, and the concentration of Japanese forces north of that town, as well as in the town itself. Reconnaissances, extending over several days, also showed that quantities of material, apparently parts of pontoon bridges, were being collected opposite the island of Mabikhe, and that there were but few Japanese troops south of the Pomakua river.

The Japanese troops below the Pomakua were reported to be preparing pontoon boats, consequently a Russian detachment of 2 officers and 32 men proceeded thither in three boats to capture or destroy the boats, but were discovered by the Japanese and driven back with a loss of one-half the detachment.

Between the 20th and 25th, the Russian patrols reported that the Japanese were landing pontoon material and preparing to construct bridges at various points on the river, namely, near Wiju and in the vicinity of Sui-kau-chen (8 or 10 miles up the river from Wiju) and were crossing at other points, as at a point 15 miles above Wiju, and at Piokdun (40 miles above Wiju), for example.

Between the 23d and the 25th of April, the Japanese reconnoitred very energetically, and with strong detachments, especially the country between the Yalu and the Ay-ho.

PASSAGE OF THE YALU.

Immediately north of Antung, the Yalu and Ay-ho (a branch emptying into the Yalu from the north at Chiu-lien-cheng) spread out into many branches, leaving several large islands in the streams, such as Kintieto (extending from Wiju south to a point opposite Antung), Osenkito (extending north from Wiju about 2 miles), and Kyurito (northeast of Osenkito island).

These islands had to be occupied by the Japanese in order to protect the bridging parties, and also for proper reconnaissance of the main channel, which lay to their west.

The Japanese bridge trains were inadequate, and there were few boats left on the river which could be utilized for bridge-building, consequently, the Japanese pioneers (or engineers) had to build pon-

toons and make anchors, which latter they did from the iron found at Yongampo.

The islands of Kyurito and Kintieto were occupied before daylight on April 26, the former by detachments of the 13th, the latter by detachments of 2d Division, by means of boats. The Russian detachment on Kyurito resisted for some time, but was finally forced over to Osenkito island, and thence to Tiger Hill (3 miles northwest of Wiju).

The Japanese then proceeded with their reconnaissance of the main stream, and began bridging the branches on the Wiju side. Their plan (decided upon by General Kuroki on April 24th) was to send the 12th Division up the river and cross it over a day before the remainder of the army crossed at Wiju. To cover this movement on the right flank, a demonstration was made on the left. For this purpose, at 8 A. M., April 26, a large number of junks, loaded with timber and other materials, entered the mouth of the river, and 2 gunboats, 2 torpedo boats and 4 launches also appeared, and were fired upon by the Russians. The object of this demonstration was to give the impression that the crossing would take place at or below Antung.

The Russians were deceived by this movement sufficiently to send their reserve from Hamatan, three miles farther south, to Hekishiko (six miles northwest of Antung).

The Japanese fortified their positions on the islands, and placed batteries in position. On the 27th a bridge was laid directly in front of Wiju, to Kintieto island, and two others about two miles northeast of Wiju, to Kyurito island. The latter were fired on (but without serious effect) by the Russian batteries stationed at Makan, about 5 miles northwest of Wiju.

The 12th Division was ordered 8 miles up the river to Sui-kau-chen, where it was to cross.

After the 26th, the Russians surmised that the crossing would take place near Wiju, or just north of that place, and concentrated all their artillery fire in that direction. They had observed Japanese troops moving northward from Wiju, but on the 28th a Japanese detachment was observed still farther north, which detachment occupied a height (where the Russians had had an outpost) and entrenched themselves there, bringing a mountain battery into the position. Under its protection the Japanese began building a bridge. This height was called Tiger Hill, and is located on Hussan (or Hushan) island.

General Sassulitch, having determined by reconnaissance the significance of the Japanese movements, sent a strong detachment, supported by artillery, on the morning of the 29th, to retake the height,

which was accomplished, and the Japanese were forced to retire temporarily and secure their boats under cover, but during the night the bridge was constructed.

The order for the movement of the Japanese Army was issued at 10.00 A. M., April 28, and was as follows:

"I. The 12th Division will cross the river at Sui-kau-chen the night of the 29th. The 12th Division will occupy the line from Kareiroko (7 miles directly north of Wiju) to Rissien (3 miles south of Kareiroko) by the evening of April 30. One detachment to march along the river and occupy the hill about 1½ miles northeast of Tiger Hill, or 1½ miles southeast of Rissien. One detachment, if possible, will occupy Kyokako (about 4 miles northwest of Kareiroko) to threaten the enemy's left and rear. The 12th Division, continuing the march, will occupy the line from Sairoshiko (2 miles west of Kareiroko) to the hill just west of Rissien, May 1.

"II. The 2d Division will concentrate at Shasando (1½ miles east of Wiju) at 10.00 A. M., April 30, and starting from that point at 12.00, midnight, of the 30th, will march by the road east of Genkwado (1½ miles northeast of Wiju) to the southwest corner of Tiger Hill. The 20th Regiment of Artillery will be at the artillery position, 1½ miles directly west of Wiju, so as to begin firing at daybreak on the 30th.

"III. The Imperial Guards (13th Division) will concentrate at a point 1 mile directly east of Wiju at 10.00 A. M., April 30, and on the night of the 30th, will follow the 2d Division by the same road and occupy the line between the 12th and 2d Divisions. The howitzer regiment will occupy its position at a place 2 miles south of the 20th Artillery Regiment on the night of the 29th.

"IV. The entire reserve of the army will assemble at a point on the island of Kyurito, about 3 miles northeast of Wiju, at 4.00 A. M., May 1."

This reserve comprised 4 battalions of infantry and 5 squadrons of cavalry.

General Kuroki's line was thus to be composed of three divisions extending over a front of 6 miles, along the Ay-ho, from Sakasan to Sairoshiko.

OPERATIONS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE BATTLE.

The work of bridging at Sui-kau-chen was begun on the morning of the 29th, but a Russian detachment occupying the island in the river opposite gave considerable annoyance to the workmen, consequently a regiment of infantry was sent across in boats, under cover

of artillery fire, and these troops succeeded in dislodging the Russian detachment, which retired across the Ay-ho, and occupied the right bank at the principal fords. The bridging was then continued, and was completed by 3 A. M., April 30, when the 12th Division began crossing, and took up its march (with 2 mountain batteries, 16 guns in all, attached) in three columns to the position designated in the order, deploying on the evening of the 30th. The west branch of the Yalu was fordable and required no bridging, but the entire march was a very difficult one.

To cover this march, the two artillery regiments (20th and howitzer regiments) had been placed in position on April 29 on Kintieto island, west of Wiju, as directed in the order. These batteries were directed to open fire as soon as they could accurately locate the Russian artillery positions, or as soon as the Russians opened with artillery fire on the 12th division.

Meanwhile, on the morning of April 30, a battalion of the Imperial Guards had crossed the branch of the river at Tiger Hill in boats before daylight, and had occupied Tiger Hill, after some resistance by the Russians. The artillery of the Imperial Guards had been placed in masked positions, on a line extending about 2 miles northeast from the northern end Wiju, for the purpose of covering the working parties on the bridges, which were begun over the main stream at 12.00 M., April 30, at two points, both from Kyurito island, one located about 2½ miles north of Wiju, leading over to Ozenkito island, the other located about 3 miles north of Wiju, leading toward the left flank of the position taken up by the 12th Division. Another bridge just east of Tiger Hill, over a branch of the stream there, was begun about the same time. These bridges were completed at 8.00 P. M., April 30.

While these bridges were building and the 12th Division was deploying, an artillery duel was going on between the Russian batteries on Conical Hill (Suri-bachi-gama, 1 mile north of Chiu-lien-cheng) and the Japanese batteries on Kintieto island (ranges 2 to 3 miles). The fire was opened by the Russians at 10.30 A. M., not on the deploying troops or the bridges, but on some boats containing Japanese pioneers sounding in the river, about 1½ miles directly west of Wiju. The Japanese artillery then replied and the artillery duel began, lasting about 30 minutes, when the Russian batteries were completely silenced.

About 11.00 A. M. a battery of 8 guns, posted east of Makan opened fire, which was replied to by the Japanese batteries north of Wiju.

The howitzer regiment, posted about 2 miles southwest of Wiju, carried on a systematic bombardment all day till 5.00 P. M. In the first place 60 shells were sent to the Russian artillery position on Conical Hill; then the Russian ground in rear was divided into squares, and as their troops appeared in the different squares the latter were fired on by indirect fire, using two points of observation connected by telephones, one about a mile south of Wiju, the other about 8 miles southwest of Wiju. The entire work was carried on as quietly and deliberately as if the batteries were on their drill ground.

During the artillery duel the 12th Division deployed, placing its guns (16 mountain guns) in position near Rissien; and on the night of the 30th occupied the line along the Ay-ho river, from Sairoshiko to the hill west of Rissien.

The 2d Division began crossing at midnight, April 30; and after the head of column had crossed the bridge just east of Tiger Hill, it turned southwestward, marching over Tiger Hill, and deploying on a line extending from Tiger Hill on the right, southwestward to Sakasan (5 miles northeast of Antung) on the left. The position was occupied by daybreak.

The Guards (13th) Division followed, and took up its position between the other two divisions, according to the order.

The 20th regiment of field artillery, in position about 1¼ miles directly west of Wiju, was ordered to cross the main stream and take up a new position, about two miles northwest of Wiju. For this purpose pontoon rafts were constructed at Genkwado (2 miles northeast of Wiju), on the evening of April 30, and floated down the stream. During the night about half the field artillery was ferried over; the remainder, and a battalion of infantry supports, crossed in the morning, May 1.

Meanwhile, one-half the howitzers advanced to the position vacated by the 20th regiment, the other half remaining in their former position.

During the night of April 30, the Ay-ho was carefully examined, and was found to be generally fordable, although the water was about breast deep.

The Russian force holding the line extending from Chiu-lien-cheng southwestward for 6 miles to Hekishiko, consisted of about 9,000 infantry with 30 guns, the force from Feng-wang-cheng having taking position on the left of the force at Chiu-lien-cheng. Intrenchments had been constructed at Makan and Conical Hill, and along the line

from Conical Hill to Hekishiko (or Ishiko), but they were generally inadequate.

The Japanese troops were, therefore, on the morning of May 1, in position on the right bank of the main stream of the Yalu river, while the Russians held the plateau over which the main road to Manchuria passes and occupied Antung. In the region to the south of Antung the Russians had the Trans-Baikal Cossacks stationed.

THE BATTLE.

(May 1, 1904.)

The general attack on the Russian position began on the morning of May 1, at 7.00 A. M.

The Russian batteries at Conical Hill did not fire on the advancing infantry, but a battery of 8 guns at Makan opened, to which the entire Guards artillery (36 guns) replied, silencing the Russian battery in two minutes.

The Japanese lines advanced with little resistance until they approached the Ay-ho river, when the Russian infantry in the trenches on the opposite bank opened a heavy fire.

When the river was reached the Russian fire increased, the Russian soldiers hiding behind the hills on the bank, but the Japanese continued their advance up to the bank. At this time the guns of the 12th and 2d Divisions opened against the Russian infantry, and the Japanese, under cover of this fire plunged into the river. Many Japanese soldiers were killed or wounded in the water, but the men carried their dead or wounded comrades along to the opposite bank.

The entire line crossed at the same time. Conical Hill, the strongest point of the Russian position, was carried *at a charge,* without being first turned.

The Japanese line continued to advance, and at 8.00 A. M. the Russians were dislodged and driven back from their position. The Japanese pressed forward, and at 9.00 A. M., occupied a line extending from a point 1½ miles northwest of Chiu-lien-cheng, directly northward for about 5 miles, to Seechong, the general line being from 2 to 3 miles west of the original line. At 8.00 A. M. the reserves had been ordered to Conical Hill.

The Russian line retreated westward and northwestward. Part of their reserves from Hekishiko (with Maxim guns) had been brought up to a hill about 2 miles west of Chiu-lien-cheng, to cover the retreat. These troops fought splendidly, and prevented the retreating Russians from being cut off from the main road.

While the guns which had been stationed east of Makan were re-

treating, a shell struck the leading piece and this blockaded the road, so that the rest were all struck by shells from the Japanese batteries, and effectually put out of action.

The artillery of the 12th Division, at Rissien, was brought over the Ay-ho, a bridge being constructed for the purpose. Two batteries of field artillery of the 20th Regiment, in position 2 miles northwest of Wiju, were also ordered forward, and joined the reserve by fording the Ay-ho. The general line rested, meanwhile, and was adjusted, preparatory to pursuit.

During the forenoon the Japanese gunboat flotilla and a fleet of armored boats attacked the Russian troops at the mouth of the Yalu river with artillery fire. At 11.00 A. M. the Russians began abandoning Antung, after setting the town on fire.

At 2.00 P. M. a general pursuit was ordered: the 2d Division moving on Antung, the Guards (13th Division) and the 12th Division keeping in line with it, the reserves moving on Hamatan.

At Hamatan, the original position of the Russian reserves, a severe action took place, which delayed the entire Japanese line. The Russian reserve there consisted of 6,000 infantry and a battery of 6 guns. A Japanese company came up to the reserve at short range, just as the latter were escaping. The Russians surrounded the company and were about to charge when the other companies of the battalion to which this company belonged, arrived, and other battalions also came in, surrounding the Russians on three sides. The mountain guns of the 12th Division also arrived at this time and came into position about one mile directly north of Hamatan; and the two batteries of field artillery, now with the Japanese reserves, forded the river and came up at a point about two miles west of Conical Hill, but could not find a good position for coming into action.

The Russian troops at Hamatan, after a desperate struggle, finding further resistance useless, surrendered. The Japanese at this point captured 15 quick-firing field guns, 8 Maxims and a large number of wagons.

This ended the action, since the determined resistance of the Russian reserves at Hamatan had so exhausted the Japanese as to prevent farther immediate pursuit.

The Russians lost in this battle 30 officers and 1,363 men killed, 90 officers and 1,100 men wounded, and 613 prisoners,—total 3,196; the Japanese lost 3 officers and 218 men killed, 33 officers and 763 men wounded,—total, 1,017.

The Japanese captured 21 field guns with their caissons, more than 1,000 rifles, and many infantry ammunition wagons, with 350,000 rounds, besides considerable artillery ammunition.

COMMENTS.

The Russian line on the Yalu was evidently *too greatly extended,* but this was necessary until the actual point of crossing of the Japanese could be definitely determined. The Russian force that held the line of the Yalu, however, was altogether *too weak* to prevent the passage of the Japanese army. General Kouropatkin advised abandoning the Yalu line in the beginning and he was, therefore, in all probability fighting merely a delaying action to gain time to assemble his main army and complete his strategic deployment. Nevertheless, it is very doubtful if the loss of prestige, guns and men, which the Russian Army suffered, will compensate for the time gained.

It should be remarked, also, that, although the Russians were fairly well satisfied that the Japanese crossing would take place above Wiju, for at least five days before the actual attack, they had left *a considerable force* on the lower Yalu and at Antung, *which took no part* in the decisive action, May 1.

The Japanese *deceived* the Russians very effectually up to April 25th, by occupying a considerable length of line, and threatening a number of points along the river, and even beyond that time (up to the 30th, indeed) by various demonstrations, sufficiently, at least, to prevent a proper concentration of the Russian forces.

The crossing of the 12th Division (one-third of the Japanese Army) a day ahead, and to a point *where reinforcements could not readily reach it,* was risky, but the plan was concealed by drawing the attention of the Russians to the mouth of the river by a naval demonstration there.

The *reconnoissance work* of the Japanese was most effective. They determined that the country between the Yalu and the Ay-ho, although difficult, was practicable, and that the Yalu below Tiger Hill has a swift current and is wide and much exposed to artillery fire. The latter fact determined the location of the bridge under the lee of Tiger Hill, and placed the main turning movement and advance above that point.

The other *bridges* were found necessary on account of the depth and the rapidity of the stream at those points. At Sui-kau-chen, for example, the stream was 26 feet deep and the rapidity of the current 4½ miles an hour, the width being 870 feet.

The movement of the 2d Division, turning down the river after crossing on the night of April 30, thus making a *flank movement* directly in front of the Russian lines and within easy range, was another bold venture, justified only by the necessity of the case and its success.

On the morning of April 30, while the 12th Division was making its difficult march to get into position, and the 13th was building its bridges, the Russian artillery on Conical Hill *did not fire on any of these troops,* but opened on some small boats carrying pioneers who were sounding the stream. This is inexplicable, especially as that artillery had up to that time fired on the Japanese from that position every day at 7.00 A. M.

The Japanese attack on May 1 was not executed as planned. The intention was to press the Japanese right wing forward to turn the Russian position on Conical Hill, but the Japanese troops after crossing the river were so exposed to the fire of that position that it was decided not to wait for the right wing, but to take the position *at a charge.* Consequently, the strongest position of the Russian line was carried first.

The Russian *intrenchments* were entirely inadequate, although the troops had occupied the line of the Yalu as a defensive position for many weeks before the Japanese attack. The intrenchments along the Ay-ho were readily taken and Conical Hill, the key point of the position was so poorly fortified and occupied that it could be taken *at a charge* without being turned.

The Japanese artillery was greatly superior to the Russian, and its positions well selected, as it took the Russian infantry, deployed along the Ay-ho, *in flank,* besides readily overpowering the Russian batteries.

The conduct of the *Russian reserves* was magnificent; on the hill two miles west of Chiu-lien-cheng they covered the Russian retreat and prevented the retreating lines from being cut off from the main road, and at Hamatan they delayed the Japanese army so long that an energetic pursuit by the latter was no longer possible.

On the whole the passage of the Yalu adds but another to the many examples of this kind, and shows how difficult and almost impossible it is to prevent an energetic army from crossing a stream. Difficult as such a problem generally is for the defense, it is doubly so, and indeed hopeless, when the force on the defensive is so inferior in numbers as was the case here.

Strategically, therefore, it was a mistake on the part of the Russians to attempt to hold the line of the Yalu with an inadequate force, and *tactically* the defense was not executed with the requisite energy.

The result of the action, strategically, was that the Japanese obtained complete possession of the Yalu river, a very important gain for their further advance.

(*To be Continued.*)

JOHN ANDRE AND BENEDICT ARNOLD.

A REVOLUTIONARY EPISODE.

It is very hard for us of the present day to think of the cruel fate of that elegant gentleman, Major John André—who, under the name of "John Anderson," suffered death as a British spy by hanging—without shedding a tear for his untimely death, and throwing the mantle of charity over a deed which, if it had been successful, might have plunged the colonies into a desperate state of despair, and indefinitely prolonged the War of the Revolution. If your readers who are interested in whatever befell this unfortunate man will read a novel called "A Great Treason," by Mary E. Hoppus, an English writer, who obtained the material of her story from documents in the British Museum, it will well repay them. The treason of Benedict Arnold forms the groundwork of this beautiful story—a treason so base in contemplation that it can be read now only with a shudder, as the mind conjures up what might have been the result to this country had the traitor succeeded in his diabolical attempt.

John André, the perfect gentleman and brave soldier, against whom no word of reproach was ever uttered, was born in London. He became, after some military exploits, the adjutant general of the British army under Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British forces in this country in the early days of the Revolution. Under the name of "John Anderson" he, André, conducted the treacherous negotiations with Arnold, for the surrender of West Point, with whom he had an interview in the woods near Stony Point, N.Y. On leaving him Arnold gave him six papers, containing full information as to the state of the defences at West Point, and also passes enabling him to return to New York. One Joshua Smith, who was not, however, in the plot, undertook to guide him by land a part of the way. Contrary to the express injunctions of Sir Henry Clinton, Major André adopted a disguise and after Smith left him, travelled alone toward the city, when he was stopped by three young men whom he supposed to be Tories, but who were, in fact, "cow-boys," or soldiers of fortune as it were, yet known to be patriotic, to whom André incautiously told that he was a British officer. They searched

his person, and finding the treasonable documents in his boots, arrested him. He was tried by a board of fourteen American generals, found guilty of acting as a spy, and condemned and hanged upon the gallows. His body was buried near the spot, where he suffered death, but in 1821 it was taken to England and interred in Westminister Abbey. His captors, John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Vanwart, were severally rewarded by Congress with silver medals and an annuity each of $200 cash. Full information can be found in Sparks, who wrote a biography of Major André more than fifty years ago, as did also Winthrop Sargent in 1861.

The conception of this great treason, whereby one of the bravest officers in the British army suffered death, was the brain work of Benedict Arnold, a brave but reckless officer of the Continental army, who, becoming dissatisfied with the treatment he received from his superiors, conducted himself so as to be reprimanded by Washington, and finally made up his mind to enact a part similar to that played by General Monk, in the restoration of Charles II. to the British Crown, for which he was rewarded with the Dukedom of Albemarle. The American army, just before the treason of Arnold, was apparently on its last legs; it was half clad, half starved, the soldiers unpaid and the colonial money was almost, if not absolutely worthless. This was Arnold's opportunity, and he took into his confidence Major André and an American loyalist, Beverly Robinson, who were to act on the part of Sir Henry Clinton. By getting the Hudson River into the possession of the British, it was supposed that the American cause would become so hopeless that at least an opportunity would be offered for negotiation, and if successful, Arnold would have the credit of saving the colonies to the mother country, and consequently be liberally rewarded. To accomplish the desired end he resorted to the blackest treachery. In 1780 he obtained command of West Point, for the very purpose of its capitulation to the enemy, but his scheme to restore America to her old allegiance was detected by the capture of André, and Arnold fled to New York, then to England, a disgraced and hated traitor, afterward obtaining a brigadier-general's commission in the British army and a sum of money to replace the losses he is said to have incurred in the attempt to sell his country, after committing numerous depredations on his countrymen. His treason has been placed before the world in a most unenviable light.

It may not be uninteresting to relate some of the circumstances connected with the arrest of Major André, as shown in certain correspondence of the times in connection with his trial and execution

as a spy. Although they are doubtless known to every school-boy, who has been brought up to lament the fate of this brave British officer and gentleman as well as to turn with loathing from the name of Arnold, his betrayer, these old memories will bear repetition.

That the execution of André was deeply deplored there can be no doubt. The condition of our army was such as to require his death, and there is no doubt of the sincerity of Washington's belief that André "was a spy, and justly amenable to death as such." His very judges bewailed the sad necessity which subjected him to a punishment which revolted his manly soul. So said a writer, and so in effect wrote Harry Lee, the celebrated partisan officer of the Revolution, then major and afterward lieutenant-colonel in the army, who delivered the oration upon the death of Washington. The subjugation of America by the surrender of West Point by Arnold was the object in view, and Sir Henry Clinton committed the management of the affair so far as the British were concerned to Major André, who, after the interview above described with Arnold, disguised himself in a country suit, leaving his regimental coat in the house of Smith, and then pushed for New York. When captured by the three young men, thinking them British soldiers, in his transport of joy, he discovered to them his real quality, which sealed his fate. He made every attempt on the virtue of his captors, offering as high as ten thousand guineas for his release, but without avail. After his arrest and sentence, André wrote to Sir Henry Clinton acknowledging the justice of his condemnation.

The American officer who had charge of Major André after his arrest was Major Benjamin Tallmadge, a graduate of Yale and a man of distinction in the army, and of the strictest integrity, who in 1833 wrote his recollections of the affair to Jared Sparks and Josiah Quincy. The house to which André was taken by Major Tallmadge, on the evening of Thursday, September 28, 1780, is still standing in the quaint village of Tappan, and is known as the Seventy-six House. It was here that Alexander Hamilton (then aide to Washington) and other American officers had an interview with the prisoner. It is believed that Washington never saw André although he gave instructions to Tallmadge to treat the prisoner with all the lenity his situation would admit. Had Tallmadge been the officer in command when André was captured, Arnold would not have escaped to the sloop-of-war Vulture, when lying off West Point; but unfortunately, so little did Colonel Jameson, the officer who received André from his captors, think of treason in the air, that he at once sent word to Arnold of the capture. The anxiety and agitation of André in-

creased after his arrest in a remarkable degree, and on the afternoon of the day of the occurrence he called for pen, ink and paper, and wrote a letter to General Washington, dated Salem, N. Y., Sept. 24, 1780, in which he disclosed the fact that he was "Major John André, Adjutant General of the British army." This put a new face upon matters; so much so, that when he handed the letter to Tallmadge to read, the agitation of the latter was extreme, and his emotions wholly indescribable.

When Jameson's unfortunate letter reached Arnold he was breakfasting with two of General Washington's aides, and knowing that Washington would soon be at West Point, he rose hastily from the table and proceeded with all possible despatch to his barge, and directed the men to row him down the river, and there he sat, carrying a white flag in his hand, until they reached the sloop-of-war Vulture, which was the same vessel which had brought André from New York. Arnold had the meanness to cause the capture of these men, and they were held as prisoners of war by the British. André was then carried to West Point, and on the following day was taken down the harbor to Haverstraw. Of the fourteen officers who tried him the president was General Nathanial Greene, of Rhode Island, acknowledged to be second only in ability and patriotism to General Washington himself. The sentence of the court was in the following words: "That Major André, Adjutant General to the British Army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death." Tallmadge walked with him to the gallows, entirely overcome with grief, as he expresses it, that so gallant an officer and so accomplished a gentleman should come to such an ignominious end.

Major Tallmadge says in his recollections that he asked Washington if he would see the prisoner, to which the General answered in the negative. When Tallmadge first saw André in custody the latter wore a shabby surtout over his other plain clothes, which he said he had obtained from Smith when he left with him his regimental coat before alluded to. Tallmadge was a man of good intelligence and fine education, and the prisoner warmed towards and opened his heart to him, but it was agreed between them that neither should put a question to the other involving a third party. Tallmadge wished to learn the details of the plot between Arnold and Sir Henry Clinton, but so nice was André's sense of honor, that after a period of fifty-three years Tallmadge could not bring to mind a single word said by André against the traitor, Arnold. In passing down the Hudson, the officer and his prisoner sat side by side, and Tallmadge asked

Major André this question: "Had Arnold succeeded, were you to have taken a part in the military attack?" To which the reply was: "Yes. I should have been at the head of a select corps, and the glory of the achievement would have been mine." He further said: "Military glory was all I sought, and the thanks of my general and the approval of my king were a rich reward for such an undertaking." Tallmadge jotted down these sayings, and said that André, had Arnold succeeded, hoped to have become a brigadier general. André then asked Tallmadge his opinion as to what would be done with him; but the latter tried to evade it, and, finding he could not, said: "I had a classmate in Yale College by the name of Nathan Hale, who entered the army with me in 1776. After the British troops had entered New York, General Washington wanted information respecting the strength, position and probable movements of the enemy. Captain Hale tendered his services, went to New York, and was taken just as he was passing the outposts of the enemy. Said I, with emphasis: 'Do you remember the sequel of this story?' 'Yes,' said André, 'he was hanged as a spy; but you surely do not consider his case and mine alike?' I replied: '*Precisely similar, and similar will be your fate!*'" André met his fate manfully, the only sufferer by the treason of Benedict Arnold, if we except the outrages of the latter upon his countrymen.

Isaac Newton Arnold, in an article written as late as 1879, says that in 1781 Benedict Arnold, after committing as many depredations as he could upon his countrymen, Lord Cornwallis having then surrendered his army to Washington, sailed to England with his family. He had staked all, and lost all. "He knew no fear; he paced the deck of the packet and saw his native land disappear in the distance; his was the wreck of a once noble career, now the wretched relic of an abortive and guilty enterprise." Lord Cornwallis was a fellow-passenger with him across the ocean. Arnold, on arriving in London, was received with open arms by George III, and caressed by the ministers. Leaning upon the arm of Sir Guy Carlton, he was presented at court by Sir Walter Stirling, and was seen walking with the Prince of Wales (George IV) in the public gardens. It must have been a suggestive spectacle to have seen Benedict Arnold, the greatest traitor the world ever saw, leaning upon the arm of the most licentious man in England, who subsequently became king, seeking the aid of the latter to hide the lameness he had acquired from wounds received in fighting against the Crown.

But through all he was not deserted by his wife, the beautiful Miss Shippen, of Philadelphia. The fascination her beauty, her

goodness and her grace exercised over all was not less marked in England than in America. She was said to be the "most beautiful woman in England," and our author says: "The Queen was so interested in favor of Mrs. Arnold as to desire the ladies of the court to pay much attention to her." She received a pension of £500, and her children £100 each. Arnold received something for his alleged losses, but not so large an amount as he had expected. It is significant that after his arrival in England he changed the family heraldic mottto, *Gloria mihi cessum* (All I seek is glory), to *Nil desperandum* (Never despair), thus showing the indomitable energy of the man. But who of us would not have preferred to share the sad fate of André, than have lived as Arnold did, dishonored and degraded in the eyes of every loyal American?

BENJAMIN F. STEVENS.

THE CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF SHILOH.

(*Concluded.*)

To ATTEMPT a description of each stage and phase of the conflict in complete sequence were an impossible undertaking which I shall not adventure. At most I can give an intelligible idea merely of the salient features and incidents of the field that led up to the end of the first day's conflict, and this leads to the statement that after conducting about an hour and a half the movement against Stuart's brigade, in an insolated conflict nearly a mile beyond the right, General Johnston had about 11 A. M. gone to the Confederate right, and remained there personally directing thenceforward the movements of Breckenridge's (reserve) division in that quarter until he was mortally wounded. By an arrangement with Polk, Bragg had meanwhile assumed direction of the Confederate right-centre, leaving to Polk the control of the left-centre. At the same time Hardee was in control of operations on the Confederate left. Following conveniently near to the general forward movement, General Beauregard kept himself at a shifting central point at which to receive reports, through his staff-officers, of the course of events, and from which he exercised special supervision of the field, sending the reserves into action at the proper exigencies.

Meanwhile, or close upon 2 P. M., General Johnston, who, as I have already stated, had been personally directing the operations of Breckenridge's division against the extreme Union left under Hurlbut, launched Bowen's and Statham's brigade with resistless momentum against the enemy that for three-quarters of an hour had checked his progress towards the river, and succeeded in pressing them back for more than half a mile. As on several previous occasions earlier in the day, he intrepidly led in this onset, exposing his person in a marked manner, and as it proved, this time, unhappily, he was struck with a rifle-ball in his leg just below the knee,—a wound of which, it would seem, he was unconscious at the moment, and one which, had surgical aid been immediately at hand, would not have been mortal. In this movement the Confederate line was established upon a flat wooded ridge Governor Harris, acting as General Johnston's

aide-de-camp, returning to his chief's side to report the delivery of an order he had carried, and noticing that he was about to fall from his horse, sustained the fainting soldier in his saddle while leading him into the ravine in the rear of the position just gained, where he was lifted to the ground, already unconscious, and died with scarcely a murmur, as Governor Harris relates, about 2.40 P. M. As the scene of his untoward death was a wooded, secluded hollow, the event was not known to the Confederate army until night.

Not aware of the death of General Johnston, I reached that quarter of the field a few moments after he had received his wound, and found Breckenridge's brigades at a halt and ordered arms. I was in quest of troops with which to turn that part of the Union line that had so long, as already mentioned, successfully resisted Bragg's assaults,* and therefore gave the order to General Breckenridge in the name of General Johnston, that he should advance with that purpose and capture the batteries, the position of which I indicated by gesture as well as words. As I gave the order, General Breckenridge, clad in a dark jeans blouse, and surrounded by his staff, close to the rear of Statham's brigade, sat on his horse more like an equestrian statue than a living man, except the fiery gleam that shot from his dark eyes. In front, about two hundred yards distant, in the open forest was to be seen a Federal camp, apparently unoccupied; farther on it was an open field bordered by a dense thicket. Through the vacant encampment, and into the field beyond, Breckenridge's command moved in fine order, and as yet there was profound silence; but before reaching the centre of the field a hissing stream of infantry missiles burst upon the Confederates from the thicket ahead, mowing their ranks fearfully, and heaping the ground with the dead and wounded. There was a momentary check; indeed, they gave back, but only for a few moments. Animated by their officers, they closed up their thinned ranks, the advance was resumed, and their adversary, after some stubborn fighting, was forced back.

Meanwhile, General Beauregard, while still urging Hardee to press the Federals on the left, had been turning his attention to the prolonged resistance of the Federal centre held by Wallace and Prentiss. He concentrated a powerful force of artillery and infantry, including battalions made of stragglers, for the purpose of pressing it upon

*That is to say, the Federal forces, as will be seen from Bragg's report, which held him at bay from 11 A. M. to 3 P. M. See also letter of Colonel Urquehart to the present writer, page 551, Vol. I., "Military Operations of General Beauregard," by Alfred Roman; also note to page 396 of this article.

Wallace's front and left, the latter now exposed by the forcing back of McClernand. These troops, supported by the batteries, were urged forward in a vigorous, combined attack under Polk and Ruggles, and as Marshall J. Smith's fine Crescent Regiment of New Orleans moved by to the attack, it drew the enemy's fire to the spot by raising a loud cheer for General Beauregard, who bade them "go forward and drive the enemy into the Tennessee!" But meanwhile Withers, who for much of the day had been carrying on an isolated contest with Colonel Stuart beyond the right of the main line of battle, finding at three o'clock that his adversary had disappeared towards Pittsburg Landing, and his left being struck by the shells of a Federal gunboat in the Tennessee, moved away from the river, and, passing over the intervening ridges and ravines, sought to rejoin the main line of battle. This brought him opportunely with the direct attack by Breckenridge's brigades, full upon Hurlbut's left flank, a movement which that officer for a time resisted stoutly, but fearing to be cut off, he fell back after 4 P. M. upon Pittsburg Landing, thus leaving Prentiss's left flank exposed. Wallace, whose unflinching steadfastness had done so much to keep the Federal army from being driven to the river-side by mid-day, now, to avoid being surrounded, gave the order to fall back, and soon fell mortally wounded. A part of his forces, however, remained with Prentiss, who found himself inclosed on all sides by the troops that had assailed Wallace, himself, and Hurlbut. He tried vainly to extricate himself, and was at last obliged to surrender, with over three thousand officers and men. This was between half-past five and six o'clock.

But, meanwhile, Colonel Webster, chief of the Federal staff, as also the colonel of an artillery regiment, observing the steadily increasing mortal peril of his people, had gathered upon the ridge near the landing all the guns that he could find, including some 32- and 24-pounders (siege guns), with a battery of 20-pounders, in all twenty-two pieces, which he manned with gunners from the least demoralized of the runaways from the front. Soon, too, the remains of the field-batteries gravitated to the same ridge, so that at least fifty guns were massed upon that eminence about 5 P. M., with a field of fire sweeping all approaches to the river.* The position was strong; timber and undergrowth gave covert both for the guns and their support, while a deep ravine separated it from the table-land, which it dominated; tangled brushwood served as a natural abatis to its steep slope towards the Confederates. Behind this natural parapet, interposed so fortunately

*Some Union writers have placed the number at sixty guns in all.

for them, the entire Federal force left after the capture of Prentiss took refuge, except the remains of two of Sherman's brigades, which drifted off with their general to the immediate vicinity of the bridge across Snake Creek, on the road nearly northward, in its course to Crump's Landing, and not being followed, he established them there undisturbed, with his rear open for retreat, in an emergency, down the river. The air now resounded with hearty shouts of natural exultation on the part of the victorious Confederates, and from his headquarters in advance of Shiloh, General Beauregard, through his staff, was urging the concentration and propulsion of the whole of his force upon the shattered, beaten enemy. But the Federal encampments were plethoric with food, most alluring to hungry men, as well as with clothing and other attractive spoil. The thick, tangled woods, moreover, had served to disarray almost every regiment, so that none of the divisions and few, if any, brigades confronted this last position that stood between them and the broad, bank-full waters of the Tennessee. The superior officers present collected the men immediately around them, of whatsoever corps or command. Meanwhile, before 6 P. M., Ammen's brigade of Nelson's division had been marched up from Savannah, thrown across the river, and established as a support to Webster's admirably-disposed battery, the other supports of which were now energized by the knowledge that night with its shield of darkness and ample succor were at hand. At the same time two Federal gunboats had taken a position in a bend in the Tennessee that enabled them to enfilade the front of the position, and, in fact, the whole field now in possession of the Confederates, with their heavy shot and shells, as any map of it will show.

This was the situation about six o'clock. As General Bragg reports, he had been in that quarter of the field since four o'clock, and found there "General Breckenridge with his reserve division pressing the enemy; Brigadier-General Withers with his splendid division, greatly exhausted and taking a temporary rest; and Major-General Cheatham with his division of General Polk's corps, to their left and rear.* . . . It was now about four o'clock. . . . As soon as

*It is a noteworthy part of the history of the day that General Bragg had gone to this part of the field from another quarter to the left of it, under the following circumstances, related in his official report of the battle in these words: "Meeting, at about 10.30 o'clock, upon the left-centre with Major General Polk, my senior, I promptly yielded to him the important command at the point, and moved toward the right, in the direction in which Brigadier General Hindman had just led his division. Here we met the most obstinate resistance of the day, the enemy being strongly posted, with infantry and

our troops could be again formed and put in motion, the order was given to move forward at all points and sweep the enemy from the field. The sun was disappearing, so that little time was left us to finish the glorious work of the day. . . . Our troops, greatly exhausted by twelve hours' incessant fighting without food, mostly responded to the order with alacrity, and the movement commenced with every prospect of success, though a heavy battery in our front and the gunboats on our right seemed determined to dispute every inch of the ground. Just at this time an order was received from the commanding general to withdraw the forces beyond the enemy's fire. As this was communicated in many instances direct to brigade commanders, the troops were soon in motion, and the action ceased."

These extraordinary statements on the part of General Bragg, embodied in a report professing to have been addressed to and passed through my hands as chief of the staff of General Beauregard with the pseudo-date of April 30, 1862, I have quoted to show that they do not in any respect give a fair and loyal story of the circumstances and the possibilities under which the order to withdraw the Confederate army out of action was given and executed.

A very different and the true story* of this part of the action of

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artillery, on an eminence immedately behind a dense thicket. Hindman's command was gallantly let to the attack, but recoiled under a murderous fire. * * * The command soon returned to its work, but was unequal to the heavy task. Leaving them to hold their position, I moved farther to the right, and brought up the First Brigade (Gibson) of Ruggles' division, which was in rear of its true position, and threw them forward to attack the same point. A very heavy fire soon opened, and after a short conflict this command fel back in considerable disorder. Rallying the different regiments by means of my staff officers and escort, they were twice more moved to the attack, only to be driven back by the enemy's sharpshooters occupying the thick cover. This result was due entirely to want of proper handling. Finding that nothing could be done here, after hours of severe exertion and heavy losses, and learning of the fall of our commander, who was *leading* in person on the extreme right, the troops were so posted as to hold this position, and leaving a competent staff officer to direct them in my name, I moved rapidly to the extreme right." (His official report, p. 466, Reb. Rec., vol. x., ch. xxii.)

That is to say, General Bragg at the time of General Johnston's death had been repulsed in all the efforts he had made between 10.30 A. M. and 3 P. M. to break and bear back the Union line confronting the Confederate "right-centre," and was content to post his troops defensively and himself go elsewhere in quest of some more vulnerable part of the Federal line.

*It is due to the truth of history that I should here as during his lifetime make the statement that though General Bragg's report of the battle of Shiloh is addressed to me it was never seen by me, nor by General Beauregard, for several years after its date. Therefore upon its very face it is historically un-

the 6th of April is to be elicited from the reports of the subordinate Federal and Confederate officers engaged in it,—beginning with that of General Chalmers, of whom General Bragg said, "he could not have exceeded the measure of my expectations. Never were troops and commander more worthy of each other." That officer reported, six days after the battle, to the adjutant-general of Withers, his divisional commander, "It was then about four o'clock in the evening, and after distributing ammunition, we received orders from General Bragg to drive the enemy into the river. My brigade, together with that of General Jackson, filed to the right and formed facing the river, and endeavored to press forward to the water's edge, but in attempting to mount the last ridge we were met by a fire from a whole line of batteries protected by infantry and assisted by shells from the gunboats. Our men struggled vainly to ascend the hill, which was very steep, making charge after charge without success, but continued to fight until night closed hostilities on both sides. During the engagement Gage's battery was brought up to our assistance, but suffered so severely that it was soon compelled to retire. This was the sixth fight in which we had been engaged during the day, and the men were too much exhausted to storm the batteries on the hill, but they were brought off in good order, formed in line of battle and slept on the battle-field, where I remained with them."*

General John K. Jackson, commanding Third Brigade, Withers's division, concurs with Chalmers, under date of April 26, 1862, or twenty days after the battle: "My brigade was ordered to change direction again, face towards Pittsburg, where the enemy appeared to have made his last stand, and to advance upon him; General Chal-

trustworthy. It was not written in any substantial sense on the 30th of April, 1862, nor at Corinth, but at Tupelo, Mississippi, after the 20th of June, 1862; that is, after General Bragg had been placed by Mr. Davis in command of the army in place of General Beauregard. Although I was Bragg's chief of staff for sixty days, or from about the 18th of June, my only connection with this important paper that goes forth into history as addressed to me was that on the 25th of July, 1862, General Bragg handed me in my room at the Battle House in Mobile a sealed envelope which he said contained his report of the battle in question, and asked me to request as a favor of my brother, Captain Francis H. Jordan, then about leaving for Virginia, that he would deliver it into the hands of General Cooper, which was duly done. Further, that the report in question was written at Tupelo is apparent from the fact that there is a distinct important reference in it to Withers's report bearing date of 20th June, 1862. Other evidence can be adduced. The letter of transmission to Richmond in fact bears date of July 25.

*Reb. Rec., vol. x., chap. xxii., p. 551.

mers's brigade being again on my right. . . . Without ammunition and with only their bayonets to rely on, steadily my men advanced under a heavy fire from light batteries, siege-pieces, and gunboats. Passing through the ravine, they arrived near the crest of the opposite hill upon which the enemy's batteries were, but could not be urged further without support. Sheltering themselves against the precipitous sides of the ravine, they remained under this fire for some time. Finding an advance without support impracticable, remaining there under fire useless, and believing any further forward movement should be made simultaneously along the whole line, I proceeded to obtain orders from General Withers, but before seeing him was ordered by a staff-officer to retire. This order was announced to me as coming from General Beauregard, and was promptly communicated to my command. In the darkness of the night which had fallen upon us my regiments became separated from each other," etc. Thus closed Sunday, April 6, upon my brigade.* As may likewise be seen from General Jackson's report, it was already so late that in the darkness he lost his brigade, and unable even to find it, was assigned "by some staff-officer not now recollected [myself as it happened] to the command of other troops during the next day's battle." One of Jackson's colonels (Wheeler), in a report dated six days after the battle, referring to the same stage of the action, states explicitly that, unable to reach the summit of the hill, his regiment was halted within four hundred yards of the river "half an hour, when night came on and we were ordered to the rear."† Colonel More, another officer of Withers's division, under date of April 19, reported that in attempting to pass the ravine near the Tennessee River, a heavy battery, which at first overshot his men, finally got "a raking fire up the ravine from our right. Seeing this state of things, we made a rapid retreat from our unpleasant position and proceeded back to the camp last taken, having been told that we would here receive orders. It was dark when we reached camp."‡

Colonel Shaver, commanding First Brigade of Hindman's division, Hardee's corps, reported six days afterwards that having encountered late in the afternoon a "murderous fire" at close range from the Union troops under a dense covert, he had been forced to retire, leaving his adversary "holding their position." . . . "Upon reporting to Gen-

*Ibid., p. 555.

†Afterwards a distinguished major general.

‡Reb. Rec., vol. x., ch. xxii., p. 562.

eral Bragg my inability to dislodge the enemy, and that my command was very much cut up, I was ordered to fall back, reform my command, and await orders. I soon received orders to advance a short distance, when I received orders to retire and encamp my command for the night." Somewhat more precision is given to this affair by the report of Major Harvey, commanding one of the regiments of Shaver's brigade, also dated April 12, who states, "After an hour's engagement, no retreat being ordered, our troops, together with the whole brigade, fled about one-quarter of a mile, when, being immediately rallied, they were ordered to the same position, on reaching which we found that the enemy had evacuated their position. We then retired, it being 6 P. M. The greater part of our loss occurred in this charge."* Another regimental commander, Major Martin, tells this story: "My entire support on the right or the other position of the brigade had fallen back, I determined to retreat, . . . and happily brought off, though in a scattered condition, my entire command then living. I formed them in the rear of our advanced lines, and, after a little time, was marched to the rear some distance and ordered to bivouac for the night. We were engaged and under fire ten hours."† That superb soldier, as he afterwards proved himself to be, General Cleburne, also of Hardee's corps, made this important statement: "As soon as supplied with ammunition (brought up from the rear by his men on their backs for more than a mile) I continued to move forward, until checked by a heavy fire of artillery from the enemy's field artillery and gunboats. When this firing ceased I again advanced, until halted by an aide of General Beauregard, who informed me not to approach nearer the river. It was now dark, so I returned, and encamped in one of the enemy's encampments near the Bark road." Of another brigade of Hardee's corps, its commander's (General S. A. M. Wood) report, dated April 15, thus fixes its position and work during the closing hours of the day: "I received an order from Major-General Hardee to move to the center and front, which was immediately obeyed, bringing my command under the fire of the gunboats; but we pressed on until we found that the shells, in the main, passed beyond our line. Coming upon a line of troops immediately in my front, I halted, and ordered the men to rest, selecting a position the most secure from the shelling. From the shells at this point I had ten killed and many wounded. In a short time I saw the line on my front moving to the rear and around my right. A staff-officer then ordered me to fall back to the encampment we had last passed,

*Ibid., p. 577. †Ibid., p. 578.

and to allow my men to get something to eat and rest for the night."* The hour for the advance that brought Wood's brigade under the heavy fire of the gunboats is fixed by several regimental commanders at 4 P. M., and sunset is stated as the time of their final withdrawal. All make it night when they reached their encampments near by. Colonel Trabue, commanding one of Breckenridge's three brigades, reporting on the 15th of April, after referring to the capture of Prentiss and occupation by the three brigades, now united, of the crest of the high land overlooking the narrow valley of the Tennessee River near Pittsburg Landing, relates how, "Having been halted here for more than an hour, we endured a most terrific cannonade and shelling from the enemy's gunboats. My command, however, had seen too much hard fighting to be alarmed, and the Fourth Kentucky stood firm, while some of our troops to the front fell back through their lines in confusion. . . . From this position, when it was nearly dark, we were ordered to the rear to encamp, which movement was effected in good order. I followed in the darkness of the night the Purdy road."† Colonel Martin, commanding Bowen's brigade, after 4 P. M., reporting, on the 14th of April, that his brigade had reached and maintained a position within from three to four hundred yards of the river, exposed to a noisy fire of Federal batteries and gunboats, makes no mention of being either engaged in or about to undertake an advance at the time "the order from General Bragg" reached him —"now nearly night"—to withdraw, but he does mention that General Withers, of Polk's corps, and General Hardee remained all night in his encampment, that is, *separated* from their own troops.‡ Of the position occupied by this brigade, Colonel Dunlap, commanding one of the regiments, reports, "We continued to follow them (the enemy) until our position became one of extreme peril, placed as we were between two batteries, both pouring destructive volleys of grape and canister into our ranks. . . . We received orders to fall back to a safe position and await further orders. By the time night came on . . . my loss in killed and wounded amounted to about one hundred."§

But the most explicit and graphic of all the relations given of the

*Reb. Rec., vol. x., ch. xxii., p. 582. Cleburne states that during the night, every fifteen minutes, two shells were dropped by the gunboats into the camp he occupied, in which were also a great many of the Federal wounded.

†Reb. Rec., vol. x., ch. xxii., p. 616.

‡Ibid., p. 622.

§Reb. Rec., vol. x., ch. xxii., p. 524.

closing hour of the 6th of April is found in the report of Colonel Alfred Mouton, a graduate of West Point, commanding Eighteenth Louisiana Infantry, who reported on 12th of April,—

"At about 4 P. M. I moved by the left flank through the continuation of the same ravine, with a view of charging the battery, which had been continuously firing on us. Before reaching a proper position, and while directly in front of the battery, distant from it about six or seven hundred yards, I received peremptory orders to move up the hill and charge the battery. The order was instantly obeyed. About four hundred yards from the battery my line became entirely uncovered, and thence my regiment rushed forward alone at double-quick toward the battery, being all the while exposed to an incessant fire both from the battery and its supports. At or about sixty or seventy yards from the battery, which then commenced moving from its position and began to retreat, the enemy had opposed to my regiment, then numbering about five hundred, three regiments of infantry, two of which kept up an incessant cross-fire on my troops, and the third, as soon as unmasked by the battery, also opened upon us. Thus exposed, my men falling at every step, being unsupported and unable to accomplish the capture of the battery or the repulse of the enemy, I was compelled to retire, leaving my dead and wounded on the field. Here two hundred and seven officers and men fell either dead or wounded, and Lieutenant-Colonel Roman and I had our horses shot under us. I must add that, in my opinion, the order to charge the battery was prematurely given; that is, before our troops had taken proper position to act effectively and support one another. Otherwise I am inclined to believe the battery would have been captured. After rallying the regiment I moved off to the left, and took position opposite the enemy's lines, distant about three hundred yards, which were covered by infantry and artillery. Throwing out pickets to protect my line, I bivouacked for the night. By this time my men were completely exhausted, as they had neither slept nor eaten since the evening of the 4th, and had been continually on the march."

And as it was with troops under Bragg and Hardee, as I have shown, so was it elsewhere after the surrender of Prentiss and retreat of the Union forces to the river-side; for we have the testimony of Colonel Marshall J. Smith, of Pond's brigade, Ruggles's division, to the effect that after that retreat the gunboats opened a most destructive fire, which we endured for some time, not being able to reply; and, under orders, we retreated from the front ground, and took up our quarters for the night in one of the enemy's encampments.* And

*Ibid., p. 509.

Colonel Stanley, of Patton Anderson's brigade, same division, states that, ordered from the Confederate left towards heavy firing on the right, with the Ninth Texas Infantry, he fell within range of shot and shell from the gunboats in that vicinity, and that there "night put a close to the action for the day of the sixth."* Colonel Richards, commanding Twentieth Louisiana Infantry, gives this evidence: "At the last charge, towards evening, when my regiment was severely cut up by a cross-fire from rifle-pits and a battery pouring forth a hail-storm of canister, my regiment was separated from the rest of the brigade, and as night set in I led the remnant of the regiment to our hospital. where we bivouacked."†

As for the hour at which the ordered retirement took place. General Ruggles, of Bragg's corps, fixes it definitely "just as night set in,"‡ no sooner. Colonel Maney, commanding a brigade of Cheatham's division, Polk's corps, relates: "Our forces came rapidly up, but it was already quite late in the day, and they were halted near a deserted camp of the enemy . . . for the purpose of replenishing their ammunition. I held the position at which I had been halted until dark."§ Another brigade commander of Polk's corps fixes sunset as about the hour that his brigade retired.¶ General Cheatham, whose division of Polk's corps and whom I had the honor to put into action at least twice that day, on the 10th of April, or four days after the battle, reported, "About this time a halt was made for the purpose of some concentration of our forces of all commands for a concerted attack upon the enemy, then understood to have concentrated on the river-bank under the shelter of his gunboats, from which at that time an active shelling was being kept up on our advance. My own and other commands came rapidly forward; but many regiments having entirely exhausted their ammunition, a halt of some time was necessary for the purpose of replenishing. The day was now far advanced, and, *before proper preparations were made, darkness* prevented further operations that day."|| Colonel Venable, of Polk's corps, states that he got with his regiment, Fifth Tennessee, under such a fire from the gunboats that he was forced to take shelter in a ravine, where he remained until dark.**

General A. P. Stewart, who also commanded a division of Polk's, six days after the battle reported of the closing movements of the 6th

*Ibid., p. 507.

†Reb. Rec. vol. x., ch. xxii., p. 507.

‡Ibid.

§Ibid., 455.

¶Ibid., p. 448.

||Ibid., p. 440.

**Ibid., p. 434.

of April, after Prentiss's capture: "We finally took position, under the order of General Breckenridge, to aid in pursuit of the enemy, which was checked by a fire from the gunboats."* On the extreme Confederate left it was the same, as Lieutenant-Colonel Barrow, Polk's corps, testifies, saying, "I was ordered towards evening to take position with what men I had, on the extreme left, where I remained until the fighting of the day hade ceased." He was unable, I may add, to collect his men that night.†

As for the condition in which a large part of the Confederate troops were necessarily found towards the evening of the 6th of April, that is clearly shown by the report of Colonel Russell, commanding first brigade, Clark's or Stewart's division, Polk's corps: "The prisoners being disposed of (Prentiss's division), I made preparations to move the force under my command forward towards the river, but Colonel Freeman reported his regiment to be out of ammunition; the Twelfth and Thirteenth Regiments coming up at this time, and being in the same condition, I ordered details to proceed to the enemy's camp and supply them. This being done, General Cheatham directed a line to be formed in rear of the encampment and await further orders. The enemy's gunboats kept up an incessant fire of shot and shell. *After waiting in this position for some time,* orders were received from General Bragg to fall back out of range of the gunboats and encamp for the night."‡

Colonel Deas, commanding the first brigade of Withers's division after the disabling of Adams, reporting on the 25th of April through his division commander, thus adds to the already overwhelming evidence: "Here, in the hot pursuit, the Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth Alabama became separated from me in the woods; and before I had time to find them I received an order from General Withers to form on extreme left, where *I remained until night* came on (with Twenty-second Alabama and First Louisiana), and then attempted to get back to the camp I had left, but got a different one. My men being now completely exhausted, and not having had anything to eat since morning, I encamped here for the night."§ It only remains for me to add that the only officer below the rank of corps commander whose reports of the battle show that his command was in condition to have carried the last Federal position, and must have crowned the day with that doughty achievement but for the orders of General Beauregard, is General Withers. Of his claim I need only say it is not supported by

*Ibid., p. 428. †Ibid., p. 421.

‡Reb. Rec., vol. x., ch. xxii., p. 431. §Ibid., p. 438.

a single word in the report of any one of his brigade or regimental commanders, but is explicitly contradicted by their statement of the condition of the field, as is made conclusively apparent in my abstract of what was reported, as also that so late was it when the Confederates withdrew it was pitch dark before they found their resting places for the night.*

II.

By 7 P. M. Nelson's two other brigades had crossed the Tennessee, and, with the one that so materially helped as a support to Webster's opportunely posted battery to save the Federal army from complete overthrow, were at once interposed in the darkness of the night between Grant's fragmentary forces and the Confederates. Crittenden's division, brought up by water from Savannah, was at once debarked by midnight, and, forcing its way through the mob of demoralized soldiery, was established about half a mile in advance of the line, on the right of Nelson.† Moreover, Lew Wallace, unable to find either of the two roads to the battle-field by the thunder-peals of more than a hundred cannon within six miles of him, as soon as the dusky shadows and the quiet of night had supervened, readily reached a position to the south of Snake Creek; a position commanding the bridge, and by chance, too, in the neighborhood of Sherman, who had there rallied the fragments of his own and other divisions. Rousseau's brigade of McCook's division also reached the field about sunrise, and the other two were near at hand.

Thus were marshaled there or near at hand, ready to take the offensive against the victors of the day before, twenty-five thousand fresh Federal troops, three battalions of which were *regulars*. On the Confederate side, to meet such an onset, there was not a man who had not fought steadfastly for the greater part of Sunday.‡ In addition to the

*I may properly note that General Withers's report not only bears date of the 20th of June, *or seventy odd days after the battle,* but also that on the 20th of June it was that General Bragg was placed in command of that army, and General Beauregard relieved by orders from Richmond. It is also to be noticed that General Withers did not *quarter* with troops of his own division, Colonel Martin commanding a brigade of Breckenridge's division, as may be seen page 622, Reb. Rec., vol. x.

†Report of Brigadier-General Thos. L. Crittenden, U. S. A., Reb. Rec., p. 354, vol. x., chap., xxii.

‡A Tennessee Confederate regiment (Hill's), reaching the field unarmed on Sunday, was equipped with Federal arms and accoutrements. Its good conduct was conspicuous.

many stragglers incident to all battles, the casualties did not fall short of six thousand five hundred officers and men; so that not twenty thousand Confederate infantry could have been found to answer to their names that morning. Scattered widely, the regiments of the brigades of Bragg's and Hardee's corps had slept here and there among the captured encampments, wheresoever they could find subsistence. Polk's corps had been embodied to some degree, and led during the night by their general rearward at least a mile and a half beyond Shiloh Chapel towards Corinth.

In haste to efface the tarnish of the arrant disaster inflicted on his army on Sunday, with all the attending completeness of the surprise, General Grant did not await the advent of Buell's other divisions, but directed the offensive to be assumed at dawn. An accomplished soldier, martial by nature, acquainted with the theory of grand operations, and experienced both as a staff and line officer of the best school, General Buell had known how to make soldiers of his men, formidable soldiers to the scorched, battle-jaded Confederates whom they were about to engage. Accordingly, not long after five o'clock A. M., Nelson's division deployed in line of battle, boldly assumed the offensive, preceded by a swarm of skirmishers, whom Forrest's cavalry engaged, falling leisurely back upon the Confederate infantry, which at the first intimation of what was coming were being formed somewhat to the rearward of the camps they had occupied entirely at random during the night. The sound of so much musketry at the front by this time made plain enough the presence of Buell's army upon the theatre of war, and a desperate struggle for the fruits of yesterday's hard-earned triumph. As I have said, the Confederates were greatly fatigued, and under the influence, also, of that extreme lassitude which follows every great exaltation. Nevertheless, the reaction was immediate, and with the utmost alacrity the Confederates sprang once more into serried ranks, bent on a manful effort to hold what they had won. The Federal line as it assumed the offensive had a front of a mile and a half, made up of Nelson's, Crittenden's, and McCook's divisions of Buell's army, with from two to three thousand men, parts of different regiments, brigades, and divisions of Grant's troops,—the Hamburg road cutting perpendicularly Nelson's left. By eight o'clock Hardee had massed in that quarter a good part of his own corps, with Withers's division of Bragg's, and the action began in earnest, artillery being soon actively employed on both sides. Nelson had found a lion in his path, but, pushing Hazen's brigade forward with decided pluck, a position was carried with the capture of a Confederate battery. By a well-timed concentration, however, this aggressive brigade was

speedily sent reeling backward from its prey, and Nelson, in turn, was so sorely pressed that by 9 A. M. he was calling lustily for aid. In this affair, Chalmers, seizing the colors of a regiment as his brigade wavered, rode forward; the men rallied, and, resuming the offensive, carried the contested point. At the same time, Colonel Wheeler, subsequently major-general, did the like with the flag of the Nineteenth Alabama; and Lieutenant-Colonel Rankin, of Mississippi, lost his life giving a conspicuous example of courage to the troops.

Nelson having been reinforced by Terrell's battery (regulars) and a portion of Crittenden's division, an obstinate struggle for mastery of this part of the field raged until about 1 P. M. Neither side gained any material advantage, however; but Terrell's battery was so cut up that he had to assist as a gunner at one of his pieces, and his battery narrowly escaped capture. Meantime, Crittenden was also hotly engaged, and side by side on his right were the several thousand men of Grant's troops, already mentioned, McClernand being their commander. The Confederates on that front, at first retiring to concentrate as Crittenden advanced, in turn rebounded as they had done upon Nelson, with as much ardor and dash as on the day before; and as Nelson was borne back, so also was Crittenden by a like refluent wave.*

As already mentioned, Rousseau's brigades, leavened by three battalions of regulars, had been on the field as early as daylight, on the right of Crittenden, neighboring Sherman and Lew Wallace. McCook's other brigades reached and took position about ten o'clock, and just about the same time Polk's corps, coming up from the rear on the Confederate side, entered the battle in good order and spirit.

Grant's shattered forces on Sunday night had been reorganized into three divisions of a decidedly composite character, under Sherman, McClernand, and Hurlbut. Several thousand of these men were brought up under McClernand, as we have said, between Crittenden and McCook, and about ten o'clock four or five thousand more, that hitherto had been collected and held near the river, were also added under Hurlbut, who, however, fusing them with McClernand's command, repaired rearward again, at McClernand's request, to seek further support. Lew Wallace, as I have said, bivouacked near the river and Snake Creek bridge, and so did Sherman. No considerable Confederate force had lodged in that quarter of the field; therefore, Wallace and Sherman advancing for a while without hindrance, seized upon a strong wooded ridge with shelter for the former's two batteries,

*Letter of "Agate" (Whitelaw Reid), Reb. Rec., iv. p. 397.

and with his right protected by the swamps of Owl Creek. But by the time that the Federal left was well engaged the Confederates opened also a light fire on Wallace and Sherman, who, encouraged by its feebleness, undertook the offensive. They were soon greeted with a sheet of flame and showers of lead and canister from the woods in their front, held expectantly by parts of Ruggles's and Breckenridge's divisions, before which the Union troops reeled and receded, followed nearly a mile by their adversary. Here reinforced, however, by McCook, Sherman again adventured the offensive. The fight grew obstinate, and the firing, says Sherman, was the "heaviest musketry" he ever heard. Rousseau's Union brigade of Kentuckians was here pitted against Trabue's Confederate Kentuckians. Both fought with uncommon determination, but in the end the former was repulsed, and at the same time Wallace was so pressed as to make his situation critical. Meanwhile another of McCook's brigades had joined the action in this quarter, and nearly twenty thousand Union soldiers were there opposed to not half their numbers.* Before such odds the impetus of the Confederate attack was abated. Yet several brilliant charges were made on their part, in one of which General Beauregard, to stimulate his men, himself led in person, and carried the battle-flag of a Louisiana regiment to gratify them; while Trabue's brigade, having carried, earlier in the day, an eminence near Owl Creek, repulsing every effort to dislodge it, held the position until the final retreat was ordered.

It was now after one o'clock. Kindled soon after daylight, the battle had raged furiously from right to left more than five hours, and notwithstanding the odds of fresh troops arrayed against them, despite also their long-continued engagement, the Confederates really had not receded from the ground upon which they had been concentrated as soon as it was apparent that the battle was on their hands.† But they were being fearfully depleted with each hour of such a combat. Beginning the action that morning with not more than twenty thousand bayonets, exclusive of cavalry, there were at two o'clock P. M. not more than fifteen thousand in the Confederate ranks, or ten thousand

*That is, Wallace with seven thousand five hundred and sixty-four; McCook, say six thousand; and Sherman and McClernand, six thousand.

†That up nearly to the actual moment when Beauregard gave the order to retreat, a little after two o'clock, the Confederates were generally the assailants, and able everywhere on the field to hold their adversary at least at bay, is apparent not only from the reports of the Federal division and brigade commanders, but especially from what is reported by Union regimental commanders.

less than the fresh troops that had been brought upon the field against them that morning; and yet at two o'clock P. M., be it noted Beauregard's headquarters were those from which Sherman had been driven the morning before, and all his army was in advance *riverward* of the line which Sherman and Prentiss occupied when the battle of the 6th of April began, or upon the ground of the inner line of Federal encampments. But that the day's fortune, with such heavy odds in the balance as Buell's splendid divisions, must be improbable was apparent. Governor Harris, of Tennessee, who, after the death of General Johnston, had attached himself to the staff of General Beauregard, as early as two o'clock took an opportunity to quietly inquire of me if I were not apprehensive of a disastrous defeat if the battle were prolonged much later. I readily admitted the probability, and said that I doubted not General Beauregard was of the same opinion, and would in due time withdraw from the field. However, a moment later I took occasion to say to the general, somewhat jestingly, that we were in very much the condition of a lump of sugar well soaked with water, but preserving its shape intact to the moment of dissolution. He smiled, and at once replied in substance that he proposed to retreat without further really resultless trials of strength, with the growing odds now opposed to us. Thereupon he directed me at once to select a position to the immediate rear, and there to establish such a force, including artillery, as I could lay hands upon, independently of those yet in action, as might serve to cover the retreat. Staff-officers were also dispatched to each corps commander, including General Breckenridge, to retire simultaneously from their several positions, ready, however, to face about and renew the battle if followed too closely. Thus it was shortly after 2 P. M. that the Confederate army began to leave the field, a movement executed with the steadiness of veterans of a hundred battles.

All the Federal accounts, including the recent sketch of the battle by General Grant, place the moment of the retreat nearly two hours later than it actually happened, for the reason that about two o'clock there was a pause, as it were, along their whole line to take breath. Meanwhile, as directed, I had collected and placed several thousand infantry and some sixteen pieces of artillery in a most favorable position on a ridge commanding all the approaches. This position I held until after four o'clock. Meanwhile all the Confederate troops marched in good order out of battle and passed to the rear of the line I had established, and in sight of which no Union soldier was visible, though much of the field was to be seen from it, as I withdrew. The com-

mand of the rear-guard was then entrusted to General Breckenridge. It remains to be said that while the Union army held the field, the Confederate army secured from it fully thirty captured pieces of artillery, with some twenty odd regimental and National flags, as well as three thousand prisoners of war.

COMMENTARIES.

I. The delay of the Confederate army in making the march from Corinth is another illustration of the soundness of Napier's proposition, *"That celerity in war depends as much on the experience of the troops as upon the energy of the general."* However, two of the corps were faultily handled on the march, and not one of them quit Corinth as early in the day on the 3d of April as their commanders had been directed to do, and as the troops were ready to do. I know personally that General Johnston was as much disappointed and chagrined as General Beauregard was that their just expectations of delivering battle on Saturday morning were foiled through the tardy manner the corps began the movement and were handled during the march.

II. The precise ground occupied by the Federal army could not be ascertained by General Beauregard. This led him to adopt the *parallel* order of entering battle rather than the *oblique*. Had he been aware of the precise position occupied by the Federal front line, in the attack he would have massed the Confederate left upon Sherman, so as to force that flank back southeastwardly into the *cul-de-sac* above Pittsburg Landing made by the junction of Lick Creek with the Tennessee River. However, had Hardee's left rested, as ordered, upon Owl Creek, the shock of his onset would have fallen, not as happened on the morning of the 6th, on a single brigade, but upon the entire division in that quarter, and it would have been driven rearward, as Hildebrand's was, so rapidly upon McClernand's, Hurlbut's, and Wallace's (W. H. L.) divisions as to give them no time to form and make the stand that Sherman's obstinate resistance, with two of his brigades near Shiloh, enabled them to do.

III. General Beauregard has been blamed unjustly for prematurely stopping the battle Sunday evening, as I have shown by abundant citations from the reports of brigade and regimental commanders. The true reason why the battle of Sunday fell short of the capture of the whole Federal army is simply this: After the combat was at its height,

before meridian, those superior officers who should have been occupied in keeping their corps in hand concentrated and continuously projected in heavy masses upon the Federal divisions, so early shattered, almost from the beginning went to the very front of the action, leading forward brigades, at times even regiments, with great individual gallantry, helping, no doubt, in this way, by their personal example, to impel forward small bodies of troops, but meanwhile, to their rear, were left masses of their respective commands without direction or orders to a deplorable extent; moreover, they neglected to properly mass and use their artillery, as had been specially ordered. The Confederates thus were not kept continuously massed, though General Beauregard had purposely subdivided that army into small corps in order to give their commanders comparatively easy control of them in the impending battle. Mere piecemeal onsets were the general method of fighting after twelve o'clock, with the consequence that Sherman was enabled to make several obstinate stands by which he protracted the battle on the Federal left for some hours, which could not have been in his power had the Confederates in that quarter been properly massed upon him. And by reason of the desultory nature of the attacks made upon him, W. H. L. Wallace, between 11 A. M. and 3 P. M., beat back all the efforts of Bragg to break his lines. By midday the whole Federal force might have been urged back and penned up utterly helpless in the angle formed between the river and Lick Creek, or dispersed along under the river bank between the two creeks, had the Confederate corps been kept unintermittedly pressed *en masse* upon the enemy, after the Union front line had been broken and swept back. In that case the Federal fragments must have been kept in downward movement like the loose stones in the bed of a mountain torrent.

IV. General Grant in his *Century* article asserts that the Federal force, merely reinforced by the advent of Lew Wallace's division,—five to seven thousand men,—was strong enough to justify him to take the offensive against Beauregard on the morning of the 7th of April, and that he would have done so successfully, even had Buell not been present with three splendid fresh divisions.* The irrationality of such a hypothesis ought to be apparent to all readers who have also carefully read any detailed account of that day's battle, and particularly the reports of the subordinate Federal officers engaged. Really, in the

*Century article of General Grant on the Battle of Shiloh, p. 602.

second day's conflict, exclusive of Lew Wallace's division, not more than *seven thousand of Grant's troops fired a musket offensively.* All substantially claimed in the reports of subordinate Federal generals is that between 9 A. M. and 2 P. M. they were able to hold their own and repel the repeated offensive movements of their antagonists, whom they had pressed back, assuredly no farther than the line which Sherman and Prentiss had been encamped upon, while the headquarters of Beauregard were at Shiloh Chapel as late as 2:30 P. M. After that hour there was a complete lull in the battle, for the reason that the Federals did not venture any decided offensive movement, and the Confederates were already quietly withdrawing from the field.

The late THOMAS JORDAN,

Brigadier General, U. S. V.

SPORT ON THE SKIRMISH LINE.

THE scene has shifted.

Winter has set in and the major part of the command has been withdrawn from Morris Island, after the capture of the whole of the island and the demolition of Fort Sumter.*

Headquarters of the department for the winter months has been transferred to Hilton Head Island, Port Royal Harbor, S. C. Active operations have been suspended, and the Army has gone into winter quarters. Those who had been hard worked during the summer have now a breathing spell.

* * * * * * * *

When opportunity offered, many of the Union officers would run up by boat to the First Artillery camp, at that charming old Southern town, Beaufort, S. C. Here they were always met at the landing by the coach of the battery, which carried the visitors in state to the battery camp.

The captain of Battery "M," of the First Regiment, had, as he tells us, "picked up this coach in the stable of an abandoned mansion," and to match his colors, its running gear had been painted red—in fact, the best endeavor of all visitors to the Artillery camp was to assist Captain Langdon and his officers to so paint the entire town. Let the Captain himself be heard on this subject:

"Employed by the officers' mess, as valets, were two young colored gentlemen about eighteen years of age, named 'London' and 'Jeff.' The former was of rather a sombre temperament; but Jeff was cheerful and spry, and graceful withal as a monkey. Behind the carriage was a small platform, which had suggested the propriety of having a footman to give tone to the equipage. For over a week Jeff had been secretly drilled and equipped for this conspicuous position. A close-fitting swallow-tailed coat of brilliant scarlet was set off with gilt buttons and velvet trimmings. A pair of sky-blue government breeches encased his legs to just below the knee, where they ended under

*Fort Sumter was never surrendered by the Confederates although reduced to a mass or ruins and its "protracted and lion-like defence" won the admiration of all the world.

the clasp of plated knee buckles, the rest of the legs being clad in coarse, gray woolen stockings. A white 'plug' hat, with fashionable half-mourning to establish a claim to respectability, surmounted his black face, and he wore the conventional Berlin gloves.

"Jeff had an unpleasant way of never being able to stand with his knees and heels touching at the same time, and when embarrassed, rather gave the preference to the knees. But as a footman he was on the whole a success.

"The coach of the First Artillery was seen (in its sickly green and red garb) nearly every day, after drill hours, going about to all parts of the island, and rapidly became a popular institution. The volunteers laughed and the Gideonites, as we denominated the teachers, ground their teeth, but they all talked and carried the story of the drag even to the sandy trenches of Fort Wagner."

* * * * * * * *

The time was now propitious for the long-talked-of deer hunt.

A week off duty meant that a number of the commissioned officers of the Union Army would start from Hilton Head in a steam tug, and, crossing over Port Royal harbor, find a footing on the Sea or Hunting Islands, lying in a belt along the outer coast.

It was arranged that the hunters should land at a deserted plantation, where negroes held possession, and there be joined by some of their number with the hounds.

As there had been but little, if any, hunting on these preserves for several years, it was thought that the game would be plentiful.

The darkies on the plantation viewed the coming of the strangers much as did the aborigines of the Continent the landing of Christopher Columbus, and they received a hearty welcome from these simple souls. A supper had been prepared in advance, consisting of venison, waffles, Maryland biscuit, and other good things in the preparation of which the negro cook excels. A cabin, consisting of but one room, was occupied by a large family, as all, including pickaninnies, sleep on straw, and here the fire blazed high, as only the "light wood" fire of the Carolinas can.

There were not less than fifty spectators at the royal feast, and these enjoyed the entertainment quite as much as did the visitors their good supper, and the novelty of the situation.

A few hours later the hunters were winding their way by devious route through the creeks of the swamp, in a large plantation boat supplied with a dozen pair of row-locks, a darky for each pair.

In the bow of the boat a number of hounds were crouched, and in the "stern sheets," muffled in blankets and capes, were the officers,

of the party, who were lulled to sleep by old plantation melodies, the darkies keeping the time to the stroke of the oar.

Phosphorescence fell in silvery masses from the oar blade, and by the light of the full moon the weird scene required but a slight stretch of imagination to suggest voyaging in some other world.

On arriving at their destination, some hours after midnight, all hands set about preparing a temporary resting-place for the remaining hours of the night. Then it was that the light wood, blazing up, shed its warm and glowing light upon the rich verdure of the tidewater swamp, where grow the cypress, live oak, loblolly pine, tupelo, and magnolia, festooned all, with Spanish moss. After a few hours' rest all were up and off at early dawn to start the hounds, and Uncle Daniel, the chief guide, selected the stands in the woods, surrounded on all sides by evergreen masses of canebrake, sweet myrtle, and the bay bedecked with yellow jessamine. Where else, if not in the Carolinas, should be found the home of the deer and other wild creatures of the forest? On the islands along the coast the Virginia deer, like other nocturnal animals, are rarely seen in the daytime, unless disturbed, or in threatening weather, and always walk at night.

They browse on the buds and evergreen shrubs of the native swamps, and at times do not disdain to visit the cultivated field, if any be at hand. At sunrise the deer selects a spot for its daily nap—one well sheltered if the day is cold, or shaded if the day is warm. The habits of this animal give the cue to those who hunt it; and since, in its nocturnal wanderings in search of food, it leaves its scent about the bushes and the grass for hours after, a "cold trail dog" will take the scent and follow till he finds the deer asleep.

One such hound will lead a pack, the other dogs well understanding the meaning of his occasional yelp, and hunting of this kind develops woodcraft and a habit of "o'bobsovervation" (as "Uncle Tom" would say) little short of marvelous in those of African descent, whose forefathers were imported two centuries ago.

There was one of this type with the party, one who smiled at the other darkies, and this cynical old fellow, Uncle Daniel, was of course the guide.

In his veins there ran a taint of the Seminole, mixed with the native African blood, and in pursuit of game his judgment was unerring.

Like the dog of the "cold trail," so it was with Uncle Daniel, and from the voices of the dogs he could tell at once just where the deer would run; the old man, indeed, was gifted with the voice of the prophet.

His predictions never failed, and so surely were they realized that there was never a suggestion of chance or coincidence.

When on the "stand," his vision was like that of the hawk, and no motion missed his keen eye; his ear noted and recognized sounds that made not the slightest impression on others, and his hunter logic excelled that of the mathematician.

The so-called "Virginia" deer, when roused in the day and chased by the dogs, leave the woods by regular paths. These paths in the Adirondacks are known as "deer runs." The hunters take "stands" at intervals, and usually some one or other of the party gets a shot; not always, however, with the certainty of killing, even though he may hit the animal. On a hunt of this kind, one finds himself at times sitting out all day long without other companions than the birds and minor beasts, listening for the yelp of the hounds, but for long hours hearing nought save the chatter of the squirrel, the scream of the hawk, the pecking of the woodpecker, and other sounds of the virgin forest; to be suddenly awakened by the deep note of a hound, followed in a few moments by a burst of music from the whole pack in full cry.

Now is your wish to be realized! On they come—nearer and nearer—while you scarcely move or breathe; one slightest motion and your chance for a shot has gone.

Ah! here he comes, with horns thrown back and head and shoulders set as the race horse at the winning post; out from the thicket with the speed of the lightning express he bolts.

Now, keep dead still; the animal's mind is on the dogs; he is coming straight at you; but, as you step forward to take aim, he sees the movement and swerves so quickly to the left that your shot has missed, and he is out of range before you can recover. The voices of the dogs, at first so near, gradually die away, and with them your hopes; then, when really discouraged and ready to give up, suddenly the note is heard again and turned your way, when back to the stand you run, pulses bounding and nerves strained to the utmost tension, you hear the crackle of the cane with eye glued to the spot, and what do you see? Not a single deer, but a buck and a doe, bounding as if to show their powers and defying a ten-rail fence.

Oh such a sight! Every leap brings them nearer and nearer. Such specimens of their kind, and now there is time to study them; they are "playing before the dogs," and thinking of nothing else. Already those horns are measured—How they will look upon the wall is the thought, in sighting along the barrel of the gun. Fire! Down goes the buck, but up again and off before one can think to fire the second barrel, so sure are you that the first has killed. In despair the second

barrel is fired, when it seems as if there could be no hope; but after all the buck has gone down.

The hounds and deer were off and away, and it was concluded to pitch the tent that had been brought along, while one or two large paulins were put up for shelter tents, and in this way all hands got themselves into comfortable shape for the hunt on this and the neighboring islands. In other words, a temporary camp was located and headquarters established.

A steward (an Englishman) from a vessel of the blockading squadron, was a member of the party, as he was a first-class cook and a good provider, but—like many of his kind, he could smell a jug of rum forty miles below the surface of the earth. Now the principal difference between Sullivan and the others was in this, that the majority of the hunters took their rum on the installment plan, while the small minority was inclined to lay in a wholesale supply, following the custom of the Indian messenger, who when given a week's allowance of food, sits down and eats it all at once, draws a strap tightly around his waist, to stop digestion, and then starts upon his trip at the dog-trot. This works fairly well for eatables, but for drinkables the practice finds a failing case.

A council of war was therefore called to determine how or where the commissariat should be located, and how, having accomplished this, the line of communications could, without discovery, best be maintained.

Early in the morning of the second day all were up bright and early and at the selected "stands" in the woods. The hounds on the previous day had "rattled" most of the deer and the herds were well scattered. In fact, the deer appeared to be running wild, the hounds first on one trail and then on another.

An incident occurred which made its impression on at least one of the hunters. He seemed to be surrounded by the hounds—right in their very midst—and was sure that the deer would show himself at any moment. On the instant in rushed one of the darkies, calling out "Standing thar! standing thar, Lieutenant!" "Where?" "Standing thar! standing thar!" "Great heavens! he thought, the deer is standing still and I can't see him, and surely he'll not stand here long *in this cyclone*." On rushed the darky, still shouting, "Standing thar! standing thar, Lieutenant!"

Here he was with a deer standing still, to be shot at and to lose his chance from being blind; the deer would surely escape before he could get a shot at it. The cracks of rifles were heard all around and about and the deer were dropping on all sides. In fact, that evening three deer were brought into camp—a buck and two does.

When the "*Lieutenant,*" later on, got hold of the darky who had come upon him during the hunt, he inquired, "Where in God's name was that deer standing when you shouted at me?" The darky replied, "Thar warn't no deah standin', the deah was runnin'." "Why did you tell me he was standing?" "I tole you, Lieutenant, 'To stan' thar yo'self, an' keep on dat stan'; *de deah was a-comin' right fur you!*"

There was considerable contention that night as the *white* contingent sat around the board at supper (the *board* in this case, a canvas laid upon the ground) as to who shot the buck. Three claimed to have brought him down. Two rifle bullets were certainly found in the deer's body, bullets not from the same rifle.

The altercation served as a reminder of the story of an old darky who was working a stone quarry down in Virginny "befo' de war." "Uncle Robert, how are we getting on?" said the young master, as he rode up: "Dar you go agin, Marse Ned: 'How's *we* gittin on?' You remins me of a passel of coons dat went out huntin' in Sou' Car'liny. Long Sam wen', long wid dem, an' dey 'ranged demselves 'round de swamp, an' put in de dogs, when put'y soon they heard sumthin', Long Sam ups wid his rifle an' down sumthin' draps.

"Den dey all shouted, 'Ain' *we* lucky; dun got one already.'

"Long Sam sez, 'No *we* 'bout dis, *pleas; I dun shot dat deah.*'

"An' when dey got up to what dey s'posed was de deah, Lo! and behol'! dar was Marse Richard's pet colt, what he got out of dat mar' he brought down from Richmon' last yeah. An' Long Sam sez, 'Boys, ain' *we* jes played hell?' 'No *we 'bout dis,*' sez de boys, '*You dun shot dat colt.*'. Now, Marse Ned, *I'ze* wurkin' dis 'ere stun quarry, an' *we'z* only gittin' on middlin'!"

It was far into the shades of night before it could be finally determined which one of the "*we's*" was to have the deer. A similar animated dispute was going on at the darkies camp fire and they seemed to be having a good share of the fun: "Dar you go—dar you go agin wid you' lies, you *brack* nigga, *you;* tell me dat any deah gwine to cum up to you an' let you ketch him by de leg; go home; don' cum talkin' like dat to me." "What's the matter?" some one inquired. "Why," says the speaker, "He's dat nigga tellin' 'bout a doe an' a yea'lin' cummin' right up to him and he stan'in' still widout breadin' an' de deah takin' him for a stump ob a tree. Den he kotch de yea'lin' by de leg an' dis yea'lin' drag dis *lyin' nigga* a haf mile."

"Dars dat oder nigga; dars *mo' truff* in *his* story.

"He sez dat a doe got up an' jes' kin' ob walked 'way lookin' at him, an' he didn' shoot kase he was sartin' shur' dat dar was a 'buck' 'roun' dar sumwhars. Putty soon one starts up, so this nigga sez.

an' he didn' see nuthin' but a streak of light and fired in de air and sumthin' stopped an' turned ober, jes' like the water-wheel down at de mill; den he saw it was a 'buck.' He killed dat 'buck' dis nigga sez, but he got 'way from him. De dogs wouldn' go in after de deah, and Uncle Daniel sez dat's a fac, 'dat when de dogs won' take you to de deah de deah is dead. All de same, Lieutenant, I b'lieb dis nigga's lyin', *an' he neber killed de 'buck,' he say he did.*"

Here is another little matter which must not be overlooked.

Sullivan had been left during the hours of the hunt all alone in camp, and was the only one "at home to visitors."

A Virginia deer, tempted to a dangerous precinct by the demon, "Curiosity," walked in upon Sullivan. "Johnnie, get your gun," was the first thought suggested, but later he acknowledged to a bad case of "buck ague." He seized a double-barrel shotgun in the ecstacy of the moment and gave the visitor a parting salute and a good sprinkle of bird shot. In his endeavor to overtake the deer he ran upon a flock of ducks, all of which took to the wing, with the exception of a solitary diver, "whereby hangs a tale." As the diver imprudently rose from the water and took to flight, Sullivan winged him just at the instant that a valuable bird dog came upon the scene.

Attracted by the report of the gun, and seeing the wounded diver, the dog plunged in after it, and, to the dismay of Sulivan, started out to sea with the bird well in the lead. Sullivan watched the chase until the diver was out of sight, but the dog kept on; and, as it appeared to Sullivan, a mile or so away, still following the bird, until both were entirely lost to view.

Sullivan was much demoralized at the possible loss of this valuable dog, which has been left in his charge; but some hours later, the animal returning, laid at his feet what was left of the chewed up diver. He thought he would put it out of misery by wringing its neck, but in attempting to do so, found it hard and tough as rubber, so that this feat, not being accomplished, the bird was thrown aside to let nature take its course. Later on, it was found to have quite revived; after this its leg was fastened by a string to a tree and the diver was held in captivity by Sullivan until his return to his vessel in the blockading squadron.

Sometime after, the diver was dubbed "Hanks"—"Hanks," the mascot—and soon became quite a favorite with the sailors. With his wings well clipped and "given a little rope" in the water, "Hanks" remained along side the ship in the day and came aboard at night. After awhile he became so attached to the vessel and its crew, that, without the rope combination, he followed her around as she cruised

from port to port, and came aboard at the meal hour bugle call and at "taps." For years after the war and the deer hunt, Sullivan and "Hanks" were inseparable companions.

Any one can see that this is *a wild duck story,* and, therefore, of necessity must be *a little fishy.* Sullivan writes us that a pet shark hovering around his vessel was observed to grow thinner upon the food he was fed upon, and that finally he died and was brought aboard —cut open by the sailors and examined. He had swallowed an empty pork barrel open and mouthward.

When the game of war is being played, there can be no greater mistake than to suppose the small game has all taken to flight; in fact, rabbits, squirrel, curlew and ducks abound on the islands of the Carolinas, and it was in returning from a day's sport of this kind, soaked to the very skin, there was in anticipation for the inner man, the comfort, at least, of a good hot supper.

But Sullivan's tent flaps were tied up hard and fast, and outward signs upon the approach of the weary hunters made manifest the fact that the camp commissariat had been discovered. There had been a good supper prepared, but it was now spread over the floor of Sullivan's tent—a duck or two, omelets, hunks of butter, and other delicacies, all of which might have contributed to the comfort of a wet and mud-bedraggled party; a bad "spread," indeed, was this, and on the *ground* floor of Sullivan's tent. Making the best of an unfortunate business, Sullivan was shaken up, and, on recovering himself, set to work with the aid of the darkies, in the preparation of a second edition of his work.

That evening, while the officers were indulging in "a little game of draw," Sullivan, the more fully to *reassure himself* and others, of his sobered condition, requested the "gentlemen," before retiring, *"to be kind enough to turn down the candle."* A by no means unreasonable request from one who had served an apprenticeship afloat.

The last day of the hunt, one of the darkies reported that some gentlemen from Charleston were near at hand. He had seen their camp-fires, and he was sure there were at least a dozen in the party. This was suggestive of Andersonville Prison;—one thing was quite certain, that was, that the hunt must abruptly end, as the presence of white men on the islands would certainly attract the attention of the late arrivals. It was then arranged that the darkies of the party should continue the hunt with the hounds and, as far as practicable, keep in touch with the officers, and that the latter should make a detour and get off on their own hook as best they might, the darkies rejoining them at the boat landing. The retreat was in this way successfully

effected, and in the course of twenty-four hours all were safely landed at the plantation where the tugboat was in waiting to carry the officers back to Port Royal Harbor.

Now for the moment and while the spirit is upon us, let us follow the Tenth Army Corps from the Department of the South, to the Army of the James, near Richmond, Va.

It is by no means an uncommon thing that following upon the heels of any tragic event, hair-breadth escapes bordering upon the ludicrous are often told, and here is a case in point, that of the explosion of ordnance material on a barge anchored at the wharf near General Grant's headquarters on the James River. The Lieutenant General himself was proof against the accidents of flood and fire to which he had for so many years been continually exposed. On the day of the disaster he telegraphs the War Department:

"The yard used as my headquarters is filled with splinters and fragments of shell. I do not know yet what the casualties are beyond my own headquarters. Colonel Babcock is slightly wounded in hand, and one mounted orderly killed, and two or three wounded, and several horses killed.

"The damage to wharf must be considerable both in life and property."*

The officers of the Fifth Cavalry (the escort of the General) were at the time of the explosion enjoying a quiet "little game," with Clitz, of the Navy, holding "a full," and holding it so fast, that when the cyclone struck the party, it dropped the prospective admiral some distance removed from his base of operations, and there he sat, behind a flour barrel, gripping his cards, and here he called out, "Come back, boys, let's go on with the game." The men of the old Fifth Cavalry vouch for this, and what is more, they tell us to this day, that the darky waiter of their mess, who was riding up the hill on a jenny mule, was seen for the last time when the shells began to fly, the quartermaster was short one mule, and the saddle of the outfit, marked "U. S.," was found astride the ridge pole of a neighboring tent.

It was not until General Halleck's report was received from Richmond, dated June 3d, 1865, that the original official report of John Maxwell, of the Rebel Scout service, relative to the blowing up of ordnance stores at City Point, Va., came to light.

*It was assumed at the time that this explosion was the result of accident or carelessness, and the wreck of the ordnance material was cleared up and removed to a point on the flank and well away from the central point of the general depot of supplies.

It was then discovered that this same John Maxwell and a party who answered to the name of R. K. Dillard, had placed a horological torpedo on the barge, and here we may let them speak:

"On arriving in Isle of Wight County, on the 2d of August, we learned of immense supplies of stores being landed at City Point, and for the purpose, by strategem, of introducing our machine upon the vessels there discharging stores, started for that point. We reached there before daybreak on the 9th of August, last, with a small amount of provisions, having traveled mostly by night, and crawled on our knees to pass the east picket line. Requesting my companion to remain behind about half a mile I approached cautiously the wharf, with my machine and powder covered by a small box. Finding the captain had come ashore from a barge then at the wharf, I seized the occasion to hurry forward with my box. Being halted by one of the wharf sentinels I succeeded in passing him by representing that the captain had ordered me to convey the box on board. Hailing a man from the barge, I put the machine in motion and gave it in his charge. He carried it aboard. The magazine contained about twelve pounds of powder. Rejoining my companion, we retired to a safe distance to witness the effect of our effort. In about an hour the explosion occurred. Its effect was communicated to another barge beyond the one operated upon and also to a large wharf building containing their stores, which was totally destroyed. The scene was terrific, and the effect deafened my companion to an extent from which he has not recovered. My own person was severely shocked, but I am thankful to Providence that we have both escaped without lasting injury. We obtained and refer you to the inclosed slips from the enemy's newspapers, which afford their testimony of the terrible effects of this blow. The enemy estimates the loss of life at fifty-eight killed and one hundred and twenty-six wounded, but we have reason to believe it greatly exceeded that. The pecuniary damage we heard estimated at four million dollars, but, of course, we can give you no account of the extent of it exactly."

Some months after this, on the evening of the 23d of January, 1865, it was known that the Confederates were preparing to make a raid down the James with their fleet of ironclads and wooden boats for the purpose of destroying the Army depots on the river, particularly the great one at City Point, where supplies and stores had been accumulated to meet the wants of the armies in case the James and Potomac Rivers and northern ports should be closed by ice. The

weather was already very inclement, and the Potomac and Delaware were shortly afterward rendered entirely unnavigable by ice.*

Here General Rufus Ingalls says, in his annual report:

"Early on the 24th the Rebel fleet approached our obstructions. and one of the ironclads passed them, but the one following got foul upon them. Our batteries made obstinate resistance, and blew up one of the smaller gunboats. Our men even were led with great effort to the bank of the river, and poured volleys of musketry into the ram that had passed the obstructions. The Navy at that point were not prepared at the moment for any effective resistance. Had the Rebels persisted at that time they could, had they succeeded, have inflicted upon us incalculable losses, the result of which no one can pretend now to estimate; but most fortunately for us they abandoned the raid and retired to their former position. Two or three days later it was impossible for these boats to make a descent. The Navy was thoroughly prepared, and I had sent, by order of the Lieutenant-General, my aide-de-camp, Bvt. Capt. J. W. French, Eighth Infantry, up the river with vessels laden with coal, who sunk two on the night of the 25th to fill up the gap made in the obstructions. He performed this service under the enemy's guns with great gallantry."

The extent of the depot at City Point, necessary to supply an army of one hundred thousand or more men, may be imagined as well perhaps as it can be described. It consisted of a levee, which in its whole continuous length was one range of solid and substantial frame buildings; the levee itself in length and width being of proportions enough to remind one almost of that at New Orleans, while the network of railway tracks crossing and recrossing each other, the jetties thrown out to meet the river in every direction would not disgrace a San Francisco or Chicago in the brightest days of its youth.

In passing from one to the other of the barges and vessels of the Ordnance Depot the huge hatches removed showed field ammunition in unlimited abundance.

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*Brig.-Gen. Peter S. Michie, Chief Engineer of the Army of the James and the Ordnance Officers of the Army were charged with the work of opening the Dutch Gap Canal.

This work, it was expected, when accomplished, would reduce by seven miles the route by water to Richmond, thus avoiding the formidable Confederate batteries at Drury's Bluff, and compelling the enemy to withdraw his gunboats at that point.

The mine was prepared and the bulkhead (two million cubic feet of earth) blown *up*, but, unfortunately, not blown *out;* so that, in point of fact, as a military work this was a failure, although from a commercial standpoint it has proved to be a great success.

Hotchkiss and Schenkle shells and projectiles, Parrots, Absterdams, case, and canister in most suggestive quantities.

Reference to this new type of projectile brings to mind a query of Abraham Lincoln's of an ordnance officer. Pointing to one of the boxes marked "Absterdam" he inquired, "What is the difference, Captain, between an Absterdam projectile and any other damn projectile?" and then abruptly turning to a rack of harness; "Why is it," he said, "they tell us that 'Sorrow leaves its traces behind,' but they never say anything about the other parts of the harness?" "Pardon me, Mr. President," the officer replied, "has it not been said that 'Providence had sent a few men into the world ready booted and *spurred* to ride, and millions ready *saddled* and *bridled* to be ridden.'" "Ah! I see, Captain," remarked the President, "you 'kick over *the traces*.'"

Not far from the headquarters at City Point the Confederate cavalry broke through our lines and drove off a very large herd of cattle. The unfortunate experience had at the time with the Spencer rifle (a breech-loader) by the regiment guarding the cattle was such as to confirm the objection to the breech-loading system and give point to the argument that if men can fire too readily and too quickly the arm will become a useless incumbrance,—and would be thrown away by troops in retreating.

By way of retaliation for making way with the cattle our cavalry was sent out to scour the country south of the James River, within a radius of fifty miles of City Point. The orders were to bring in everything on the hoof, dead or alive.

An officer of the Fifth Cavalry found when on this raid at a farmhouse but one cow, the only property of this kind left, and a young mother entirely dependent upon it for the food for her infant.

He was compelled, under his orders, to take possession of the animal, but invited the young woman with her child in arms to ride behind him for some distance until he could communicate with his senior in command, and obtain permission to purchase the cow, and nothing, he said, ever gave him more pleasure than the return of the animal to its original owner.

One other officer of the raiding party found a farmhouse filled in its upper story with barrels of applejack. These he ordered broken open and the contents spilled, as he wished to keep his troopers in condition to get back to camp. Passing a door on the lower floor he discovered his men in a room walking around with heads thrown back and mouths wide open catching the liquor as it filtered through the ceiling.

At the lower Brandon Mansion on the James River some fifteen

miles below City Point, two troops of the raiding party had put up for the night at this grand, but at the time deserted, old Southern homestead.

One of the raiding party for the night occupied the very same room in which the following incident occurred some eight years before.

The boys of the family had all returned from school for the Christmas holidays. There were eight in all, occupying the only second-story room in this house, as the Southern houses are many of them built with almost all the bedrooms on the lower floor. In this room, which was very commodious, there were four high-post bedsteads. Two boys to a bed (a feather bed), and at the foot of each bed an armchair containing a small darky. These darkies were provided out of the superabundance of things at the time, and for the purpose of assisting the young gentlemen off and on with their clothing.

The one who relates this experience has attended a great many reveille roll-calls during the forty years or more of his army service, but none ever impressed him as the one he attended on that Christmas morning. It is the custom in the South to celebrate Christmas much as the Northerners celebrate the Fourth of July. The boys had supplied themselves with a large stock of firecrackers, and the reveille gun for the occasion was very much on the Gatling gun order. A pack of ignited firecrackers was placed in the bed between two of the boys, and the resulting effect was much more disastrous than the practical jokers had anticipated, a case we here may say of home-made "hazing."

There were other things about Lower Brandon which served as a reminder of visits, "befo' th' wah," to this once hospitable but deserted mansion. Major Walsh of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry commanded on this raid and the horses of his several troops were picketed on the grounds while the officers made themselves as comfortable as possible in the house for the night.

The Major related his experience at "Shirley" on the James the night before.

It appears that the darkies reported an officer of the Confederate cavalry as visiting his family at the Shirley mansion. The house was surrounded by Major Walsh's troops, and the old gentleman, the father of the Confederate officer, would neither affirm nor deny the truth of the report concerning his son, but invited the Major to search the house if he so desired. There was one room to which the latter was at first denied admittance, that of the daughters of the family, who had retired for the night. The hour was suspiciously early for

this, and the young ladies were therefore required either to get up, dress, and vacate the room, or else cover themselves up and permit the entrance of the searching party. The gallantry of the Major got the better of his judgment, and later on it was learned that one of the *two* young ladies was equipped with boots and spurs and made *her* escape under cover of this deception. The Major was much chagrined that he had been so outwitted.

Since the Major tells stories on himself and on his regiment let us give him free rein. The regiment on its four-year war record can stand it. When it first appeared in the field it was for a *green* regiment ridiculously armed, that is, with the lance, a weapon which is never supplied to any but the best cavalry.

"The Rush Lancers" were always greeted with "Gobble! gobble! gobble!" (each lance carried a small red pennant), a sort of "Hail to the Chief" business. On one occasion just after a severe contest with the enemy a private of the lancers and one of a regular battery were engaged in hot dispute. An old Irish sergeant of the battery rode up and inquired: "Phawt's the row?" "Well, sergeant, this fellow says this is *his* lance and I say it's *mine*." "Oh! *shure*," replied the sergeant, "*give the feller his shtick*."

J. P. FARLEY,
Brigadier General, U. S. A. (Retired).

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

The *tenth* is an editorial on England's gravest question: the strength of her navy; but, since some of the remarks are of more general application as well, we quote a little at length:

"The problem dealt with is a vital one. We must have an adequate Navy, whatever it may cost. There is an alternative, it is true, as Lord Selborne points out, the nation may allot a certain sum annually, and say to the naval authorities, 'We wish you to spend that to the best advantage.' But to take the latter course is to gamble with our national existence. The two pillars on which the safety of the Empire depends are the Navy and our national credit, and, therefore, a sound condition of finance is as important as a sound condition of the Navy. If we permit the Navy to become weak, our national credit must suffer, and if our national finance is not in a thoroughly sound condition, the proper provision cannot be made for the Navy. These are the two sides of the problem, and it is just as essential to regard the financial aspect as it is to dwell on the necessity for naval efficiency. The two factors act and react one upon the other, and cannot be dissociated if the real problem is to be solved. And as to what is an adequate Navy cannot be determined by the needs or the action of other Powers, because no one of them depends for its security and for the protection of its interests, ashore and afloat, upon the Navy to the extent we do in this country. The strategic conditions are continually changing, and as they change so must our policy change with them, necessitating a reconsideration of the aspects of the problem of national defence and its requirements. What has served in the past as a standard may not serve in the present or in the future, and thus, although what is known as the two-Power standard may still hold good in the case of battleships, it can be shown that it has become inappropriate as an estimate to be applied to other requirements and responsibilities of the fleet. It may, indeed, be impossible to insure against all risks, but there are some to insure against which no burden can be considered too heavy.

"With the public acceptance of a naval policy and a naval programme based upon an adequate naval expenditure, it becomes pos-

sible to discuss the minor questions connected with the composition of the fleet. Lord Selborne draws three lessons from the Russo-Japanese War; the importance of the *personnel* relatively to the *matériel;* the essential value of a margin of strength; and the continued importance of the battleship as the leading factor in naval war, and despite the circumstance that the greater part of the actual fighting may be done by small vessels, using the mine and the torpedo.

"It is trained gunners, trained torpedo men, and trained stokers out of whom the best results are to be obtained. But the time is near at hand when a limit will be reached in the number of active service men, and then expansion will be sought for in the Reserve. Every naval student of the war will agree with Lord Selborne upon the necessity for a margin of strength; it is just that margin which Admiral Togo would be glad to have now that the chances of war have reduced the force under his command to something even less than an equality in numbers with his enemy. And as the war has confirmed us in our opinion that the battleship still holds first place, so it is essential that our new battleships shall be first-class. Time, as the First Lord said, will soon reduce them to a second rate."

The *eleventh* paper is also on the reorganization of the British army, and contains a digest of the scheme presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Arnold-Foster.

MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

1. Dummies for Drill Purposes.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.,* Aug.
2. The Training of Recruits.—*Same.*
3. Provisional Instructions for Maneuvers.—*Office, Chief of Staff, Washington, D. C.*
4. Our New Firing Regulations.—*Jour. M. S. I.,* Sept.-Oct.
5. The Training of the Non-Commissioned Officer.—*Same.*
6. Army Maneuvers, Manassas, Va.—*A. and N. Reg.,* Aug. 6, 13, 27.
7. The First Army Corps Maneuvers, England.—*A. and N. Gaz.,* Aug. 20.

The *first* of these articles advocates the use of wooden models of guns and carriages for instruction purposes. This method has already been applied in this country in some militia armories; it may therefore be of some interest to hear the views of Commander Shore of the Royal Navy (retired):

"Our modern gunnery specialists may laugh at the idea of

dummy gun-drill. But the country reaped the advantages of the system, when, later on, the Crimean War broke out, and found both Navy and Army totally unprepared for a protracted struggle with a first-class power. Every available coastguardman was drafted to the fleet; and it is on record that, in many of the ships of Charley Napier's Baltic fleet, the few coastguardmen on board were the only men who possessed even a rudimentary knowledge of gunnery. * * *

"The man who invented those dummy guns was a benefactor of his country; and there is no exaggeration in affirming that, if the system had been incorporated into the Naval Service, after the Crimean War had proved its efficacy, the editor of a Service paper would not have had to complain, in the year 1904, that 'the training of the officers and men of the Royal Naval Reserve has been for a number of years an absolute farce; taught, as they have been largely, with antiquated weapons.' * * *

"The absurdity of training men with weapons they are never likely to fight with, and at the same time keeping them in ignorance of the very appearance—to say nothing of the manipulation—of the guns they will have to serve, if called out, must seem patent to every one who is not deficient in the sense of humor. And yet it would be false policy to supply up-to-date guns for drill purposes while the fleet remained unarmed. The obvious way out of the dilemma would be to provide every center of instruction with models, so that the Royal Naval Reserve might, at least, be familiarized with the appearance and manipulation of guns they will be expected to handle in war. This, however, is by no means the solitary advantage, though certainly the most important one, that would ensue from the use of models. Ask any of our gun-makers the cost of a modern quick-firer. The reply would stagger most people. And then to think of this costly article, on which months—one might almost say years—of thought and labor had been bestowed, being abased to a mere drill-machine—knocked to pieces without firing a shot! A more wanton waste of a nation's hard-wrung earnings it would be difficult to conceive. * * *

"To take a wider view of the question. The wear-and-tear to which our armaments are subjected, for purely instructional purposes, is well known. And yet the valuable results that can be obtained by the use of dummies (models) has been demonstrated in the most convincing manner by Captain Percy Scott, whose apparatus for loading-drill has achieved a world-wide fame. Here, then, surely we have the nucleus of a system which is capable of being developed *ad infinitum,* and would result in enhanced efficiency, combined with a very appreciable reduction in the wear-and-tear of armaments. * * *

"The same arguments apply to the land forces. Any contrivance, indeed, that would reduce the wear-and-tear of armaments, and at the same time increase efficiency, ought to be welcomed by the responsible authorities."

The other articles under this head are very interesting to the officer directly concerned, but will not admit of general treatment here.

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

1. The Eastern (Russo-Japanese) War.—*Natl. Serv. Jour.*, July; *Mil. Mail*, July 15-Aug. 19; *Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Aug.; *Marine Rundschau*, July, Aug.-Sept.; *Mar. Rund. Beih.* 10, 11; *Jour. M. S. I.*, Sept.-Oct.; *A. and N. Gaz.*, July 9-Aug. 20; *A. and N. Reg.*, Aug. 13, 20, 27.

2. The High Command of Armies.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, Sept.-Oct.

3. The Development of the Science of Strategy in the Nineteenth Century.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.*, 64.

4. Problems of Neutrality Connected with the Russo-Japanese War.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Aug.

5. Campaigns against India from the West.—*Same.*

6. The Defence of Duffer's Drift.—*Same.*

7. The Capture of Gibraltar, July 24, 1704.—*Same.*

8. Blockades.—*Same.*

9. German Ideas on the Employment of Cavalry.—*Same; Jour. M. S. I.*, Sept.-Oct.

10. The Era of Ironclad Warfare.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, Sept.-Oct.

11. Skrydfoff's Raid.—*Same.*

12. Value to Seacoast Forts of a Land Defence.—*Same.*

13. Introductory Remarks upon the New Tactics.—*Same.*

14. The Fall of Calcutta.—*Ind. Vol. Rec.*, July 16.

15. The Problem of National Defence.—*Natl. Serv. Jour.*, July.

16. The Russian Land Forces in Manchuria.—*Int. Rev. Beih.*, 54.

17. Concentration and Command of Artillery in Battle.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, July 23.

18. The Tactics of the Future.—*Same*, Aug. 6.

19. The Mobility of Field Artillery.—*Same*, Aug. 20.

20. The Lines of Battle in the Tactics of Cavalry.—*Int. Rev., Suppl.*, 64.

21. The Interruption of a Battle.—*Same.*

22. War Material and Troop Leading.—*Kreigs. Zeit.*, 7.

23. The Employment of Rapid Fire Artillery in the Field.—*Jour. Arty.*, July-Aug.

24. Employment of Artillery Fire.—*Same.*

25. Russian Seacoast Firing at Port Arthur.—*Same.*

We have space to refer to but a few of these articles. Those relating to the Russo-Japanese War are utilized in an account of that struggle.

The *second* is a continued article, from the pen of General Zurlinded, of the French Army, and is worthy of careful study and consideration. We quote a few of the distinguished author's conclusions:

"The most imperious duty of the Government, that which will involve most directly, toward the parliament and the country, the responsibility of the cabinet which is in power at the moment of war, is the definitive selection of the chiefs of the armies. It is to this cabinet that the military chiefs will, in their turn, be responsible for the conduct of their operations. It rests on it to prevent their nomination as a last resort. The choice of preceding cabinets can and ought to serve as a guide, but can neither bind nor shelter it. * * *

"It becomes a question of life and death the having entirely ready to act, from the first hour of hostilities, not only the troops, but the staffs and the chiefs of the armies.

"These chiefs should have been notified in advance of the high mission reserved for them. It is indispensable to give them the time and means for considering and preparing themselves for their great rôle. However, to safeguard the interests of France, which are so gravely pledged by their appointments; to spare the susceptibilities of our republican *régime;* to preserve the stimulant of complete liberty of choice on the part of the government, it seems better to give during peace only a provisionary character to the appointments of the army chiefs, and to leave to the government the power of examining them, and of changing them, if it judges it necessary, at the beginning of each year. * * *

"It is not alone before the war, by appointing the army chiefs, by indicating the ends to be attained in the different theaters of operations, that governmental action should make itself felt, firm, energetic foreseeing; it is also during the course of the operations.

"With the considerable masses put in movement, the lines of operations of the war will soon be modified by events and battles. It is important for the government to be able, with surety and without loss of time, to prescribe measures to meet these modifications in the different theaters of operations. In order to permit it to satisfy this rôle, analogous to that which was so brilliantly filled by the great Carnot in the wars of the first republic, it is indispensable that the government should have at hand, at the time of the declaration of war, an organ of experience, competency, and authority; entirely ready to aid him in this great mission.

"This organ can be none other than the general staff of the army, undoubtedly reduced by the departures for the armies, but preserving at its head the Minister of War, in war, as in peace, the chief of staff of the army. After having prepared for the war on great lines, as in small details, the chief of staff will be, during the war itself, an aid precious and indispensable, to the government. * * *

During peace the chief of staff of the army is the aid of the Minister of War in the continuous preparations for the employment of the forces of the nation in war. He is especially charged with the direction of the staff service, with the distribution and instruction of the officers of this service. In this connection one of the most important duties should be the preparation for war of the staffs of armies and groups of armies."

The *ninth* article discussed at some length the tactics of cavalry. The conclusions are interesting:

"Summing up, the German writers agree that cavalry will have to fight, not only during a battle, but before it as well. * * *

"Let us now look at the different ideas on the methods to be employed: 'mounted or dismounted fighting,' 'the lance and sabre, or firearms.'

" 'The mounted attack is the principal method of fighting of cavalry. Its action may be completed and prolonged by dismounted fighting, when mounted fighting gives no results.

" 'The proper combination of these two modes of fighting, and of the action of the horse artillery batteries, gives cavalry the power of extricating themselves in any circumstances.'

"Recently, it is true, a new element has been introduced into the question: to troops of cavalry are attached sometimes detachments of infantry cyclists, sometimes machine guns; and we may ask if these troops and new weapons, with the horse artillery batteries, whose value is their fire-action, are not of a nature to lessen the importance to be attributed to dismounted fighting. The march of progress leads, as a matter of fact, in all branches of activity, to the division of work, to the specialization of the means. War cannot escape from this law. The leader who knows how to combine closely, and to make the most of the advantages of all the weapons at his disposal, in the shortest time, will obtain the maximum of return.

"Cyclists, however, seem to meet with very little approval in Germany. 'Almost always,' writes Balck, 'the advantages that cav-

alry will derive in battle from the co-operation of cyclists will be realized by machine guns.'

"These weapons, on the other hand, enjoy a marked favor.

" 'It is best,' writes General Rohne, 'to first supply these machine guns to the cavalry divisions, which will thus be relieved, at least to a great extent if not entirely, of the necessity of fighting on foot.'

"Cavalry will thus be allowed to resume its proper element, which is 'movement.' Fifteen detachments of machine guns of six guns each have been already formed in Germany, and during the last three years one of these detachments has been attached to each of the cavalry divisions constituted for the maneuvers.

"The Germans have thus entered resolutely on the road of attaching machine guns to cavalry, and they seem thus to understand the modern combination of 'fire' and 'shock' tactics.

"To the machine the 'fire-action.'

"To the man, the horseman, the moral action; so much the more easy and the more productive of results as the machine is the more powerful.

"The skill in maneuvering, the desire for mounted attack, which too frequent exercise in dismounted fighting may lessen, are maintained by the Emperor with jealous care.

"Champions of dismounted fighting protest against the idea that cavalry will lose value *per se* through being trained to fight on foot.

" 'It does not follow,' says Balck, 'that the employment of this method of fighting destroys the *esprit* of cavalry,' and he cites the exploits of Frederick and the dash of the squadrons of Stuart and of Schmidt.

" 'The idea that properly carried out instruction in dismounted fighting can injure the spirit of enterprise in cavalry, can destroy its vigor, its hardihood, its determination, is,' according to General Koehler, 'absolutely false, and ought to be classed in the ranks of those errors which should be combated with the greatest energy, because it is based on an absolute lack of knowledge of human nature and of the duties of cavalry.'

"The efforts of the Emperor to maintain, before all, the keenness of his cavalry on horseback seems, in spite of the *dictum* of General Koehler, to prove a profound knowledge of the human heart.

"Between the naked steel, which necessitates facing death at close quarters, and the firearm, which deals it from afar, the individual soon makes his choice, and it is only by degrees he is taught how to adapt himself to particular difficulties."

The *twelfth* is a most important article. The *land defence* of coast forts has impressed itself on the officers concerned in the maneuvers between the Navy and Coast Artillery very seriously, and for many of us it did not require the example of Port Arthur to emphasize this necessity; nevertheless, it is gratifying to see preconceived ideas so fully illustrated as they have been in this case, and also to have an officer of the *Engineers* call attention to this desideratum.

"But few fully realize what the fall of Port Arthur would mean to Russia. This port is so well recognized by both belligerents as a key point of tremendous value, that almost superhuman efforts are now being put forth by Japan to capture it and by Russia to retain it. The reason is not far to seek. It is more than geographical and more than strategic, for the possession or loss of this port by Russia will go far toward her success or failure in the present war. Aside from the loss of prestige among all nations, and especially those of the Orient, that its capture by Japan would entail, aside from the pecuniary loss of dockyards, storehouses and the ice-free port Russia has so long coveted, its fall would seem to inevitably crush out the slim hope that the command of the sea could be wrested from her nimble and courageous enemy during the present contest.

"In nearly all wars the command of the sea is of enormous value, but no recent war has shown so clearly the reasons. Russia's long line of supply by rail is a slender thread on which to hang all the chances of success in a war of this magnitude. Japan's command of the sea and the nearness of her bases of supply, make her line of communications much simpler and safer. We thus see that the control of the sea in Asiatic waters is the first important determining factor in the present war, which Japan, with intrepid dash, has practically secured for herself by her first blow. Without this sea command no troops nor supplies could be safely sent from Japan even across the Korean Strait, and no campaign on Manchurian soil could ever have proceeded. On the other hand, if Russia could even now sufficiently reinforce her Asiatic squadron from her home station, a victorious campaign on land by her forces would not be necessary. In such a case the Japanese successes on shore would at once be shorn of their fruits. Thus every week that Port Arthur can hold out against her assailants, gives that much more time for Russia to collect such vessels as she can to send to Asia to change the balance of naval power in the Yellow Sea. It is readily seen how valuable such delay might be. Without Port Arthur the present Asiatic fleet of Russia is almost helpless, her Baltic fleet has no suitable point of support should it go to the scene of war, nor place of supply and

repair, and Russia's campaign must mainly narrow itself down to a resistance on land.

"The land defence is naturally divided into two classes: (1) That which can be improvised and would be best left until the time of active hostilities to be worked out according to the needs of the case, and (2) that which must be attended to in times of peace and cannot be left to the chances of being properly supplied in the excitement of the last stages before hostilities begin. The quickness of blows in the present Russo-Japanese war, shows more than ever the value of being ready. The amount of land defence necessary at any seacoast fort to be prepared beforehand varies with the importance of the place, its probability of being attacked and the force likely to be brought against it. In any event, more or less elaborate field works will, necessarily, be the basis of this defence. For all seacoast work, however, it would seem that at least two lines of defence should be provided for, an inner and an outer line. The outer line need be only planned beforehand and the plans filed at the fort for the use and guidance of the commanding officer, to whom is assigned this portion of the defence. The execution of these plans may be left to the time of need. In this way the defence can probably better meet the attack and provide a flexibility of plan which has been of much value in the past. The inner line is the one with which we are more concerned in time of peace. This line should unquestionably have at least its more important salients and gun emplacements constructed beforehand. The search lights and electric power necessary for this side of the fort must be provided, and the siege guns, howitzers, rapid-fire machine guns that are decided upon as being necessary must be ready to be moved into their emplacements on short notice. This line of works should be so laid out that the operations of the high power guns can never be interfered with by a landing party unless the land line of defence is lost in an attack."

The *fifteenth* article is also important and suggestive:

"THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

"By Lieut.-Colonel Maude (*p. s. c.*, late R .E.).

"The request of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteer Forces to the Defence Committee to be informed as to the numerical strength of the forces likely to be required for the successful fulfilment of the task of beating the enemy or enemies by which we are likely to be attacked, takes us back at once into the early years of

the eighteenth century, when the conduct of wars was let out by cabinets to the general who would contract to do the required work at the lowest figure in men and money—the system which ultimately collapsed with such awful consequences to all concerned under the blows of that most terrible engine of warfare, the outcome of the French Revolution, viz., the 'nation in arms,' which knew no limitation of power other than that fixed by the total numbers of the population.

"War is simply a phase in the continuous struggle for existence which is always in progress between all living organisms, whether states or the lowest type of animal, and all experience and analogy teach us that in that struggle the unit survives which can pass from the phase of peace to that of war with the greatest celerity, and concentrate its utmost power on the attainment of its immediate purpose, whether that purpose be the 'peaceful' acquisition of its food—*i. e.*, trade, or the overcoming the resistance to such acquisition interposed by the independent will of a rival; and since in the animal kingdom we find that that individual survives in which the same powers subserve both ends, nature having long since eliminated all types in which specialized organs either for attack or defence, but useless for food acquisition, existed, so amongst nations, that type promises best for survival in which the whole resources of the State can be made available either for trade or war at the shortest notice.

"A nation can never be too strong for war; but the essence of the problem is to ensure the creation of an organization which, by the training in duty, concentration of purpose, physical development, and so forth, imparted to the individual, should stimulate, not restrain, the power of acquisition—*i. e.*, of successful competition in peace; and the example of Prussia shows that she at least has not found it impossible to reconcile these apparently conflicting interests.

"Our case presents difficulties quite unlike those of our neighbors, but not, we believe, insoluble, if the above-mentioned analogy is borne in mind. If the Commission on the Militia and Volunteers which has so recently made its report, instead of asking for a ready-made solution of what in its nature is an indeterminable problem, had applied themselves to the question of finding out what form of training for the youth or manhood of the country would give the best prospects of commercial success to the collective mass of the nation, they would have seen the solution staring them in the face, and at the same time the arguments by which to convert the opposition of individuals into support for their proposals."

The *sixteenth* is a very complete and thorough study of the subject referred to.

The *seventeenth* is concerned with the tactics of field artillery, and contains some interesting points, resulting from the experiences in South Africa and in Manchuria, as presented by an experienced artillery officer:

"In the present case my object is to draw a comparison between what has happened in South Africa and what is now taking place in Manchuria.

"To begin with, the artillery struggle in South Africa was exceptional in many ways. The Boers commenced the war with a limited number of guns. They could not replace these guns. They consequently did not risk their loss. In addition to this, realizing the importance of supporting their infantry with artillery, they scattered their guns singly over a very wide front. This fundamental divergence from the generally accepted principles of artillery tactics led to many strange situations. In no case, however, did it lead to great results. The occasions on which the Boer artillery produced a great effect were few and far between, the most notable instance probably being that of Spion Kop. In this case the Boers had scattered their guns, but had retained the power of concentrating a heavy artillery fire on the summit of the hill. The case was, of course, an exceptional one. The great height of the mountain made its summit visible from almost every point. In ordinary cases, however, great dispersion must inevitably interfere with the concentration of the fire. In the present war almost every paper relates some great effect produced by the Japanese artillery through the concentration of the fire of its guns.

"It is, of course, desirable to get a cross or enfilade fire whenever such is possible. The length of the line of battle has increased, and the present tendency is to distribute the artillery in support of the infantry along the length of this line. It has, however, increased out of all proportion as compared with the range of the gun. Consequently, if the artillery is left with the divisions to which it is affiliated, there will be no guns to concentrate on the decisive spot. We have referred to the matter generally, as there is undoubtedly a desire for dispersion, which is probably a direct result of the methods used in the Boer War. The policy adopted by the Japanese is, however, different. They appear to mass their guns in great batteries and overwhelm their adversaries with a concentrated fire. This is, of course, possible with dispersion to a certain extent; the degree of dispersion to be adopted must, however, in such a case be left to one man, and not divided between the divisional generals or column commanders. Consequently, with large armies we are forced to the following conclusions:—The infantry attack at the decisive spot must be supported

by the concentrated fire of a mass of guns. The remainder of the line cannot be left without artillery to support it, on account of the possibility of counter-attacks. Consequently, there must be guns in reserve with which to support the final attack, as distance may prevent the movement of the divisional artillery at the critical moment. This, in turn, means that either the total number of guns employed must be increased or some of the existing guns must be transferred from the divisional to the corps artillery!"

The *nineteenth* is another article on field artillery by the same author, and the *twenty-third* still another.

ARTILLERY AND FORTIFICATION.

1. The Brennan Torpedo.—*2nd. Vol. Rec.*, July 20.
2. The Torpedo as a Defence of Harbors.—*Jour. Arty.*, July-Aug.
3. The Field Artillery of Armies.—*Same.*
4. Comments on "Proposed System of Fire Direction."—*Same.*
5. Development of Guns, Armor, etc.—*Same.*
6. New Guns, France.—*Same.*
7. Coast Defence Guns, Japan.—*Same.*
8. Explosive Report, 1903.—*Same.*
9. Norwegian Rapid-Fire Field Artillery, Ehrhardt System.—*Same.*
10. Rearmament of Field Artillery.—*Same.*
11. Italian Field Artillery, 1904-5.—*Same.*
12. Semi-Automatic Predicting and Set-Back Ruler.—*Same.*
13. Range Scale of Difference Chart for Mortar Battery.—*Same.*
14. Digest of Orders Pertaining to Care of Seacoast Armament.—*Arty. Notes, No.* 19.
15. Elevation Scales of Seacoast Guns.—*Same, No.* 20.
16. Firing Tests with Krupp 4.7 in Rapid-Fire Howitzer.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 7.
17. The Land Defence of Coast Defences.—*Jour. Arty.*, July-Aug.
18. New Forms of Armored Forts.—*Same.*

Many of these articles, although valuable in a military sense, are so technical in character as not to admit of analysis to the general reader.

We will confine our attention to a few of more general interest.

The *first* is of interest as bearing on the use of the torpedo in coast defence:

"*The Brennan Torpedo.*—This dirigible torpedo, the invention of an Australian, and in which the movements of the weapon are controlled by a thin line to the shore station, is installed at some of the British Naval fortresses. From a reply in Parliament it appears that the total capital expenditure on it thus far has amounted to £483,000; provision was made in the Army vote 1903-4 for an expenditure of £32,000 on this appliance."

The *second* bears on the same subject; it has been quoted in a previous paper, but we desire to call special attention to it again, as of paramount importance, and as coming from one of the best authorities in our country, Lieut. L. H. Chandler, U. S. Navy. *The subject of Torpedo Shore Batteries should receive immediate attention.*

The *seventeenth* article is the only other one we can refer to here, and of that we quote only the concluding paragraph:

"In conclusion, we submit that it is pure waste of men and money to maintain any coast defences without an adequate preparation for their land defence."

WARSHIPS.

1. Steaming Powers of the Russian and Japanese Fleets.—*Jour. Arty.*, July-Aug.
2. The French Battleship Democratic.—*Same.*
3. Progress with Submarine Boats.—*Same.*
4. Underwater Armor.—*Same.*
5. Torpedoes and Torpedo Boats.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Aug.
6. The Submarines of the Principal Naval Powers.—*Int. Rev. Suppl.*, 64.
7. Changes in the World's Navies.—*Mar. Rund.*, July, Aug.-Sept.; *Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Aug.; *Int. Rev.*, July.

The only article we desire to call special attention to is the *fifth* (from the French):

"The writer then points out that at least seven vessels, including the battleships Petropavlovsk and Hatsuse, have been totally destroyed by the explosion of mines, while other vessels, including another battleship, the Pobieda, have been more or less seriously damaged; and it is worthy of note that both large and small vessels, friend and foe alike, have been the victims of this terrible weapon of offence. The automobile torpedo has also caused some grave damage, notably in the attack on the night of the 8th February on the Russian ships

lying off Port Arthur, when two battleships and a cruiser were put out of action; but several other attempts since made against the Russian ships by the Japanese torpedo-boats have been failures, nor have the Russian destroyers or torpedo-boats, on their side, scored any success against the Japanese blockading squadron.

"The torpedo, then, as such, has only once proved its value as an offensive weapon; and there has been no demonstration of any necessity for materially increasing the number of our torpedo-boats. On the other hand, in the opinion of all competent naval officers, both in France and abroad, the successful use of torpedo-vessels can only be secured when they are supported by large ships. Thus the Japanese torpedo-boats succeeded in their attacks, because they were supported by a powerful cruiser squadron, which, in its turn, was supported by the battle-ships; the ships which could have been effectively employed against them being kept in check by their fear of being cut off by the Japanese supporting fleet.

"It is important to note that the Japanese have not been led astray by the success of their first torpedo attack, and the first ships they have ordered since the war began are two 16,000-ton battle-ships, and they are not at present troubling themselves to add to their torpedo flotilla. We ought not, then, to regret the large expenditure on our armored ships in the Budget, because our lack of these vessels is our weak point. These armored units are indispensable to us, in order that we may be able to make proper use of our torpedo flotillas, which in themselves are much stronger than any other naval power can put into line against us."

SMALL ARMS AND EQUIPMENT.

1. The new British Rifle.—*Ind. Vol. Rec.*, July 16, 30.

We quote a few statements from these articles:

"Prior to the South African War, the question of the modification of the Service rifle for infantry had been considered, and a small committee had been appointed to devise such a rifle. The committee's labors were suspended owing to the outbreak of the war.

"The experiences of the South African War brought into prominence the great importance of accurate and rapid snap-shooting at ranges such as 600 yards and under, and during the war Lord Roberts telegraphed home pressing for the short rifle to be proceeded with. It was therefore decided to carry out trials with a rifle which would be capable of using the existing Service .303 inch ammunition, and which would be more suitable for the above mentioned class of shoot-

ing than the existing rifle, and would be at least equal to the latter in other respects.

"The South African War also showed that greatly increased importance must be attached to fire action of cavalry and other mounted troops, and that the firearm and not the *arme blanche,* must be regarded as the principal weapon of the cavalry. There was ample evidence that the cavalry considered themselves placed at a disadvantage by having carbines, and in consequence these were withdrawn from the long rifles given to them. These conclusions necessitated the provision of the best weapon possible for mounted troops, and it was held that a rifle about five inches shorter than the Lee-Enfield was the longest which could be conveniently carried by cavalry.

"The new rifle is five inches shorter and one pound to one and a quarter pound lighter than the present Lee-Enfield Mark I Rifle.

"The magazine holds ten rounds, and is filled by cartridges carried in chargers holding five rounds each in a manner similar to the Mauser rifle. Guides to hold the charger are fitted on the bolt-head and body, and the five cartridges can be pressed out of it into the magazine by the thumb, and to facilitate this the body is cut away somewhat on the left side. There is no cut-off, except in rifles made for the Navy. There is a safety catch on the left of the body which locks the bolt and cocking-piece in either the full cock or fired position. This catch is also made so as to obviate the possibility of the bolt being lost by mounted troops.

"The mean muzzle velocity of the shortened rifle is 2,025 feet seconds, or about 30 feet seconds greater than that of the long rifle. Prolonged accuracy trials have shown that when fired from the shoulder there is very little to choose in point of accuracy between the shortened rifle and the Lee-Enfield."

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

1. Wireless Telegraphy and its value to the Army and Navy.—*Kriegs. Zeit.*, 7.
2. Military Telegraphy in Austria.—*Same.*
3. Electric Automobiles.—*Same.*
4. Wireless Telegraphy.—*A. and N. Reg.*, Aug. 6.

TRANSPORTATION.

1. Lake Baikal War Traffic.—*Sc. Amer. Suppl.*, July 30.
2. Railways in Modern Warfare.—*Jour. M. S. I.*, Sept., Oct.
3. German Cavalry Steel Pontons.—*Same.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The need of additional authorizations of battleships in the work of building up the navy has been of paramount importance in the sessions of Congress last past, and there has been a most creditable disposition on the part of the officers of the navy not to urge legislation, the discussion of which might obscure the main point at issue and make the authorizations more difficult to obtain. At least one measure of justice to the commissioned personnel of the navy has been allowed to rest until a more fitting time which might well have been urged with vigor at any time in the past several years. That is the readjustment of the pay table and the removal of the fifteen per centum reduction to which officers of the line of the navy are subjected when they are on shore duty.

* * *

It is doubtful if the theory that officers of the navy should serve continuously at sea will ever be advanced seriously again. It has been so conclusively shown that the way to the deterioration of the navy lies through constant sea service without breaks of considerable intervals to allow officers to get in touch with the progress of events that there will probably never be another effort to insist on sending officers to sea simply for the end of having them off shore. The condition which exists of a scarcity of officers and the actual pressure of sea conditions diverting officers for whom there are important shore duties, will continue with a more or less degree of stress for some years, but the theory that an officer should alternate tours of sea and shore duty for the interests of the service is thoroughly established.

* * *

Under the conditions of the old navy, when there were few ships and many officers, the impression arose that it was necessary to offer extra inducements to get officers to go to sea, or rather that it was necessary to penalize officers for staying ashore. Whatever may have been the necessity, real or supposed, for the original infliction of the penalty of loss of fifteen per cent. of the pay of officers on shore duty, that reason has disappeared with the shore duty now required of offi-

cers, whether the matter is considered in the light of the places of residence which are incident on shore duty, or of the value to the navy of the services being performed by the officers so assigned.

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The part which has been taken by the officers of the line of the navy in the advance of the navy of the United States to a point of technical skill not surpassed by any other nation has been effected largely during the residence of those officers on shore and under the penalization above referred to, a penalty not incident to service in the army or in the Marine Corps. There is no possibility but that the fullest time of every officer of the navy will be required in services directly connected with the administration and development of the new navy, whether those services are performed ashore or afloat, and there is no good reason, even if one ever existed, why the deduction of the pay of an officer performing valuable services ashore should be continued.

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While a certain few, mainly those who are interested wholly in an effort to change the character of the administration of the Federal government, state that they are seriously alarmed at the size of the current expense for the maintenance of the army and navy, there are no signs that their alarm has become widespread. At the same time it is not out of place for those who are interested in the efficiency of the military service of the United States to point out clearly and forcibly that the present expenditures are no more than the necessities of the country demand, plus the extra amount that the present day must spend because foregoing years have borne less than their just share of military expenditures. The army expenditures, including the cost of adequate fortifications, of decent post buildings and of reasonable equipment for the not too large regular army at the present time, are so much increased because of the lack of coast defence and of the miserable condition of the provision for housing the army which has always obtained. If, instead of being compelled to build a new navy entire, in fifteen years the course of naval construction had been followed with reasonable diligence, it would not be necessary at the present time to make payments on a fleet of big ships just coming to completion. The current payments are those which should have been made in other years, and the payments have only been deferred, while the United States was, during the years of non-payment, carrying a mighty risk that the people of the United States will never consent to carry again.

Unless men to whom the truth of the former folly of the United States has come home forcibly remain culpably lacking in expression, the salutary lesson of the Spanish War will not be forgotten. The people of the United States are with the proposition for an adequate national defense. Unchallenged allegations of excessive expenditure may dull the force with which the lesson now obtains, but it will need only the consistent statement of the folly of refusing reasonable military expenditure to sustain the present excellent feeling on the subject which is general throughout the country.

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The pay question in the navy is probably the chief topic of conversation in military circles, at least in Washington, the case of Captain Thomas before the Supreme Court of the United States and the comptroller's decision in the case of Captain Ackley adding new material to the old topics of discussion. The fact that the army officers serving on gunboats and small craft get the additional ten per cent. pay for foreign service, while a navy officer has to be actually as well as constructively on shore duty before he can get the additional pay is one of the things "no feller" can explain.

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It is further pointed out that an officer of the navy who is assigned to shore duty in the Philippines and who has to go out as a passenger receives eighty-five per cent. of army pay on the way out on a steamer which may carry an army officer who receives 110 per cent. pay from the time of departure, while it may be the case that a commanding officer of a war vessel may have on board an army officer of corresponding rank and that during the passage, while the navy officer receives full pay and works, the army officer gets 110 per cent. pay and does nothing.

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The new board on torpedo boat construction, of which Rear Admiral Converse is the head, may bring about some material improvements, but it is entering on a quest which the experience of other nations does not materially illuminate. There have been hints that the torpedo flotilla of the United States is not up to a satisfactory mark, that there are too many defects and too much repairing. There is reason to believe, however, that this is not a condition peculiar to the United States, but it is a characteristic which has resulted from putting high powers into small boats. In other words, the limits of the reciprocating engine have been approached and the high steam pressures and horse-powers required must be secured in some other way. The board will be

confronted at the outset with the query if accepted types of torpedo craft construction are not to be materially modified in view of the experiences of the Russian-Japanese War. There is a fascination about the torpedo boat, a good deal of romance has been written about it, and although the board is well supplied with torpedo advocates and enthusiasts, it is to be hoped that it will at least verify the basic position of the torpedo craft and its usefulness under the latest ordnance conditions.

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The opening of the Army War College to students on November 1 is an event in the history of the army of the United States which will be more or less momentous as the college is found to develop the usefulness which is hoped for it by those who have borne the burden of the effort for its establishment. Beginning with the detail of nine officers, the completion of the facilities which have been so liberally planned at the Washington Arsenal will bring to this training a very large number of officers of the rank of captain and major who will have the responsibility of determining whether the work has been wise and wisely laid out.

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Few people are aware of the scope of the improvements which have been made at the site of the War College for the housing of the college. Those who have formerly visited the grounds will remember it as a somewhat somnolent post, where a couple of batteries of artillery drilled daily. The former drill grounds are now covered with great buildings, sections have been reclaimed from the Potomac and form a new bank for the river, while at the point of the old bank there are administration buildings, quarters and miscellaneous buildings, till the place is entirely changed. A construction equipment most imposing has been provided. Order is coming out of chaos, and another year will see the arsenal again arranged as one of the places to see in Washington.

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There are two ways in which the War College can be managed. One is in the encouragement of an exclusive and intensive spirit by which those officers selected for detail are advised in effect that they are the salt of the army and the fact of a course at the War College gives them a place and a "ton" which they are to let no observer forget, and the other is that officers so selected are to understand that they have been selected as mediums for the extension of military knowledge, of which the United States has so woful a lack. Either of these methods will be for the glory of the War College, since the first

will make it the desideratum of ambitious officers and secure its continuity, and the latter will bring to its support the good sense of the country. But if the era of good feeling with the volunteer forces of the country, of which there seems to be more than a sign at present is to be continued, the War College of the army must be busied very largely with the affairs of the volunteers, and must be a centre from which military information will flow for the benefit and encouragement of the whole arms-bearing population. It is not an easy thing for an officer actively in command of regular forces to realize that the mass of military strength of the country lies in the ranks of the sometimes unattractive national guard, but the War College must come to the realization at the outset of its studies, and will miss its most important function if it fails to study very largely for the benefit of the citizen soldiery.

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Comment is made, somewhat in the tone of complaint, that there has been no rush of militia officers to the infantry and cavalry schools of the army for instruction, with the resulting place of the graduated officers in the army list. There are many reasons for the hesitation which may mark the innovation at first. The time of militia officers is seldom their own, so that without arrangement they may take the necessary time, while it is probable that there are a large number of militia officers who do not understand the provision that has been made. It is not likely that there will be an embarrassment in the future in securing enough names, but rather in taking care of the applicants from the militia who are anxious to increase their military knowledge.

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The new regulations for the army include the recognition of the office of the military secretary as an important fact, as it is generally recognized as a permanent one. All correspondence is to go through the office of the military secretary, who becomes the centre of distribution and concentration of the incoming and outgoing administrative work. The importance of such duties in the control of details has always been understood, together with the fact that it conveys a considerable amount of real power in affairs. Recent changes have been made in the location of the offices in the Department building proper, in Washington, so that the general staff offices and those under the control of the military secretary are more conveniently grouped, the former having been given a position nearer the office of the Secretary of War than the corre-

sponding offices occupied under the old regime, when the offices of the commanding general of the army were as far away as they could be from the offices of the Secretary, and still remain on the desirable second floor.

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Without attempting to pass on the merits of the case or to comment on the nature of the problems involved, it is certainly worth while as a matter of record to call attention to the case which was current in October of an army officer who desired to wed a young lady in the State, confronted by an alleged wife from the Philippines, who opposed her claim to the consummation of the new alliance. But more important than the record of what might be an isolated case is the statement of the press dispatch on the subject that a large number of army officers were awaiting the outcome of the case with interest, as it might determine their own marital status. Briefly the allegation is that the officer was duly married to the lady from the Philippines; he, admitting that she lived with him as he claims in the capacity of a mistress, denies any binding tie. The statement of the dispatch is that a number of officers who had similar temporary establishments are awaiting to see if they will be legalized by the laws of the United States The case is yet too new for comment or conclusion. If the allegation that more than one officer is interested in the outcome is true, if the case is as unusual as it is unfortunate, the matter is one solely affecting the welfare of the single officer involved, it concerns mainly that officer and will die out after the usual lapse of time. The alternative suggested by the statement is a disagreeable one, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the insinuation is wholly unfounded.

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It is earnestly to be hoped that the experience of the Navy Department of last year when bluejackets were discharged from the naval prison at Portsmouth, N. H., in the winter time without money and clad in white duck suits will not by any accident be repeated this winter. To insure that it shall not be, there ought to be a provision that the twenty dollars which is generally set aside to be paid to a prisoner on discharge shall not be diverted to cover indebtedness incurred while in the general service. It is the general practice to deprive naval prisoners of all pay except three dollars a month and the sum of twenty dollars to be paid to the prisoner on discharge. It very often happens, especially with the class of men who are general court martial prisoners that they are indebted on the books of the ship on which they were serving,

or that the expense of recapture and transportation, if they were deserters, put them in debt to the government. Under the decisions in the case the amount of twenty dollars saved out from their pay by the court martial sentence must be withheld to satisfy their former indebtedness so that in a number of cases the men are discharged without money. It has been provided that they shall be furnished with suitable clothing on discharge from another appropriation, from which the expenditure can legally be drawn, but this does not provide for the penniless condition which frequently makes the men a charge on the municipality at which they are discharged. There ought not be any process of checking which would deprive the discharged prisoners who are going out into the world under a handicap at the best outlook of the amount of twenty dollars which had been reserved for them for the purpose of enabling them to meet their first days after confinement. There appears to be no way of meeting the condition but by legislation which ought to be effected at once.

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The question of the fitness of appointees to the military service of the United States has been the source of some scathing comment during the past month, one daily paper which pays much attention to the news of the service condemning in no uncertain terms the character of some former appointments whose weakness has been shown by recent developments. Whatever may have been the fact formerly, there is a present and strenuous opinion as to the necessity of strict scrutiny of the character of appointments at the present time. A recent case in point in the Navy Department has resulted in the refusal of the department to issue a commission to an officer who developed unfitness subsequent to his examination.

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The attack of the Russian Baltic fleet on the English fishermen caught everybody unguarded and some of the comment will be regretted on second thought. Such, for example, was the paralleling of the incident with the fact that some Japanese "monkeyed" with a shell which had been fired from a war vessel of the United States and were killed, and with some hasty single acts during the Spanish war which were promptly checked and were without serious results. No such episode as that referred to has ever occurred in the Navy of the United States, nor is it likely that such would occur.

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Nine warrant officers of the Navy, the largest number in the

history of the service, have been found qualified for commissions and have received appointment to the grade of ensign. There are two satisfactory deductions from the fact; one is the conclusive answer to a number of disagreeable things that have been said in times past about the disposition of the Navy to open the door of promotion to the enlisted man, and the other is the indication of the higher plane of the enlisted man. No one who knows what the enlisted service was even ten years ago will deny that such a result would have been impossible under even the most favorable legislation at that time, while there have been years, and those not remote, when the proposition would have been almost intolerable. The fact of 30,000 men in each year such as the Navy of the United States is now training for sea service is alone ample return for the cost of the new navy.

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Admiral Dewey has again offered his services for the command of the combined fleets in the West Indian maneuvers this winter. This, however, is only the outward sign of the constant active service in which the admiral of the Navy is engaged. There is no phase of the improvement of the service which has not had the benefit of his active interest and co-operation which at the same time is exercised so that there is no hint of friction or interference with those who are charged with the administration of the details of the work of the Navy.

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It is confidently anticipated by its frieinds, and the fact is beginning to be conceded by those who have been disposed to criticise, that the general staff system of the Army will be able to make a satisfactory showing when it comes to the test of Congressional inquiry into the results of its year's work. It was suggested that propositions for a considerable change in details would be sent to Congress for this winter's session, but so far these propositions for change have not taken shape and the general staff has certainly "made good" in the increase of the efficiency of the Army and in the progress of salutary improvements. The Secretary's office has been relieved of the mass of detail which, with the Philippine problems, would have made the work of the position overwhelming, and well-founded statements are expected from the annual reports that will materially strengthen the position of the general staff idea as applied to the Army.

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A hint is given that through the sensitiveness of some of the state authorities the reports on

the efficiency of the militia of the different states at the Manassas maneuvers will not be given more publicity than can be helped. One of the great sources of lack of development of the militia is the lack of intelligent criticisim and the considerable amount of undeserved praise that is handed out to the various organizations. If a national guard organization has been able to present even a respectable front, an ascription of the highest type of soldiery ability has been made public and the nation has been thankful for small things in the way of the efficiency of its volunteers. It is a question if the day of usefulness of "babying" militia has not gone by. If such an organization is inefficient, badly trained and officered and ignorant of the first principles of field work it is much better to have the fact put down in black and white for a mark from which improvement can be measured than to keep up the old farce of calling militia organizations fine bodies of troops when everyone knows that they are little more than mere tyros and raw recruits.

* * *

The impending relief of Commander Frank F. Fletcher from the command of the torpedo station at Newport ought to be the occasion of a comment, at least, on the character of the work he has done while in command of the station. It has been of the very highest character of technical skill and of accurate and painstaking study and development of torpedo questions.

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service" are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM BRADFORD.

William Bradford, from whom Deborah Sampson was descended in a direct line, was the second Governor of the Plymouth Colony. He came over in the Mayflower in 1620, and was one of the most learned men of his day and generation. He understood not only English in its then purity, but Dutch, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew as well. He followed the Rev. John Robinson, with his congregation of Puritans, to Amsterdam in 1608, thence to Leyden, and then on to our cold New England rock-bound coast, in the depths of one of the hardest winters ever known, made memorable by the landing of the Pilgrims. It is said that for an unselfish public spirit, for nobleness of character, Governor William Bradford had no superior. The first of these qualities descended in a remarkable degree to Deborah Sampson, whose mother was the daughter of Elisha Bradford and Bathsheba Le Broche, a French lady of good extraction and fine accomplishments. And there was the best blood of the Old Colony in Deborah's veins—the blood of Miles Standish, John Alden, and Peter Hobart, the founder of Hingham, who was one of the few men of that day to face Governor John Winthrop. Deborah was born in Plympton in 1760, and after the death of her parents, who were poor, —her father having accumulated and lost his property,—she was bound to a Deacon Benjamin Thomas, of Middleborough, from ten until she was eighteen years of age, as was the custom of those days. She gave herself a fair education during the term of her service, and afterward taught in the town schools of her neighborhood two terms, earning enough to buy cloth, from which she fashioned a suit of man's clothing, and at the age of twenty-one, under a patriotic enthusiasm, she enlisted as a private soldier in the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, in which and another she served for about eighteen months, enduring all the privations to which the soldiers of the Continental army were subjected, without a murmur of complaint. Her enlistment was for three years, but the war ended before the term expired. She was of regular, but not beautiful features, was five feet seven inches in stature, had hazel eyes, which were inclined to blue in color, and were lively and penetrating. Her complexion was fair and clear, her aspect amiable and serene, though somewhat masculine.. Her limbs were well proportioned, her movements quick and full of power, and her position erect, as became a soldier. Her voice was agreeable, and her speech deliberate and firm. So Deborah Sampson, the

virtuous maiden, threw off her feminine habiliments to become Robert Shurtleff, a soldier of the Revolution.

Those ladies who saw her in her military attire considered her handsome, and several instances are on record where they were deeply smitten with her good looks. Being of delicate mould as compared with the generality of her companions, and having no beard she was called the "smock-faced boy" and "Molly;" *but her sex was never discovered* while she remained on duty. She was courageous, fond of adventure, especially under difficulties; possessed of great self-control and a strong, resolute will, and, as a soldier, exhibited alertness, fortitude and valor. There was not a trace of cowardice in her composition. She went where any of her comrades dared to go; and it is said, that on the many scouting parties to which she was ordered she always rode forward nearer the enemy than any of her comrades ventured.

On one occasion, on a scouting party, the enemy were met in an overwhelming force, and Deborah and her comrades were obliged to abandon their horses and run across a swamp for dear life. She then showed herseif to be as fleet as a gazelle, bounding through the swamp many rods ahead of her companions. It was thought from this escape that no man in the army could outrun her. She went through two campaigns without the discovery of her sex, showing her to have been possessed of not only strict moral principle, but the high qualities of firmness, resolution, self-control and perseverance. She was never found in liquor—a vice so common in all armies, and to crown her service no stain of any kind was ever found on the character of this noble-hearted woman.

The story of this revolutionary heroine was revived about 1837, in consequence of a petition having been, about that time, presented to Congress, praying that the pension, granted to her during her life, might be continued to her husband, Benjamin Gannett; but he did not live to enjoy it.

The adventures of this heroine of the Continental army were published about the yar 1798, and had a great run. Four or five years afterward she made her appearance on the stage of the Federal Street Theatre, Boston, and delivered her narrative to three or four successive audiences. This was done in female costume. The recitation was succeeded by a sort of spectacle, gotten up expressly for the purpose, in which she appeared in the dress of a soldier, (it was the uniform of the Winslow Blues,) a well-known volunteer company of that day and exhibited her skill in the manual exercise, and other feats adapted to the character. The proceeds of one night of the performance were allowed for her benefit.

Her story would be incomplete, if it were not stated to her credit that she received, in 1786, a certificate from Col. Henry Jackson, that Robert Shurtleff was a soldier in his regiment of the Continental army, enlisted from the town of Uxbridge, in Massachusetts, and that he had the confidence of his officers and did his duty as a faithful and good soldier, and was honorably discharged from the army of the United States. This Col. Jackson was the friend of Gen. Henry Knox, the first Secretary of War under Washington, and was afterward entrusted by the general government with the superintending of the building of the Frigate Constitution at the North End, best known as "Old Ironsides," a name which has been immortalized by our poet, Holmes.

Deborah Sampson, or Robert Shurtleff, was a volunteer in several hazardous enterprises. On her recovery from her severe illness, after quitting the army, she became intimate in the families of Washington and other distinguished officers of the Revolution. Massachusetts paid her wages in full and added a considerable bounty. She returned home in regimentals, but soon after, she resumed the clothes of her sex, and married, and reared a family of three children. She was a tender mother, a kind and exemplary neighbor and a friend of her country.

In a skirmish near Tarrytown, she received a sabre cut on the temple, and four months later she was shot through the shoulder. During another campaign she received a third wound and was seized with brain fever and sent to the hospital in Philadelphia. Dr. Binney, the surgeon, discovered her sex, took her to his home, and on her recovery, disclosed the facts to the captain of her company, who sent her with a letter to Gen. Washington. The commander-in-chief gave her a discharge, with a note of good advice and a purse of money.

During Washington's administration she was invited to the Capital, and Congress, which was then in session, voted her a pension and a grant of land.

There is much more in the army life of Deborah Sampson which is romantic, such as many well recorded feats when she was on these same scouting parties in which she maintained the character of a brave soldier; let us leave that portion of her history and think of her reputation as a fond wife and mother, who fulfiilled these duties acceptably to her family and friends for a period of nearly thirty years. She died in 1827, the only instance, it is believed, on record in which a young woman donned male habiliments and fought side by side of those of the rougher sex, for the freedom of these down trodden colonies.

COMFORTABLE CAMPING.

"Hints About Camping." is the title of an excellent little pamphlet issued by the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is small and handy, full of information. It tells the novice what to take with him when he starts for the woods and how to prepare for his expedition. Practical experience dictates the advice given.

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E. V. Skinner, A. T. M., 458 Broadway, New York.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Great Captains: Napoleon. A History of the Art of War, from the beginning of the French Revolution to the end of the eighteenth Century. Theodore Ayrault Dodge. In four volumes. Vols. I. and II. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1904.

Colonel Dodge's splendid series of military works entitled *Great Captains* is practically a history of the art of war as exemplified by the campaigns of the great strategist. The lives of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Gustavus Adolphus have already appeared from the pen of this able writer, and in proper order that of Frederick the Great would naturally follow; but, although that life is completed and ready for the press, the author has preferred to await the completion of the important works on that great leader now being published by the General Staff of the German Army, and has taken up the next great strategist, Napoleon.

The two volumes before us open with the state of the art of war at the beginning of the French Revolution, and after an account of the Revolutionary Wars, take up the life of the great Corsican and carry the history through Eylan and Friedland.

The first two chapters make the reader acquainted with the condition of *Army organization, tactics* and *administration* towards the end of the eighteenth century, and the three following describe the wars of the French Revolution in considerable detail. The reader is thus placed in a position to fully comprehend the conditions that faced Napoleon at the opening of his career.

Since the series of works, of which this life of Napoleon forms a part, are designed to constitute a history of the art of war, the present volumes deal only with the *military* life of the great strategist, but in that field it is without a rival. Moreover, in the words of the author, "more space has been given to the strategic operations of Napoleon than to the grand-tactics of his battles. Wonderful as the latter were, the strategic marches were yet more so. They are not in most histories so amply treated, whereas the keynote of Napoleon's successes was that his strategy so led up to battle that victory became decisive."

A generous supply of maps and charts of theatres of war and battles facilitates the reading of accounts of military operations, and the numerous illustrations of uniforms and arms illustrate the subject in such a manner that the picture presented is full and complete in all details. A further charm is added by the portraits of marshals and generals celebrated at that time, scattered throughout the volumes.

Finally, the author has added still more to the interest and accuracy of his descriptions by visiting most of the battlefields in person.

In spite of the many works which have been written on this remarkable man, the present one has a distinct reason for its existence, inasmuch as none other has considered his campaigns in the light of the developments in the art of war, or the his-

tory of that art as illustrated and exemplified by his life and campaigns. The work is, in reality, an account of the progress effected in the military art from the beginning of the French Revolution through the eighteenth century, and well into the nineteenth, marking the beginnings of the *modern* system of conducting war, and reaching its zenith, of course, in Napoleon's greatest campaigns.

The author's style of writing is very simple, but always clear and to the point. A short extract, taken from the account of the battle of Jena, will suffice to illustrate this:

"Davont saw that the key of the position now was at the heights near Eckartsberg, for to gain these would strategically cut the Prussians off from any approach to the Freiburg road, as well as tactically turn their left; and Gudin's division was hurried thither by way of Tangwitz, while Friant marched via Lisdorf on the same point. Nothing could now resist the fervor of the French; Mollendorf, wounded, turned over the command to Kalkrenth; but the Prussian divisions could not stay Davont, determined to have the Eckartsberg heights. Since one o'clock the Prussians had been yielding ground through Poppel and Tangwitz, on their reserves at Gernstädt; the French followed hard upon. Kalkrenth, in command of the second division of the reserve, had not yet been put in, and though Blucher's cavalry and the heavy horse had been driven back, this enterprising soldier was still full of fight, and the two generals proposed to renew the attack with all the forces at hand. But as no news ran in from Hohenlohe and Ruchel, the king deemed it wiser to fall back on his, he hoped, uninjured divisions of the right, so as to renew the battle in one body on the morrow. Kalkrenth was therefore ordered to about face, and started back towards Weimar.

"The French victory was complete. No praise is too high for Davont's intelligence and courage. Every brigade and battery of the French troops had been skillfully put in. A battery of howitzers now took position at Bendorf and began to throw shells into Auerstädt, which soon took fire and added to the Prussian difficulties, and their main army was shortly hurrying to the rear towards and beyond Auerstädt; and only at the Erns brook did Davont cease his pursuit, about 5 P. M."

The two volumes above referred to, the only part of four volumes thus far issued, are provided with a good index, which makes them complete as far as they go.

The volumes are well printed, in large, clear type, on excellent paper, and are substantially and neatly bound. The maps and battle plans are quite adequate, and the illustrations are both interesting and artistic, and lend an added charm to the text.

This work, like its predecessors in the series of *Great Captains*, will take its place as an authority on the history of the art of war in the time it covers; no other work covers the period from the same viewpoint. It should be studied carefully by all military men, since this period marks the beginning of the *modern* era in the art of troop leading or of strategy, and it will be found of immense interest and value to the general reader, since it embodies general as well as purely military history. J. P. W.

Exterior Ballistics. By R. Alger, Professor of Mathematics, U. S. Navy. The Friedenwald Company: Baltimore, Md. 1901. Pp. 166.

Professor Alger has been a recognized authority on naval ordnance and gun construction (as well as ballistics) for a number of years, and portions of his new work (Accuracy and Probability of Gun-Fire, for example) have already appeared in professional periodicals. Nevertheless, the present work is quite new in most respects, and its fourteen chapters form a compact and logically connected treatise of practical utility, and one completely up to the times.

The *first chapter* contains definitions and the *theoretical* trajectory (that is, omitting air resistance), with illustrative examples.

The definitions are clear, concise and accurate—indeed, they are perfect models in their way—and have been adopted in official works on the subject; and the examples are practical and interesting.

The *second chapter* discusses the resistance of the air, and includes the results of Mayeoski, modified and extended to higher velocities by Zaboudski.

Succeeding chapters consider the equation of the trajectory in air, the computation and use of ballistic tables, Siacci's method, ballistic problems, drift and the theory of sights, the effect of variations of initial velocity, angle of departure or ballistic coefficient upon the range, the effect of wind, of motion of the target and of motion of the gun, range tables, and the accuracy and probability of gunfire.

In the appended *Ballistic Tables* the values of the space, time, altitude and inclination integrals are taken from Colonel James M. Ingall's tables. High angle fire is not treated of, for the reason that it has no application at present in naval practice, and is not liable to have in the near future.

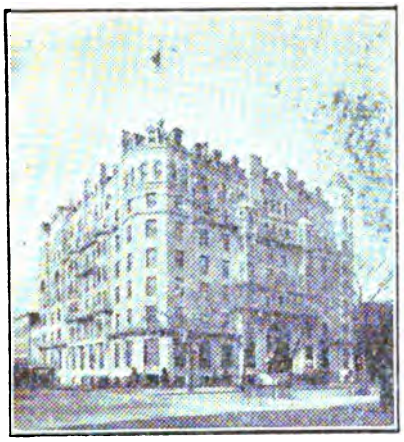
There are over 200 examples offered for solution, and nearly all are based on actual firings, so that they are exceedingly practical.

The entire work constitutes a concise and valuable treatise, and is well worthy of careful study by the artillery officers of the army, as well as by the navy. Although written primarily for the U. S. Naval Academy, its general utility is sufficient to warrant a more extended field of application. While its general value is thus indicated, however, it should be remarked that certain portions of the work are unique; for example, the chapters on the Accuracy and Probability of Gun-Fire constitute the most accurate and thorough treatise on the subject known to us.

The work is well printed and neatly bound, and forms a handy manual for practical use. J. P. W.

ARTHUR BURTIS, Rear-Admiral, U. S. N.

Born New York, and appointed assistant paymaster from that State by Mr. Lincoln in 1862; his grandfather, Arthur Burtis, was an Alderman of the City of New York from 1813 to 1819; his great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather both served in the Revolutionary War; his father was the Rev. Arthur Burtis, D.D., an eminent clergyman of Buffalo, N. Y.; his first orders were to duty under Admiral Farragut in the Sagamore, but on the way there in the supply steamer Rhode Island contracted yellow fever, and he was sent north; upon recovering was ordered to the Connecticut, employed in convoying the California steamers through the Caribbean Sea; the Connecticut, of North Atlantic Blocking Squadron, was next on the blockade, capturing four noted blockade-runners; also caused the destruction of four more, in the course of which duty she was engaged with Fort Fisher; from 1864 to 1866 was attached to the Muscoota, of the Gulf Squadron; while in the Muscoota, he was promoted to paymaster, May 4, 1866; from 1867 to 1869 stationed at League Island; from 1870 to 1873 was attached to the Brooklyn, which ship brought the body of Admiral Farragut from Portsmouth, N. H., to New York, and then went for a cruise in European waters—part of the three years' cruise on the Brooklyn he was the Fleet Paymaster of the European Fleet. Upon his return home, after service at the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing, Navy Department, 1873, he became inspector of provisions and clothing at the navy yard, Philadelphia, from 1874 to 1877; most of the time he had the additional duty of paymaster of the receiving-ship St. Louis; in 1878 he was a member of the Board of Examiners; again ordered to League Island, but after about a year's service there went to the practice-ship Constellation for her summer cruise with the cadets of the Naval Academy. After this he was for some time on special duty at navy pay office, New York; from 1883 to 1886 he was attached to the Galena, of the North Atlantic Squadron; the Galena was at Aspinwall in the spring of 1885; during the rebellion on the Isthmus, and when that city was burned, the officers and crew of the ship prevented much destruction of property and loss of life; the Galena also seized at St. Andrew's Island the filibustering steamer City of Mexico in February, 1886. From June, 1886, to May, 1889, was the paymaster of the navy yard, New York; he next went to the Vermont, receiving-ship at New York, and in January, 1890, was ordered as fleet paymaster of the Pacific Squadron in the flag-ship Charleston. The Charleston brought King Kalakau from the Sandwich Island to California, and took his remains back to Honolulu in January, 1891; from the Charleston he was transferred to the flag-ship San Francisco, March 31, 1891; the San Francisco was in Chili during the revolution in 1891, and in Valparaiso when Balmaceda's army was defeated and the Congressional forces captured that city, Aug. 28, 1891; was promoted to pay inspector, Sept. 21, 1891; was detached from the flagship San Francisco, Jan. 30, 1892; Navy Yard, New York, December, 1892-95; settling accounts, member Board of Inspection and Survey, Jan., 1896-97; U. S. S. New York, fleet paymaster, July, 1897, North Atlantic Station. The New York was at Tortugas when the Maine was destroyed in Havana, Feb. 15, 1898; captured the Spanish steamer Pedro, April 22, 1898, and later several other prizes; action with the Matanzas batteries, April 27, 1898; engagements, San Juan, Porto Rico, May 12, 1898; engagements, Santiago de Cuba, June 6, 1898; action, Santiago, June 16, 1898; action, Aguadores, Cuba, July 1, 1898; action, Santiago, July 2, 1898; action with Cervera's fleet, July 3, 1898; promoted to pay director, May 5, 1898; detached from the New York, July 3, 1899; in charge of Navy Pay Office, Boston, Mass., Dec. 30, 1899-1902; Navy Pay Office, New York, 1902; retired, Nov. 21, 1902, with rank of rear admiral; received the honorary degree of A.M. from Hobart College; member of the Saint Nicholas Society, of New York, the Holland Society, of New York, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Kappa Alpha Society, the Saint Nicholas Club, of New York, the Union Club, of New York, the Council of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. Address, care Brown, Shipley & Co., Bankers, London, Eng.



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DECEMBER, 1904.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

SEVENTH PAPER.

(May 2-June 1, 1904.)

THE MILITARY SITUATION.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of the Yalu the Japanese had control of the sea in general, and along the west coast of Corea as far as the mouth of this stream in the immediate vicinity of the theater of the land operations; whereas the Russians held a line north of the Yalu, extending to Newchwang, and on the extreme flanks of the line the isolated harbors and forts at Vladivostok and Port Arthur.

The decision of the Russian authorities, in opposition to the recommendation of General Kuropatkin, to hold on to Vladivostok and Port Arthur, was a strategic error, just as the isolated British forces at Ladysmith and Mafeking, in the South African War, were mistakes in strategy. The British troops at these points (especially the former) held the Boer armies, to be sure, but it was a grievous mistake on *their* part to be so held. Had they left a retaining force before each of these places, and advanced rapidly southward with their main army, on a decidedly *offensive* campaign, the British would have had a far more serious problem to solve than in the actual case. The *forts* at Port Arthur have not delayed the Japanese advance of the main army for one moment, but the Russian *fleet,* under their guns, did delay that advance, because it was a constant menace to the transports, which had to approach nearer and nearer as the land campaign progressed.

Captain Mahan, in an article in the *National Review,* apparently defends the action of the Russians in retaining their hold on Port Arthur, intimating that it was the *forts* there that have delayed the Japanese, and thus gained the requisite time for the strategic deployment of the Russian army. But in this opinion he is not true to his own great works on sea power. As soon as the Russian fleet was rendered sufficiently harmless, the Japanese advance on land continued. The forts remained active, and, indeed, detained a considerable Japanese force in front of them (as will appear later), but Sedan had a similar effect on the German army, yet it did not prevent the advance of the main army.

The Japanese, both at sea and on land, have pursued a perfectly straightforward *offensive* course from the beginning, moving as rapidly as the circumstances would permit, striking hard whenever the opportunity offered, and with all available forces, gaining the *initiative* at the beginning and holding it as long as possible.

Their delay in advancing was not (as held by some writers) with the intention of permitting the Russians to gather larger forces and thus make a victory appear more decisive and important to the rest of the world; but it was simply due to the Russian *fleet in being* at Port Arthur, which continually threatened their line of communication and their transports.

Of course, the forts of Port Arthur protected the Russian fleet, and indirectly, therefore, delayed the Japanese advance; but had the Port Arthur fleet been destroyed or rendered inactive at any time, Japan would not have been delayed one instant by the forts.

The progress of the campaign shows more and more clearly that General Kuropatkin's original plan was strategically correct, namely, to abandon the line of the Yalu, including Vladivostok and Port Arthur, and to concentrate his forces on a line between Harbin and Mukden, or, at most, in advance of the latter place. The flanking positions which Japan's sea-power has thus far given her would have been neutralized, her initiative would have been at least lessened, and her morale greatly reduced. Moreover, the two Russian fleets, in giving up their fortified harbors, would have been compelled to resort to *offensive* measures, and had they succeeded in combining, could have inflicted such serious damage on the Japanese fleet as to have delayed the land campaign far more than they did by remaining on the *defensive.*

The Japanese could not leave Port Arthur in their rear, any more than the Germans could have left Metz or Sedan behind them without a proper retaining force; and their strenuous efforts to take the

place by land attack (as described below) were merely a part of their *offensive* system of warfare: the sooner the place was taken, the sooner the retaining force would be relieved and made available to join the main army, and the more energetic would be the advance and action of the latter. Thirty thousand men may be more important to the main army at the opening of the campaign in Manchuria than fifty thousand later on; consequently, the losses in the attacks on the forts of Port Arthur might easily be counterbalanced by the advantages gained, especially in *time*. Port Arthur itself had no great significance *per se*, but the liberation of the besieging army and its addition to the main Japanese army was of vital importance, and this it was that the Japanese were striving to attain.

THE ELEVENTH ATTACK ON PORT ARTHUR.

(May 3, 1904.)

While the Japanese army continued its advance after the battle of the Yalu, important events were also transpiring at sea.

On the 23d of April the Russians at Port Arthur experienced another accident, one of their small boats being blown up by a mine, killing an officer and twenty men. The numerous accidents of this kind which have taken place indicate either a lack of knowledge in handling mines or else great carelessness.

On April 29th Japanese warships again appeared off Port Arthur, and ten Japanese cruisers and six torpedo boats were lying in Ussuri Bay, opposite Vladivostok, but no attack was made. On May 2nd the Japanese squadron near Vladivostok returned to Gensan, Corea.

On May 3d, at one o'clock A. M., the batteries on the eastern shore of Port Arthur sighted Japanese torpedo boats approaching. The Russians, besides the guard ship cruiser stationed at the harbor entrance, had also their gunboats lying in the roads, and the latter, as well as the batteries, opened fire on the Japanese torpedo boats, which soon retired out to the high sea.

They constituted the advance of another attack, a renewed attempt to block the channel with sunken ships. The Japanese, for this purpose, had eight vessels of from 2,000 to 3,000 tons burden, laden with stones and cement, and they advanced in three groups from different directions, partly under the east, partly under the west shore, towards the entrance, the purpose being to divide the Russian fire.

The groups appeared in sight at about half-hour intervals. The vessels, armed with light rapid-fire guns, were accompanied by tor-

pedo boats to protect them against torpedo boat attack, and eventually to take up the crews of the steamers.

The Japanese gunboats, Akagi and Chokai, the second, third, fourth and fifth flotillas of destroyers, and the ninth, tenth and fourteenth torpedo flotillas took part in the action.

The shore batteries and the Russian guard ships fired on the Japanese vessels and their torpedo boats attacked. The general attack lasted until 4 A. M., the Russian batteries and warships having fired over 2,500 shots, exclusive of machine-gun fire.

The Japanese vessels made boldly for the harbor's mouth, under this heavy artillery fire. The Aikoku Maru was blown up by a torpedo before reaching the narrow part of the channel, and two other steamers were sunk by gun fire. Five of the steamers, however, reached the harbor entrance, and, breaking the booms, entered the narrow channel. Three of these were sunk by the Russians, or stranded before reaching their designated positions, but the remaining two (Mikawa Maru and Totomi Maru) were sunk in the narrow channel, although not in a position to effectually close it.

Of the crews of these vessels (numbering 159 in all), only 8 officers and 36 men were rescued by the Japanese; the losses were: One officer and 6 men killed, 5 officers and 15 men wounded, 14 officers and 74 men missing; of the missing 30 men were taken prisoners in the boats. The casualties on the Russian side were insignificant.

The night being dark and the sea very rough, a message had been sent to the different vessels, on the way in, to give up the undertaking, but it was either not received or not heeded.

At dawn ten Japanese torpedo boats were visible on the horizon awaiting the return of the small boats. At about 9.30 A. M. the Japanese squadron appeared, but retired again at noon, leaving several vessels in observation beyond the roadstead.

On the 4th of May a Japanese squadron appeared at Takushan, and on May 5th the landing of the Japanese *Second Army* began at Pitsewo.

The purpose of this attack on Port Arthur was, therefore, evidently to cover the landing of the Second Japanese Army, and to prevent any possible intereference from the Russian squadron. The attempt to block the chanel, however, was not successful, and but little was gained by the attack except to insure the safety of the landing force temporarily; but that was probably a sufficient advantage to warrant the sacrifices made.

COMMENTS.

In looking back over the events of this war up to the early part of May, 1904, there are three lessons that stand out prominently for all nations to read, represented by three great factors, viz.:

1. Preparedness.
2. Command of the sea.
3. Torpedoes.

The first of these has already been referred to, and its advantages are too evident to require any comment. The importance of the second is very evident in this war, and the rôle which fleets will have to play in war is of ever-increasing importance. The third, however, has proven itself of decisive value in future war, both in harbors as mines, and on torpedo boats as mobile weapons of war.

To these three factors, above all else, the Japanese successes have been largely due.

The command of the sea, and her naval ability in general, enabled Japan to strike the first blow and to paralyze the Russian fleet at the outset, and has given Japan all the advantages she has so skilfully utilized. Her troops have been transported by sea and landed without opposition; they have thus been advanced rapidly to the theater of war, without much tedious marching; the Russian positions on land have been successively flanked, and supplies have been brought to the front in sufficient quantity with ease and comfort to all.

The Russian *fleet in being* at Port Arthur, weak as it was, nevertheless had considerable effect in delaying the Japanese movements, especially the landing of the Second Army; but had the Russians organized a proper system of coast defense, with torpedo boats, submarines and submersibles in sufficient number at that port, far greater sacrifices would have been required on the part of the Japanese to render these defenses harmless and to protect her transports against molestation and possible destruction than she has made in the numerous and desperate sea attacks on Port Arthur.

While it is true that control of the sea does not bring a war to an end, and the latter purpose must generally be accomplished by the victories of a *land* army, it is also true that Japan's invasion of Corea and Manchuria would have been impossible without the command of the sea, and had that command been lost at any time during the war, the victories on land would have availed nothing, and the invading army would have been compelled to give up its advance, and retire to its own country or capitulate, for it would have been cut

off from its base and isolated in a country from which it could draw no supplies.

The torpedo has shown its efficiency in this war, not only as a weapon of *defense,* but also as a very potent one of *offense.* Despised for many years after its introduction, and probably with reason, this weapon has been improved until to-day it must be admitted as incomparable in its particular sphere. Indeed, up to the middle of May, or even later, it was the torpedo alone that struck the deadly blows to warships. Naval commanders can no longer take Farragut's view of the efficacy of this weapon, even when merely planted for the defense of a coast channel, and the automobile form is even more to be dreaded, whether fired from torpedo boats, or from fixed shore batteries.

Submarines, or submersibles, would have been invaluable to the Russians at Port Arthur, and could have effectually prevented all of the Japanese operations there, as actually carried out. They, too, must play a most important part in future wars.

OPERATIONS ON LAND.

(May 2-15, 1904.)

The Japanese I. Army, three days after the battle of the Yalu, continued to advance towards Liau-Yang, marching on Feng-wang-cheng, two divisions on the main road and one in the valley of the Aiho on the right. On May 6th the troops occupied Feng-wang-cheng, which was abandoned by the Russians without serious resistance. Before evacuating it, however, the Russians burnt a quantity of ammunition, but considerable stores and supplies were left untouched. On the extreme right Kuan-tien-chien (fifty miles northeast of Feng-wang-cheng) was also occupied.

From Feng-wang-cheng troops were sent out on the roads towards Liau-yang, Haicheng (forty miles southwest of Liau-yang) and Siu-yen (forty miles west of Feng-wang-cheng) to a distance of about twenty-five miles. No further advance was attempted till towards the end of June, the troops of the I. Army (under Kuroki) covering the landing at Takushan, awaiting re-enforcements and the advance of the other armies.

The Russian Third and Sixth Rifle Brigades and Mitshenko's Cossack Brigade, which had opposed the passage of the Yalu, retired, the former two on the road to Liau-yang, the latter in the direction of Haicheng. The Cossack Division, under Rennenkampf,

coming from the north, acted against the right flank of the Japanese army, but ineffectually. General Sassulich, commanding the Second Siberian Division, was superseded by Lieut. Gen. Count Keller.

LANDING OF THE SECOND JAPANESE ARMY.

The passage of the Yalu by the First Army was rapidly followed by the landing of the Second Army (under Oku) on the Liautung Peninsula.

On the 5th of May sixty transports, convoyed by twenty torpedo-boats, reached Pitsewo (or Piszewo), on the east coast of the peninsula, opposite the Elliott Islands, about seventy-five miles northeast of Port Arthur, and began to disembark the troops, under the protection of the Japanese warships, commanded by Admiral Hosoya.

The troops were preceded by a landing-party of sailors, who waded through the water for about three-quarters of a mile, and took possession of a range of hills, without encountering any resistance. Some Russian patrols appeared, but they were dispersed by the fire of the Japanese vessels. The landing of the troops was then begun, and two Japanese regiments were advanced along the road to Pulantien (or Port Adams), while other detachments were sent in various directions to reconnoitre the ground, and secure the disembarking troops against surprise or attack.

The Russians had been informed by their coast signal stations of the approaching transports as early as the 2nd of May, and small patrols were sent in toward the landing place from all sides. One of these met the Japanese patrols advancing on Port Adams, and after a short action retired. The two Japanese regiments had arrived at Tanziafang, when its outposts on May 6th reached Port Adams, which was evacuated by the Russians. On the following day, however, the Japanese again abondoned Port Adams and retired toward Pitsewo, because rough weather had interfered with the disembarkation of the troops, and this advanced column feared being cut off.

On May 8th, at 2 A. M., Admiral Alexieff (accompanied by Duke Boris) left Port Arthur, and on the 9th the Governor General established his headquarters at Mukden. On his departure from Port Arthur, Admiral Witthoeft took command of the naval forces there, awaiting the arrival of Admiral Skrydloff, who had been designated to succeed Admiral Makaroff.

At about the same time the Japanese made demonstrations of landing at Kinchau, on the west side of the peninsula (about 35 miles northeast of Port Arthur and about 40 miles southwest of Pitsewo).

This is on the narrowest part of the Kwantung Peninsula, and was well guarded by strong Russian forces; moreover, the very shallow water in the bay would have made a landing very difficult.

On May 12th, the largest dock at Dalny was blown up by the Russians.

On May 14th, Port Adams was again occupied by the Japanese, and the railroad to Port Arthur finally cut, a length of road about 14 miles long having been destroyed.

The troops then gradually occupied the line Port Adams-Pitsewo, thus isolating Port Arthur completely.

The II. Army, under General Oku, was composed of the 1st, 3rd and 4th Divisions, the 1st Cavalry Brigade and the 1st Artillery Brigade. The Cavalry Brigade undertook the security of the line Port Adams-Pitsewo against attack from the north, while the main body moved on Kinchou (about 35 miles northeast of Port Arthur).

On May 16th, the squadron under Admiral Togo approached the harbor of Siung-yue-cheng (in the Gulf of Liautung, about 55 miles north of Pitsewo) and 51 transports began the disembarkation of their troops. After landing, the Japanese forces moved in the direction of Kai-ping (or Kaichau) 25 miles north of the landing place.

Part of this force continued its march on Newchwang, which place the Russians were abandoning. This was a portion of the III. Japanese army, under General Nogi, designed as a besieging army for Port Arthur, and composed of two divisions (5th and 11th Reserve Divisions), with a strong siege train, which had landed its first troops at Kerr Bay (on the east coast, about 40 miles northeast of Port Arthur), and the rest on the west coast.

A IV. Japanese Army (under General Nodzu), composed of the 10th, 6th and 9th Divisions, was organized in Japan at the beginning of May. Towards the end of May a portion of this army was landed at Takushan, and joined Kuroki's army, while the remainder was held as a reserve for the besieging army at Port Arthur.

OPERATIONS AT SEA.

(May 4-25, 1904.)

The Japanese continued their attacks of Port Arthur from the sea, but these consisted mainly in short bombardments without serious result. The roadstead was continually kept under observation by a few cruisers.

The Russians established a regular system of communication between Liauyang and Port Arthur by means of carrier piegons.

The Japanese organized a squadron, under Rear Admiral Kataoka, for convoying the transports, to prepare for landings on the coast, and to take up torpedoes in mined harbors. It was designated the III. Squadron, and comprised the armored cruiser Nishiu, the small cruisers Itzukushima and Miyako and several gunboats and torpedo boats.

Admiral Kataoka attempted on different occasions to clear Kerr Bay (just north of Talienwan) of torpedoes, in order to make this deep anchorage available as a landing place for troops. The coast had been fortified by the Russians with small earthworks. The place was important strategically, as it enabled the Japanese forces landed there to take the Russian lines at Kinchau in flank. The inner bay was covered with torpedoes by the Russians and Admiral Kataoka had at his disposal the 2nd, 6th, 12th, 20th and 21st Torpedo Flotillas for the purpose of picking up mines. On May 12, 1904, while the torpedo boats No. 46 and No. 48 were attempting to destroy a mine which they had raised, it prematurely exploded and destroyed No. 48, killing 1 officer and 6 men, and wounding 7 men. Later, in the progress of this work (on May 14), the Miyako ran on a mine and sank.

On May 15, while a Japanese squadron, composed of battleships and cruisers, the latter in advance, was cruising up and down before Port Arthur, the battleship Hatsuse, in the lead of its line, struck two mines in succession and sank. While the other Japanese vessels were rendering aid in saving the crew, one or more Russian cruisers and sixteen torpedo boats steamed out to attack, but were driven back by the Japanese cruisers. On the following day three Japanese torpedo boats appeared at the scene of the disaster (about 10 miles out from Port Arthur), but were driven away by the Novik.

On May 15, a little farther to the south, in the vicinity of the Miantan Islands, or near Shantung, the armored cruiser Kassuga, in a dense fog, rammed the small cruiser Yoshino and sank her.

These Japanese vessels were cruising in the Pechili Strait to prevent a Russian attack on the transports, which were passing to the west of the Liau-tung Peninsula.

Another Japanese squadron, under Admiral Hosoya, composed of the coast defence vessels Fuso, Hei Yen, Sei Yen, the gunboats Chokai and Akagi, and the small cruiser Zukushi, had been organized to cover the landings at Pitsewo and Takushan.

Finally, another squadron under Rear Admiral Togo (not the Vice Admiral commanding the entire fleet) was formed to cover the northwest side of Liau-tung and the landings there.

On May 20, the Japanese destroyer Akatsuka, while approaching Port Arthur, was struck by a shell and 25 men were killed.

On May 22, the Japanese bombarded the fortifications at Kaiping (Kaichu), 25 miles south-east of Newchwang, sent a landing force ashore, and cut telegraphs and mine cables, after which the squadron steamed to Kinchau to prepare for a landing there. The latter took place on a large scale, the troops joining those advancing from Pitsewo and Port Adams. The heavy artillery was landed either at Kinchau or in Hand Bay, a branch of Talienwan Bay, on the opposite side. This was a part of the III (or besieging) army, under General Nogi.

The Japanese, by utilizing all their coast defence vessels and gunboats, secured control of the coast of the Liautung Peninsula from Takushan to Kaiping, and the landing of troops at Takushan, to strengthen Kuroki's army, continued.

Towards the end of May the total number of Japanese troops landed had amounted to about 150,000 men.

The Russian warships, which had been rendered unserviceable at Port Arthur by the Japanese attacks, were being repaired as fast as possible.

At Vladivostok Japanese vessels appeared occasionally on the horizon; and at Port Lazareff, in Broughton Bay, about 15 miles north of Gensan, the Japanese organized a naval base and a coaling station, with several cruisers and torpedo boats.

Sometime between the 15th and 20th of May, the Russian protected cruiser Bogatyr, during a heavy fog, ran ashore and was totally lost.

On May 25, Admiral Skrydloff, not having been able to enter Port Arthur, arrived at Vladivostok, and displaced Rear Admiral Yessen in command there.

OPERATIONS ON LAND.

Battle of Kinchau and Nanshan.

(May 26-27, 1904.)

The Japanese troops that had landed at Pitsewo, after being joined by those which were landed a little south of that place, moved on Kinchau, four divisions strong. Their artillery took position on the high ground north of this place.

The Russians had taken up a fortified position to the south of Kinchau, on the line of heights of Nanshan, running entirely across the narrow neck of land. The fortifications had been constructed some time before, and were strengthened by mines, ditches and wire

entanglements. The position was held by the troops of one division, two field batteries, some fortress artillery and marines.

The defensive works were of a semi-permanent character, the artillery consisting of 52 guns of various calibers, and 2 quick-firing field batteries, while for the infantry there were covered trenches, properly loopholed, and machine guns stationed at important points.

On May 21, a reconnaissance by the Japanese revealed to them the fact that the Russians had at Nanshan Hill, south of Kinchau, four 6-inch guns, ten of calibers varying from 3.5 to 6 inches, and two 4.7-inch quick-fire guns, besides at least ten forts constructed and occupied, and wire netting and mines at the foot of the hills.

On May 22, the Japanese commenced their advance against the position, and on the 23rd discovered the Russian right wing on Hua-sheng-tao, with about eight more heavy guns facing seaward.

The Japanese forces, under General Oku, comprised the second army, which had been strengthened by the third army (under General Nogi), the latter carrying with them the siege guns designed to besiege Port Arthur, which had been landed nearer the field of operations.

The Russian forces were commanded by General Fock, but General Stoessel arrived during the progress of the action.

The actual attack began on the 25th, toward midnight, in a stormy and foggy night. Kinchau was entered and taken without resistance. At dawn (4. 40 A. M.) May 26th, the Japanese had advanced so far that their troops could have been taken under fire by the Russian artillery, but the latter, on account of the fog, delayed opening fire for another hour. Both sides then opened with energy.

A Japanese squadron, consisting of four gunboats (Hei Yen, Zukushi, Chokai, Akagi), two coast defence vessels (Fuso and Sai Yen) and a torpedo flotilla, under Admiral Hosoya, reached Kinchau Bay, and co-operated with the army, by bombarding Nanshan, taking the left wing of the Russians in flank. They opened fire at dawn on May 26, but the rough weather soon compelled these ships to cease firing for a time.

At about 9 A. M. the Russian artillery fire moderated, and at that time the Japanese infantry advanced: the 1st division in the center, the 4th on the right, the 3d on the left, and one division in reserve.

The Russian right flank was supported by the fire of the gunboat Bobr and two destroyers (Burni and Boiki), stationed in Hand Bay (the northern arm of Tahiewan Bay), as well as by a battery of four guns at Tadung-fang-dushen (near Talienwan) about 3 miles to the south.

The battle raged till 5 P. M., the Japanese left flank suffering severely from the flank fire just mentioned, and both flanks were in danger of being turned, when General Oku ordered the center to charge. The attack was repulsed, however, and the left flank of the Japanese was about to fall back, when the Japanese ships (the sea moderating and the weather clearing) again opened fire, and so effectively that the Japanese right was able to advance, relieving the entire line.

On this right flank the troops, in order to avoid the obstructions (mines, wire entanglements, trenches, etc.), waded through the shallow water under the protection of the ships' guns.

The heights were taken at 8 P. M., and General Stoessel ordered the Russian forces to evacuate the position. They retired to Port Arthur, leaving a rear guard at Sanshilipu to cover the retreat. This ended the battle. The Bobr and the torpedo boats returned to Port Arthur.

The Japanese did not pursue, but contented themselves with holding the position. They captured 68 guns, 10 machine guns, 50 mines, 3 search-lights, besides rifles, ammunition, etc.

In this battle the Japanese lost 151 officers and 4,170 men; the Russians reported a loss of 30 officers and 800 men, but the actual number was probably much greater.

On the 27th the Japanese army continued its advance southward. On the 29th Dalny was evacuated by the Russians, and on the 30th it was occupied by the Japanese: the docks were generally intact, the large one only having been destroyed, and the Japanese captured there an immense amount of rolling stock.

On May 29, during the night, 10 destroyers were sent out by the Russians against the Japanese gunboats operating in Kinchau Bay, but nothing was accomplished. One of the Russian destroyers, however, was stranded and wrecked.

The Japanese army established outposts across the peninsula, or a line passing through Sanshilipu, where the railroad to Dalny branches off from the Port Arthur road, and remained in position for some time. During this interval the second army, under Oku, was relieved by the third army, under Nogi. The second army moved northward to throw back the Russian right wing.

Early in June the Japanese outposts occupied the line, about 15 miles long, running from Ying-cheng-zu (about 15 miles from Port Arthur, on the north) to Lunwantang, at the mouth of the river of that name, about 7 miles east of Port Arthur, on the south, extending across the peninsula.

The Russian garrison of Port Arthur was composed of about 35,000 men, under Lieut.-Gen. Stoessel, organized as follows:

Fortification Troops, under Lieut. Gen. Smirnov.

Three Battalions Fortification Artillery.
One Company Fortification Engineers (Sappers).
One Fortification Torpedo Company.
One Fortification Telegraph Company.

Field Troops.

7th East Siberian Rifles Division, Major Gen. Kondratenko.
1st Brigade, Major Gen. Zerpitzki.
2nd Brigade, Major Gen. Gorbatovski.
7th E. S. R. Artillery Battalion, Col. Mechmandarov.
4th East Siberian Rifles Division, Major Gen. Fok.
1st Brigade, Major Gen. André de Bui.

STRATEGIC DEPLOYMENT OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY.
June 1, 1904.

At the beginning of June, 1904, the general front of the Manchurian army extended from the left flank in the Southern Ussuri District (its center at Vladivostok) in a southwesterly direction through Manchuria to Newchwang and Inku on the Gulf of Liaodun, cutting the East China Railroad running north from the peninsula of Kwangtung to Harbin (or Karbin). This line was not occupied continuously, but by groups at important points, although the railroad itself had a continuous line of separate detachments for its protection.

On the left flank, at Vladivostok, besides the regular garrison of fortification troops, there were permanently stationed:

The 8th Division of Rifles, with its artillery battalion, and the 2nd Division of Rifles, with the Ussuri Cavalry brigade. Portions of the latter were advanced southward along the eastern coast of Corea toward Gensan, and came in contact with the Japanese troops.

Between Vladivostok and the East China Railroad the only points occupied in any strength were Kirin (Giring or Chiling) and Karbin (or Harbin).

The main forces of the Manchurian army were concentrated near the right flank, at Mukden, and farther south near Liaoyan (General Kuropatkin's headquarters). Farther south was the retreating relief corps of General Stakelberg, composed of:

1st and 9th Rifle Divisions, with their artillery, the Siberian Infantry regiments Tobolsk and Morchansk, and a cavalry brigade.

His corps barely escaped being cut off by the Japanese troops after the battle of Wafankou (June 15).

Still farther south, on the Kwangtung Peninsula, were the troops cut off from the main army after the battles around Kinchou at the end of May, namely:

7th Rifle Division (garrison of Port Arthur).

4th Rifle Division with its artillery brigade.

One Cossack regiment.

The entire strength of the detachments of the field army on the Kwangtung Peninsula was about 25,000 men.

This does not include the artillery troops in Port Arthur, amounting to about 10,000 men.

Kuropatkin had concentrated under his immediate command, available for battle, therefore, the following troops:

2nd, 3rd, 5th and 6th Rifle Divisions (each with its artillery brigade).

A mixed Infantry Division (2 brigades from European Russia), with its artillery.

1st Siberian Infantry Division (formed out of the 1st Siberian Reserve Brigade).

Three Battalions Trans-Baikal Cossacks.

The cavalry, partly dispersed in detachments and covering the front at various points, consisted of:

One Trans-Baikal Cossack Division (4 regiments).

One Trans-Baikal Cossack Brigade (3 regiments).

One Ussuri Cavalry Brigade (2 regiments).

Three and one-half separate regiments.

Four Cossack horse batteries, besides several Siberian Cossack regiments.

The Engineer troops comprised:

Several Railroad Battalions.

Three Sapper Battalions.

One Pontoon Battalion.

One Field Balloon Detachment.

The total strength of this *main body* of the army of operation posted between Mukden and Liaoyang and southward beyond Haichenk, opposing the advance guards of the Japanese to the east and south, in the direction of Feng-wang-cheng and Takushan, was about 70,000 men:

50,000 infantry,
9,000 cavalry,
7,000 artillery,
4,000 engineers.

The 4th Siberian army corps (40,000 men and 64 guns) could also be considered as in tactical contact with the army of operations at that time.

The total of 110,000 was therefore still below that of the Japanese army, which counted 130,000 combatants, not including the third Japanese army, which was either partially or entirely landed at that time.

The reinforcements of the Russian army, drawn from European Russia, and on their way to the front, amounted to 90,000 men and 182 guns, but as they did not begin moving till the end of May, they could not arrive in any force before the end of July.

The following troops were mobilized and ordered to the front:

One Orenburg Cossack Division.

One Ural Cossack Division.

The 10th Army Corps.

The 17th Army Corps.

A Balloon Section, and the reserves of all East Siberian units.

The *brigades* of the East Siberian Rifles, after receiving their regiments, which were raised to three battalions, were converted into *divisions*. The field artillery was greatly strengthened by the addition of a number of batteries from European Russia, so that each division of East Siberian Rifles had a brigade of three or four batteries attached.

The IV. Army Corps was composed of the 2d and 3d Siberian Reserve Divisions.

The mobilization of the V. Army Corps was ordered.

The Baltic Fleet was being prepared to go to the Far East, and was to include a number of auxiliary cruisers, namely:

Smolensk, Orel, Saratoff and St. Petersburg, of 18 to 20 knots speed; and

Yaroslaff, Kostroma, Vladimir, Kieff, Tamboff and Veronez, partly armored, of 13 knots.

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*U. S. NAVAL INSTITUTE, ANNAPOLIS, MD.**

SOME REMARKS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE NAVY.

By Lieut.-Comdr. John Hood, U. S. N.

The following remarks are offered for publication in the Institute with a view of eliciting an expression of opinion from the service at large, on certain points connected with the use and abuse of courts-martial, the adminstration of discipline in the service and the maintenance of a high standard of service honor.

In connection with the laws and customs of the service bearing on these points there has always appeared to me to be an erroneous sentiment in very general existence among the officers of the Navy; and, so long as this sentiment is accepted as the true expression of the opinion and feeling of the service, there will be no hope of change.

But if mature thought on the part of the officers of the Navy generally should convince them, as it has me and, I have no doubt, many other officers as well, that the sentiment *is* erroneous, then a general service opinion might be brought to bear that might lead to a change in both the laws and customs of the service, much to the betterment of discipline and the maintenance of a higher sense of duty and greater esprit de corps.

The sentiment I speak of is the universal dread of the officers of the Navy to being brought to trial before a court-martial, a dread which seems to me to be largely due to a misconception of what the proper functions of a Naval or Military Court should be. Such courts are not criminal courts in the sense of the common and statutory law; they are courts of honor and equity as well as of justice, to which the honor and integrity of the service, and the officers thereof, may, or should be, left as safely as the administration of

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justice and the infliction of punishment. There is no disgrace in the fact of being brought to trial before such a court. The disgrace consists in the *conviction* of the party tried of the culpable neglect of duty, inexcusable carelessness in the performance of duty, inefficiency, drunkenness, or whatever the charge may have been. An honorable acquittal should, and would, relieve the party concerned from all suspicion of blame, a suspicion that will inevitably attach, under present condtions, to any officer in the service connected with any serious accident, however innocent or praiseworthy his action may have been. The innocent have nothing to fear and much to gain by trial, the guilty should be tried.

In the state of sentiment of the service to-day, one frequently hears the remark that "courts-martial are organized to convict"; and, as the laws and customs of the Navy are carried out at the present time, there is unfortunately a fundamental truth in this saying, hardly contemplated by the founders of such courts. This would seem to be due, partly, to the fact that courts of inquiry largely perform functions that in many cases would be far better performed, both in the interest of the service and of the indivduals concerned, by courts-martial; and partly to the very existence of the sentiment spoken of, which causes those in authority to hesitate to bring offenders to trial by court-martial, until the offenses have become so flagrant that any other result than conviction is impossible. These two causes, in both of which are considerable elements of moral weakness, to use no stronger term, tend greatly to lower the dignity and respect in which courts-martial and their judgments should be held; and have, moreover, caused grave scandals in the past, left honorable names under undeserved stigma, and assisted many culpable offenders to escape just punishment.

The mere existence of the feeling that causes officers of the Navy to fight to the end against trial by court-martial, even in questions that would seem to me to directly and vitally affect their personal and professional honor and reputation, where acquittal by a competent court is the only vindication, is sufficient proof in itself that something is radically wrong.

That courts of inquiry, before which there is no accused and no defense, cannot vindicate character in the eyes of the service is self-evident, and has often been proved. That a stigma now remains in the minds of many on the name of any officer who has been tried, even when acquitted, is too well known to be questioned, and proves clearly that the system, as adminstered, has undermined the feeling

of trust and confidence in the justice and integrity of the various forms of naval courts which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of military discipline and efficiency.

This condition will continue so long as the service at large looks on a trial per se as a disgrace, refuses to attach the disgrace to those only who are proved guilty, and endeavors to make impersonal courts of inquiry do the duty of courts-martial where the honor and professional reputation of an officer is at stake, a proceeding, in the case of any great disaster or accident, that at best can only leave in the mind of the service the impression of a case of "not proven."

The honor of the service and of the individual officer should be as sensitive as the reputation of a woman, and no shadow of suspicion should rest upon either. Where there is a question, it should be proved beyond the cavil of a doubt, and the person declared innocent or guilty. In every case of unusual failure, great accident or disaster, there is always a doubt; and it is the right of the service and of the officers concerned to have this doubt cleared away.

Responsibility exists always, or naval discipline and efficiency ends. The commander of a fleet, squadron or vessel can no more lay aside his responsibility than he can his commission; and the responsibility for his command is with him always.

In cases of great achievement he alone is held responsible and reaps the reward; and through him only is reward and praise distributed to his subordinates.

In cases of failure, grave accident, or disaster, he is likewise always *primarily* responsible, though the responsibility may not be culpable; and the facts may even prove him to have been highly praiseworthy. It is due to him that these facts should be brought out and a clear and definite sentence pronounced by a competent court when there is no culpability; it is due the service at large when there is.

If these ideas are based on sound military principle, as they appear to me to be, I would like to condense them in a few simple questions, inviting answers and discussion in the Institute, that service opinion may be brought to bear to correct evils, if they exist:

1. Why should disgrace attach to the mere fact of being tried by court-martial?

2. Does not the disgrace consist entirely and solely in guilt and the convicton thereof?

3. Are there not often cases arising from accident, avoidable or otherwise, in which the professional honor and reputation of one or

more officers are attainted in the minds of their fellows, without ever having the question clearly settled by pronounced judgment?

4. Is it consonant with good military principles, and is it just to the innocent, to leave such cases to the indeterminate settlement of courts of inquiry, by which no final decision can be pronounced?

5. Cannot the existent dread in the Navy of trial by court-martial be overcome, and a sentiment cultivated of looking upon such courts as vindicators of innocence as much as punishers of guilt?

6. Is it the sense of the service, or conducive to military efficiency that the question of the innocence or guilt of officers who are prima facie responsibile for failures, accidents and disasters should be clearly and definitely settled for all time by a competent court? and does the naval system of courts as now constituted accomplish that end?

7. If they do not, and it must be admitted that errors and inconsistencies are sufficiently frequent to raise the question, what is the duty of the service at large in regard to endeavoring to correct the evil?

THE MOTHER OF NAVIES.*

A STUDY OF MEDITERRANEAN HISTORY IN THE HOMERIC POEMS.

It would be difficult to select a more complete and astonishing instance of our national apathy in important matters of original literary criticism than the strange indifference hitherto exhibited in this country towards the brilliant results at which M. Victor Bérard has arrived in his studies of Homeric geography and the Homeric poems. These results entirely revolutionize all previous theories, and give us new points of view from which either to consider one of the greatest creations of the human intellect, or to watch the development of one civilization after another round those coasts that were the cradle of the human race.

As far as I am aware, those writers to whom we are accustomed to look for authoritative guidance in Homeric literature have remained dumb while their dissertations have been demolished, like the frost in the full rays of sunshine. Save in one solitary instance,† the fact that M. Bérard has for many years been at work in Paris upon his illuminating treatise, does not seem to have been recognized at all, even by that larger literary world which can enjoy poetry without being pedantic, and read their Homer without troubling about the Scholiasts. It is as one of the humblest lovers of the ancient poem, which is being unintelligibly explained to thousands of boys and young men to-day, that I now give myself the rare pleasure of turning once more to its unforgotten pages, with a new light to guide me, a new thread to the enchanting labyrinth, and, perhaps, a new message to every Englishman who reads it in the future.

So gladly, from the songs of modern speech
Men turn, and see the stars, and feel the free
Shrill wind beyond the close of heavy flowers,
And through the music of the languid hours
They hear like Ocean on a western beach
The surge and thunder of the Odyssey.

*Reprinted by permission of the Leonard Scott Pub. Co., the American publishers of the *Fortnightly Review*.

†Mr. Morton Fullerton, in the *Cornhill Magazine* some years ago.

Dr. Arthur J. Evans, in the most important and interesting address just delivered at Cambridge, gave a short sketch of the results arrived at by the excavations at Knossos, in Crete. He suggests an antiquity of some 12,000 years for the earliest neolithic settlement on that most ancient site. The first beginnings of the culture styled Minoan he places not later than the middle of the fourth millennium before our era, while the relics of 1100 B. C. are the relics of Minoan decadence. It followed from this fact that the use of the word "Mycenæan," as the characteristic title of a certain period of civilization, required radical revision, inasmuch as the culture of Mycenae now appeared, in its main features, to be merely a late and subsidiary feature of the great style connected with those successive dynasties of Cretan priest-kings, the tradition of which has taken abiding form in the name of Minos. I must be content to note the enormous extension of time here suggested for the growth of "preliminary" Mediterranean civilization, and to ask, with all respect, how long rival archæologists, who have lost their "Mycenaean" epoch, will permit the age now called "Minoan" to endure. M. Bérard observes that every contribution to exact knowledge made by such work as that of Dr. Evans and Mr. Hogarth, is a valuable indicaton of the various strata into which Mediterranean historical deposits should be divided. He has no love for archæologists; but he is far from neglecting the significance of the facts they bring to light.

It is for his sane, human, broad-minded attitude to facts that I would chiefly recommend M. Victor Bérard to the enjoyment of the general. He knows what the work of the specialist is worth, and he uses its results, but he is one of the most brilliantly successful opponents of the specialist's usual method. He would unite the qualifications of the philologist, the antiquary, the poetic critic, and the Homeric scholar with those of the geographer, the historian, the sailor, and the man of common-sense. He recognizes that each of these may contribute something of value, but that none can singly achieve perfection. Endowed with that exquisitely lucid style which has made the language of Voltaire the language of the exact mathematician, M. Bérard has applied to his investigations those principles of historical research which have produced in the Ecole des Chartes the only true school of history in the world. His book is called *The Phœnicians and the Odyssey*,* but it is really a study of the prehistoric Mediterranean for which the Homeric poems have provided an excuse. From the development of his theme it results that what has

**Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssey*, 2 Vols., Armand Colin, Paris, 1903.

hitherto been considered a fairyland of poetic imagination can now for the first time be realized as a rarely beautiful, and rarely faithful, record of real voyages and of actual places. The land of the Lotus-Eaters, the island of Calypso, the cave of the Cyclops, the Palace of Nausicaa—all these no longer are the airy figments of a delicate imagination amidst which, as in some unsubstantial dreamland, an unreal Odysseus wandered aimlessly in mythical confusion. Each island, each harbor, each rivulet, may now be recognized. That long-buried Mediterranean life has at last given up its secrets. The mystery of the Odyssey is ours, and with this key we, too, may wander—

> Lulled by the song of Circe and her wine,
> In gardens near the Pale of Proserpine,
> Where that Aegean isle forgets the main.

Great things have often small beginnings, and the acorn of M. Bérard's oak is a method so simple that it is now almost incredible no one should have succeeded with it before. He began by believing that every word in Homer, except the obviously rhythmic repetitions, had a definite meaning, and was used for a definite purpose. Text in hand, he went to sea, sometimes in a small boat, sometimes in a larger vessel, and he looked at the Mediterranean coasts from the waters of the Mediterranean itself. Two simpler things can scarcely be imagined, and few more trenchant critcisms of modern methods can well be formulated than the bare statement that these things are new in modern Homeric research. We have heard so much of "otiose epithets," "fanciful exaggerations," "obvious interpolations," or "unintelligible archaisms," that the actual words our poet did use have been obscured in mists of scholastic argument. Even when various sites have been suggested and examined by various editors, the "point of view" has always been that of the land-traveler, the man who works on shore with a big classical atlas, or, perhaps, a survey.

M. Bérard took a very different course. He worked up and down the coasts of the oldest inland sea in a sailing-boat, got his information from the "Nautical Instructions" served out to pilots by the French Admiralty of to-day, and worked back through the logs of eighteenth-century mariners towards the earliest sea-literature discoverable, and so to the first traces of sea-voyagers in the waters where the first voyages of mankind were made.

The Homeric poems have helped to explain some results of archæological research, and in a few cases the reverse process has been possible. But tested by the modern charts of twentieth-century navigation, the Odyssey will do far more; for it is a geographical

document of the highest interest, and of astonishing accuracy; line by line, and word by word, its descriptons of harbors, coasts, and cities can be tested by the details known in every captain's cabin. The passages which have hitherto attained the highest reputation as being the results of the most picturesque imagination, are just those which adhere most faithfully to the facts. M. Bérard gives many instances of this; and the land of Scheria and the island of Calypso furnish his most convincing proofs. The charts and sailing directions now in the hands of French and English mariners are directly descended from the older "Portulans," "Pilots' Guides," "Mirrors of the Sea," or "Flambeaux de la Mer," which guided our forefathers. One of the French "Instructions" is deliberately and admittedly copied from our own "Mediterranean Pilot," published in 1885, and used by the Italians as well. The various "Thalassocraties" of the Mediterranean are faithfully reflected in the nationality of its guidebooks, for the Masters of the Sea in every century were the editors of that century's sea-literature. It was so during the French supremacy. In the eighteenth century the King's pilot, Henri Michelot, was the author, whether acknowledged or not, of every pilot's guide upon the coasts. During the seventeenth century a similar process is observable, for then it was the Dutch "Mirrors de la Mer" which everybody read. These latter, in turn, were taken from Spanish or Italian treatises, which were based on classical works of navigation used by the sailors of the Roman Empire, and by the later Greeks. And so we get to the "Periploi" of Himilco or of Hanno, which was reproduced by Ramusio in 1558, and which was itself no doubt the fruit of far anterior voyages made by Phoenicians, Egyptians, and yet older races.

It was one of these ancient Phoenician log-books that Homer used. His fidelity to his authorities is such that, with the French "Instructions Nautiques" we can follow every epithet he uses; and with a chart of the sea-coast, and photographs of the sites, we can see every detail of the landscape he describes. The *Odyssey,* in fact, masterpiece of construction as it will always remain, is not a fairy tale; it is a magnificently poetic treatment of essential facts. Its unity of method is Hellenic in the highest sense, utilitarian if you will, and, above all, true. The advice of Circe to Odysseus might have been followed by any Greek sailor who passed the Straits of Messene after he had read his Homer; and they must be followed to this day by any small sailing-boat that would fare safely past the perils of Scylla and Charybdis.

M. Bérard's general conclusions as to sources, authorship, locality, and age of the *Odyssey* will be better appreciated after a few of his details have been considered. But it may at once be said that his industrious and penetrating use of the method now first practically tested has produced results which are of far wider importance to students of Mediterranean history than even his interesting conclusions with regard to the *Odyssey* itself. The plan on which he works has been suggested before by at least two great writers; but to M. Bérard alone is due the praise for having first proved what that plan, faithfully carried out, could actually achieve. Hirschfeld urged the foundation of a "Science of Sites" (Histor. and Philolog. Aufsätze. Berlin, 1884), which would not merely investigate the appearance, the relative situation, the routes, and the disadavantages of various places, but would connect these with the history of their inhabitants at different epochs. In such a study it will be obvious that certain natural laws would be found invariably to condition the civilization of the inhabitants, so that in certain periods of time a site might be useless as a port, and at other periods of time a town might flourish as a market. And Curtius, too (Topographie und Mythologie, Rhein. Mus., 1895), demanded when the Greek historian would leave the shelves of the museum and go out upon the soil of Hellas to study what Greece herself could teach him. "Topography alone," he wrote, "will lead us to a just conception of the respective *roles* of Orientals and of Hellenes in the primitive Mediterranean."

A new name, as is only right, is given by M. Bérard to this new science, and he calls it "Topology." By its means he explains the history of a place, and explains the causes of that history as no one else has done before; its position, its prosperity, its decay, are due, he shows, to deep, enduring forces, not to accident. For instance, in pre-Hellenic days, in the voyages described by Homer, the capitals of the Asiatic Archipelago are all situated with their backs to Athens —are all facing eastwards. But Lindos, Kamiros, and Ialysos passed into inevitable decay, when the tide of commerce, as of empire, set towards the west, and Rhodes became the island capital of Hellenic history. In the same way the dominion of various races has as great an influence in its day as a particular current of commercial activity has upon contemporary life. The dominion of a far-off stranger reveals itself by the occupation of Gibraltar without possession of Spain; by holding Aden without penetrating Arabia; by seizing upon coaling stations instead of unprotected commercial ports. These are its modern results. They are but the modern reproductions of ex-

actly similar results throughout the centuries. Phœnicians, who wanted seaside markets, occupied safe islands off the coasts. Greeks, who wanted cornfields for the colonists, went further inland.

There are certain geographical or geological conditions which no Power in the Mediterranean could ever afford to disregard, and a comparison of her ports with those of the Atlantic will at once suggest a vital difference in the two seacoasts. Lisbon, Bordeaux, Nantes, Antwerp, London, Hamburg, are all set at the mouth of rivers, the Tagus, the Garonne, the Loire, the Scheldt, the Thames, the Elbe. But such a situation is impossible on such tideless coasts as those of the Mediterranean. Marseilles is as near the Rhone as it dares; Leghorn is near the Arno, Miletus near the Meander, Alexandria near the Nile. Every Mediterranean river brings down such masses of alluvial deposit, none of which is washed away by tides, that a delta is formed, and countless sandbars soon stop navigation. The mouths of the Rhone and of the Nile are, of course, the best instances, and the history of each river has been profoundly conditioned by these natural causes. The gradual processes of Nature may, in fact, be traced as much in the history of these river-towns as in the sands that have encroached upon the sea and smothered so many seaports in the Gulf of Lyons. Even where this danger is not visible, the perils of an open sea haunted by corsairs have had the same effect. In the old days of the Duchy of Brittany, when pirates were at large along the coast, her greatest towns were built at the farthest point up-stream touched by the tide. But now the sea is policed and safe. So Dinan, Treguier, Lannion, Marlaix, Quimper, Hennebout, and Nantes have fallen into decay, and in their place have risen those flourishing seaports of Saint-Malo, Paimpol, Brest, Concarneau, Lorient, Quiberon, and Saint-Nazaire. If future centuries should find no records of a ruined Cherbourg, they might yet infer that a town without a river in that isolated bay could have had no reason for existence save as a great military center, and that with the advent of Universal Peace it naturally decayed and died. We may similarly imagine future historians studying the relics of English supremacy in a Mediterranean which they will know under another Power. They will recognize at Malta or Gibraltar the same kind of docks that we have built at Aden or at Singapore. They will find remnants of the same life that we have left at Port Said, at Cyprus, or in the Suez Canal. Beneath the English "stratum" they will come upon evidence of French dominion in the eighteenth century, from Algiers to the Caucasus, from Beyrout to Marseilles; and so they will dig

downwards past Italian and Venetian fossils to the old red sandstone of the Arab, to the tertiary rocks of Greece and Rome, to the oolitic deposits of Phoenicia and Egypt.

Throughout this process there will be many different symbols to guide the bold investigator. Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Malaga, betray their Phoenician origin. Nauplia, Seleucia, Alexander, Agde, preserve the syllables of Greece. In Valentia and Cesarea are revealed the language of Imperial Rome. Place-names are notoriously deceptive; so we may add other words, that have lasted from old days of commerce to modern Mediterranean markets, as *sac, vin, thon, aloés;* and only by combining all these various traces with a knowledge of the sea itself can we explain the Hellenic Homer of a Phoenician Odysseus, the Greek poet of a state of society previous to that for which he writes.

We must also realize something of the ships and of the manner of life of the Phoenician mariners. Their undecked boats, open save for a little platform at the stem and stern, had a mast amidships and a simple mainsail, with its essential rigging made of hide. Seven knots an hour was the maximum speed attained. At night the crew could only sleep on board if they stayed in the same posture as when rowing, for there was no room to lie down at full length. This was one reason why they always landed to sleep, whenever it was possible to do so. And in bad weather the cavern on the well known island was an indispensable refuge, for shelter from rain, for making unseen fire, for storing provisons and merchandise, which might be buried until the return voyage if necessary.

The Phoenicians brought with them manufactured products, bronze weapons, dyed tissue. They took away provisions of all sorts, grain, meat, fruit, oil, wine, and wood for building to repair the frequent gaps in a commercial navy that was constantly being worn out by the sea-beaches up which the ship was pulled at night. Time and patience were needed for their voyages, and they never hurried, cruising from cape to cape, sheltering from every squall, harboring throughout the darkness. This involved the knowledge of thousands of convenient "stations" or halting-places upon every coast; and it implied a long stay of months, sometimes of years, at favorable markets. These halts had a definite influence upon the continental populations among whom the foreign traders lived. That influence was strengthened in various ways by the commerce in women, which was the most constant trade of all, and which lasted from the days when the daughter of Arybas of Tyre (*Od.* xv., 425) was carried off—*καλή τε μεγαλή τε*

—to the adventures of that beautiful Maltese which the corsair Paul Lucas so sympathetically describes in 1695.

An island was preferable for these early navigators, because a favorable wind could immediately be caught and used; whereas in the deep, mainland harbors of modern traffic a long and weary spell of rowing would be necessary before the sails could be put up. It was not the modern port of Smyrna that the Phoenicians loved. They preferred Clazomenæ, or Phocæa, where the promontories gave immediate access to the open sea, just as a coastwise island would have done. An island would have had the additional advantage of providing water supply and forage safer from any considerable hindrance than was likely from the larger populations of the mainland. A desert, uninhabited island was even better, such as the lonely Strophades to the south of Zante. The rock of Delos owed its shrine and fortunes to the springs that sailors loved, and for which they made their sacrifices of thank-offering to the gods. Hong Kong and Macao are modern parallels of similar necessities. A quiet, verdant island in a channel between two main coasts is the best position of all for this primitive commerce, partly because it gives a double market for your wares, partly because nearly every passer-by must stop, for navigation is not always easy when sailing through a strait. If an island, so situated, had green trees and a sandy beach, it became ideal, for the existence of a spring and of a hill above it (as a watch-tower) may be taken for granted. Of such islands the Mediterranean is full. M. Bérard has studied them as carefully as any Phoenician mariner. He has shown that a constant succession of Sea-Powers has dominated this inland sea; that each Power has in turn left track of its dominion, in its police arrangements, its routes of commerce, its special "Pilot's Guides," that our present Navigating Instructions are the direct descendants of the Phoenician "Periploi," or Notes for Phoenician Mariners; finally, that the *Odyssey* was founded on a Phoenician "Pilot's Guide."

In the space at my disposal it would be scarcely fair to M. Bérard to give abbreviated examples of his various discoveries; of his proofs that the land of the Lotus-Eaters is the harbor of Marsa-el-Tiffa (the Port of Apples) on the island of Djerba in the Syrtes off the north coast of Africa; that the land of Polyphemus and the island on which Odysseus went ashore is Nisita (or Nesida), which is Porto Pavone, close to the Bay of Naples; but I cannot avoid, even at the risk of possible injustice, giving a slight sketch of his identification of the harbors of the Phaeacian king and the palace of Nausicaa. It must serve as a type of his processes in many other cases.

Sailing on his raft from the island of Calypso, and keeping the constellation of the Bear upon his left, Odysseus voyaged seventeen days until a tempest came upon him, wherein "the East Wind and the South Wind clashed, and the stormy West, and the North that is born in the bright air, rolling onward a great wave."*

After terrible experiences the hero is washed ashore upon the coasts of Corfu. A careful study of Homer's exact words enables M. Bérard to fix the citadel of Alcinous, the Phaeacian King, and the palace where Nausicaa, his daughter, dwelt. Their island, we are told, is at the end of the civilized world, the last island of the "grain-eaters." Counting the time given for navigation in the poem, we find it to be about a hundred kilometres from Ithaca, and seventeen days (and nights) from the Straits of Gibraltar, which gives about the right distance, at a pace of about five or six miles an hour for the raft. Corfu was called Scheria, because that word is only an epithet of Corcyra, which was so named for a very good reason. It was "the Island of the Black Cruiser *ναὺς Θοὴ μέλαινα*, and Scheria is derived from a Hebrew word, meaning black. It was distinguished by this name, because upon its northeast coast, facing the Adriatic passage, there is a characteristically shaped rock, which seems the petrified image of a boat, with sails and rigging spread, and her little skiff towed astern behind her. It is called the "Boat Rock," and modern Greeks still name it "Karavi," the Boat. It was a notable landmark for the ancient sailing-ships, and it had its legend already in the days of Pliny: "A Phalacro Corcyrae promontorio, scopulus in quem mutatam Ulyssis navem a simili specie fabula est." This

* It has been suggested that so long a voyage on a raft was an exaggeration. In 1899 Captain Blackburn, of Massachusetts, crossed the Atlantic in a 30-foot cutter, and in 1878 Captain Andrews used a tinier vessel still. In 1887 the Homeward Bound, a boat 20 feet long by 7 feet beam, reached Dover from Port Natal in South Africa. Finally, in 1897, two Norwegians rowed a boat from New York to the Scilly Islands in two months. The raft of Odysseus, which Dr. Warre has explained and reconstructed, was quite capable of a smaller voyage than these, in more protected waters. Nor is Odysseus' swim upon a plank, for two days without food or drink, any exaggeration of what human nature can accomplish in a supreme struggle for life. We have but just seen that men are prepared to swim the English Channel and to stay in the sea twenty hours, unsupported by any plank, in their attempt. But when life is in the balance far greater efforts can be made, without any nourishment, provided the man has something to hold him up in the water. In December, 1900, an English stoker named Whiteway was wrecked in the steamer Rosgull between Jersey and Guernsey, and clung to a plank for forty-three hours, though suffering tortures from cramp, until he was rescued by the lighthouse keeper at Carteret.

is, indeed, the "black ship" in which the Phaeacians brought Odysseus back to Ithaca:—

"... ἀλλ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύυνομεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν..."

And on her return from her voyage, as "she drew near, the seafaring ship lightly sped upon her way. Then nigh her came the shaker of the earth, Poseidon, and he smote her into stone, and rooted her far below with the down-stroke of his hand. . . ."

"... λίθου ἐγγύθι γαίης
νηὶ θοῇ ἴπελον..."

This rock, then, will be near the harbor of Alcinous, for the Phaeacians saw their black cruiser smitten into stone on the horizon, and we must remember that this harbor would be different to any port used by modern ships, and that it is described in detail by Nausicaa. "There is a fair haven on either side of the town, and narrow is the entrance, and curved ships are drawn up on either hand of the mole, for all the folk have stations for their vessels, each man one for himself." After careful cruising to and fro along the coast of Corfu, always keeping the "Boat Rock" on his horizon, M. Bérard found that his French Hydrographic Chart, No. 3052, an exact copy of the English chart, gave careful drawings of two little bays, called Port Alipa and Port San Spiridione, divided by a little peninsula with a terminal, conical rock. The situation is of the kind we have already noted as especially favored by the Phoenician mariners. In Port Alipa, which has a mouth only 300 meters wide, the coast is divided by rocks into many little compartments, where "all the folk (might) have stations for their vessels, each man for himself," and the shore is fringed with soft sand. The isthmus joining the peninsula to the mainland is flat, and here is "the place of assembly about the goodly temple of Poseidon, furnished with heavy stones deep-bedded in the earth. There men look to the gear of the black ships, hawsers, and sails, and there they fine down the oars" (*Od.* vi., 266).

From here you may walk up the sloping hill to the mountain-island, which held the palace of Alcinous, and from its summit you may see the ring of lofty hills that overshadow it from the mainland.

"... μέγα δ' ἦμιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφιπαλυψειν" (*Od. xiii: 177*).

By these "the Phaeacians" are cut off from all intercourse with their neighbors on Corfu, as their little rocky harbor protects them from the attack of strange pirates at sea. Steep are the cliffs from the palace of Alcinous towards the harbors on each side of it, but towards

the water a hewn path leads down the promontory's southern side. Word by word you may follow, on the ground itself, the details given in the *Odyssey*. The palace stood on the same platform where are now the ruins of the Chapel of St. George. On your left, as you look out to sea, is Port Alipa; on your right Port San Spiridione, with Palaio Castrizza upon a little rocky peninsula, just like that which held the palace of Alcinous. It is covered with a marvelous garden of almond trees, pears, vines, cherry trees, apples, and plum trees. Shall we find any mention of this fertility in Homer, too? It would be likely that seafaring men, whose love of gardens is traditional, should have cultivated these sheltered coasts; and so, indeed, they did, for the *Odyssey* tells us of "a great garden, of four ploughgates and a hedge runs round either side. And there grow tall trees, blossoming pear trees and pomegranates, and apple trees with bright fruit, and sweet figs, and olives in their bloom . . . pear upon pear waxes old, and apple on apple, yea, and cluster ripens upon cluster of the grape. . . ." Within the monastery is still perceived the remains of a vast cetacean, some monster of the deep cast on the rocks in a tempest of 1830. Even of this we hear the echo, as of some far-off predecessor, in the *Odyssey*. "I fear," cries the hero, as he is buffeted by the sea, "I fear lest the storm-winds catch me again and bear me over the heaving deep, making heavy moan; or else some god may even send forth against me a monster from out of the shore-water; and many such pastureth the renowned Amphitrite" (*Od.* v., 420).

But our search for details is not yet over. "A great wave," we are told, "bore Odysseus to the rugged shore" of the point where first he landed on the territory of the Phaeacians; "but again with backward wash it leapt on him and smote him, and cast him forth into the deep. And as when the cuttlefish is dragged forth from his chamber, the many pebbles clinging to his suckers, even so was the skin stripped from his strong hand against the rocks." At last "he came in his swimming over against the mouth of a fair-flowing river . . . smooth of rocks, and, withal, there was a cover from the wind." This is the little river of Ropa, which flows towards the bay of Ermonais, where you may see on either side the rocks that flayed the swimmer's hands, and the mouth of the river "smooth of rocks," and sheltered from the wind. Here is the wood above the river to which he went for the night; and here the olives beneath which he slept while Nausicaa and her maidens drove hither across the plain from the palace to wash her linen on the rocks that make bright pools of fresh water in the last few hundred yards of stream-

before the river falls into the sea. Here, too, is the firm sandy beach on which the princess played at ball with her attendant maidens, until their singing roused the hero from his sleep. Here is the route by which she drove back home, while Odysseus followed behind her with the maidens, along the level road that exists to-day through the Ropa valley. She had risen early, and she had chosen the best spot possible, though it was a two hours' journey, for the Phaeacian mariners were a folk who loved clean linen as all sailors have ever done, and are willing to take trouble to get it. "Les terriens," says M. Bérard, in a delightful bit of picturesqueness which I will not even alter by translation, "ne font pas tout de manières. Je me représente les Achéens sous les espèces d'Albanais splendidement crasseux, chargés d'or, de broderies, et de taches de graisse, fleurant l'huile rance et le beurre de chèvre—tels qu'on les voit encore débarquer sur les quais de Corfou ou monter à bord des navires européens, dont la propreté les émerveille. Ils sont vêtus de feutres ou de tissus de laine qui servent une vie d'homme. Les Phéaciens portent du lin blanc, bien lavé, empesé, repassé, tuyauté, qu'il faut sans cesse envoyer au lavage. Or, les lavoirs sont très loin de la ville. . . ."

It was evening as Odysseus reached "the fair grove of Athene, a poplar grove near the road," where the prudent Princess bade him linger until she had seen her father. You may linger in it to-day, "near the road," that skirts Port Alipa, and with the one exception of the famous gardens, already described on Palaio-Castrizza, it is the greenest spot in all "Phaeasia." Close to it is the spring in the meadow of which Nausicaa spoke, the only spring in all the bay of Liapadais, which never fails in good fresh water; and from it you may see the city of the Phaeacians, and the house of Alcinous. "It is easily known," says Nausicaa, "and a young child could be thy guide."

So we find that Homer has been absolutely accurate in geographical details; and that as he made the pinnacles near Nesida into the rocks the Cyclops hurled, so he has made the "Black Ship Rock," Karavi, into the ship of the Phaeacians which Poseidon petrified in his wrath that they had helped Odysseus. He had the facts before him, and out of them he composed his picture like the true poet that he was.

Using similarly patient methods, M. Bérard indentifies the place where the sacred kine of the sun were sacrilegiously slain, as close to Cape Schiso, the southern point of the bay of Taormina, where the first Hellenic colonists in 750 B. C. founded a temple to Apollo Archegetes, and the town called Naxos, on the same site as the Phoeni-

cians had used for their harbor and their temple of the sun. The long cliff that slopes northwards to Taormina was called Tauros, and gave its name to Tauromenium, and it does not need much imagination to see in the same word a remembrance of those "sacred kine," whose descendants may still be found through all that countryside. The island of Calypso, again, is Perejil, on the north-west coast of Africa, to the west of Apes' Hill, which is Atlas . . . ἀμφὶ δέ λειμῶνες μαλακοὶ ἴου ἠδὲ σελίνου . . . the selinum of the Greeks, the *petroselinum* of the Romans, the *persil* of the French, the *perejil* of the Spanish, who gave its name to the island that is still covered with fenel or sea-parsley, and that is hidden (παλυπτη) beneath the slopes of Calypso's father, Atlas, the highest hill opposite to the rock of Calpe, on the other side of Gibraltar's straits. The various Homeric details here worked out on the spot are especially interesting and delightful, and leave no doubt in the reader's mind that "Ogygia" has at last been found.

I might add his identifications of the Palace of Circe with the ruins at Feronia, near Terracina, or of the Island of the Syrens with Castellucia, in the Bay of Amalfi, on the southern side of the Sorrentine Peninsula; but enough has already been indicated to suggest some of the conculsions to which this original and industrious author must have come with regard to the sources of the poem, the processes of the poet, and the age and birthplace of his work. Even from what has been suggested about the island of Calypso alone, it is clear that the poem was contemporary with the sea-dominion of Phoenicians, who had already come in contact with Hellenic populations; and it must be evident, also, that the poem is based upon the "Pilot's Guide," which these Phoenicians used.

One of the most brilliant of our original scholars, only lately dead, wrote his most delightful treatise to show that Nausicaa was the authoress of the *Odyssey;* and it was Mr. Butler's private opinion that the birthplace of the poem was in Magna Graecia. That M. Bérard disagrees with these opinions is no proof that he desires to be even more original in his conclusions, for his work leads him to disagree just as strongly with such theories of folklore and fairy-stories as those of Mr. Andrew Lang. After a study of the text and of the places it describes, which neither of these critics could have claimed to make, M. Bérard formulates certain theories which may provide our final view of him in these pages.

The sources, as has been sufficiently emphasized, were the logs of Phoenician mariners. The very contradictions noticed by critical landsmen show this point all the more clearly. Ithaca could only be

"low-lying," Χθαμαλή, in the eyes of those who saw it from the sea, and compared it with "lofty" Cephallonia. Monte Circeo is an "island" only to the mariner. Cume is ὑπερεία, "lofty," only to one who disembarks upon its beach. The accuracy of such "seascapes" is only equalled by the vagueness of Homeric landscape further inland. Only in such an instance as the "Land of Eyes," had the mariners sufficiently satisfied themselves about the volcanoes to be able to describe them minutely. The "Pilot's Guides" of modern days will be found to exhibit accuracy and vagueness in exactly the same directions, and for the same reasons. As of the sailors who used them so of Homer, too, it might be said:

> J'ai vu les ouvriers du large et ses bohèmes,
> J'ai chanté leurs refrains et vécu leurs poèmes,
> Et tu verras ici des vers, en maint endroit,
> Lesquels furent rythmés au claquement des voiles,
> Cependant que j'étais de quart sur mon suroit,
> Le dos contre la barre et l'œil dans les étoiles.

It is noticeable, too, that where Homer's descriptions differ from Hellenic facts, it is because Odysseus sails in a Phoenician sea, where merchants chose a harbor for their passing needs, whereas the later Greeks chose permanent abodes for colonists. The very language and method of the *Odyssey* betrays its Phoenician sources. "Before" and "Behind" for East and West, the "houses" of the Dawn or of the Sun, the "pillars" of the world, the constant recurrence of the Semitic number seven, which is used alone, or alternately with the Hellenic number ten, and is found in the Seven gates of the Western Sea, each warded by its special guardian. The list of terrifying monsters with which the crafty Phoenician sailors carefully frightened other mariners from following their path is reproduced throughout the *Odyssey*. In all ages this jealousy has been the same. When a Roman captain once followed a foreign ship beyond Gades, to discover how she sailed, the Phoenician pilot ran upon a rock, and drew his follower to the same destruction rather than reveal his course. The Venetians, the Portuguese, the Dutch, each, as their turn came for maritime supremacy, were just as anxious to preserve the secret of their commercial routes.

In his use of these early "periploi," the personification, the anthropomorphism of the poet has been noticed in the volcano, Polyphemus; in Perejil, Calypso; in the mountain, Atlas; and the explanation of such well-known natural objects as the petrified ship of the Phaeacians, or the needles of Nesida, will be equally remembered. A human interest has, in fact, been added to what was at first merely a

geographical enumeration, yet the accuracy of the one has not been sacrificed to the imagination of the other. The poet who could do this represents, not the infancy, but the maturity, of a definite school of art. The *Odyssey* is not the first νόστος—the first poem on the return of a hero from afar. But it is the finest, and it is the only one that has survived, because it was recognized as the definite and final portrait of Odysseus, made by a single master-hand. The thrice-dead theories of Wolf and all his disintegrating notions of a collection of folk-poems are slain again and again in M. Bérard's convincing pages. Oral tradition does not improve a poem. It debases it. The *Odyssey* was written at a time when writing was known, as Phidias, having mastered his tools and methods, smote out of the marble that had existed long before him the definitive and final realization of the dreams that had existed, too, but that had never before been realized. Cretan discoveries have shown that ordinary fluent script, quite separate from the official letters of inscriptions, was known and practiced far earlier than Wolf and his disciples imagined; and it was upon a basis of sailors' logs, so written, that Homer wrote his work.

The date when he wrote it must be before the foundation of Syracuse, in 735, for by then the Phoenician sea supremacy had already given way to the young Hellenic colonies. Another date we may infer from the fact that Hyperia, which is Cume, is spoken of as having been already founded and already ruined; that is, the first Phoenician town, before the Cume of the Greeks; and these Greek settlers received, and believed, the date of that earlier foundation as what corresponds to our year 1049 B. C. Between these dates lies the probable "first edition" of the *Odyssey*. The Cretan discoveries have clearly established the synchronism of "Greek" and Egyptian history from the sixteenth to the ninth centuries before Christ; and when the earlier Egyptian influence waned, its effects were prolonged by later Phoenician commerce which only weakened at the time of the foundation of Syracuse. It was during that period of Phoenician commerce, and in the full flower of the society it created, that Homer wrote. This would give us from 900 to 850 B. C. as his date, and this is the date which Herodotus suggests for him.

Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae, every schoolboy knows the line that commemorates the rivalry of every city for the honor of claiming to be Homer's birthplace. Clearly, if our date be right, it necessarily involves that he was a citizen of the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, where the different dialects of neighboring inhabitants reflect themselves in the "mixed speech" of

verses which there, and there alone, could secure a perfect sympathy for so many different turns of phrase and idioms of dialect. To speak of Euboea as "far-off" . . *τήν περ τηλοτάτω φάσ' ἔμμεναι* . . . is to speak from the coastline of Asia Minor, from which it is the last island to the west. There are many other indications of the same geographical standpoint. The portraits of women sketched in the Homeric poem are another significant suggestion; Helen, Adromache, Nausicaa, Penelope, painted in few touches, yet so rarely done that they remain eternal types of queenly womanhood—these would not have been intelligible to "the ordinary reader." They were drawn for an audience of the *élite*, for the ladies of some luxurious court, whose ancestors traced back to Glaucus, to Neleus, to Nestor, as Herodotus tells us. Such a society was to be found at Miletus, where lived Thales, the first Ionic philosopher, an off-shoot of those Cadmean (that is, Phoenician) families who were renowned throughout the cities of Asia Minor. *Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου*, says Herodotus, *τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος*. At that great bazaar of Anatolia, the common market-place of Cilician, Phoenician, and Egyptian merchants, of whom the Cadmean and the Hellenic aristocracy of Ionia alike bought their farings, it is most probable that Homer produced his Hellenic poem of the sailing of Odysseus through Phoenician seas.

After ten years of toil and of adventure, Odysseus won back to home and to Penelope. A similar period of labor has at length been crowned by the publication of M. Bérard's researches on the *Odyssey*. May the Goddess who protected the ancient hero never forget to shelter the modern author from his critics, perhaps from his admirers, too. It is not only for his various discoveries in Homeric geography, far too briefly sketched here, that I have tried to show cause for my admiration of him. It is even more for his wonderful evocation of past histories in that sea of history, the Mediterranean, for his illuminating parallels between the days described by Homer and more modern periods. The episode of the Phoenician nurse, who was carried off by pirates, as described in the fifteenth book of the *Odyssey*, provides one of the most delightful instances of M. Bérard's picturesque method and of his thoroughly national appreciation of all that is involved. If, on this side alone, his volumes make their appeal to English historians, these lines of recommendation will not have been written in vain. To express the hope that the theory of the *Odyssey* now developed will equally appeal to English authorities on that poem is perhaps to betray a too sanguine anticipation. But there are some who care for these things apart from philol-

ogy, or solar myths, apart from antiquarianism, apart from any hobby of the specialist; and these—the great body of the lovers of Homer for his own sake—will be grateful to M. Bérard that he has at last given to the Greek poet the interpretation of a man, the understanding of the widest sympathies, the enlightenment of sane common sense.

Only by one who loved the sea as much, by one who knew its coasts as well, could rightly be interpreted "the surge and thunder of the Odyssey"; for Homer wrote not for the philologist, or for the narrow specialist, but for the world wherever the sea-breezes blow and his song—

> "men liken to the sea,
> With every note of music in its tone,
> With tides that wash the dim dominion
> Of Hades, and light waves that laugh in glee
> Around the isles enchanted. . . . ."

And one of the greatest of his gifts to us, as M. Bérard has at last shown, is his true tale of that most ancient sea, the Mother of the Navies of the World.

THEODORE ANDREA COOK.

REVIEW OF THE WAR IN THE PYRENEAN PENINSULA, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO MASSENA'S CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL AND THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS.

Translated from the German by STANISLAUS REMAK, *late first lieutenant, Fifth U. S. Artillery.*

AFTER the capitulations of Baylen and Cintra, and the retreat of the French troops behind the Ebro, the situation of the French on the Pyrenean peninsula had become a very unfavorable one.† On this account Napoleon, in the fall of 1808, sent two hundred thousand of his best troops, under a number of prominent leaders, to Spain, and what was most important, personally placed himself at their head. The Spaniards, who, rendered over-confident in consequence of the capitulation of Baylen, had contemplated the adventurous plan of surrounding and capturing Napoleon with his powerful army of veterans as readily as they had overcome Dupont, were everywhere beaten and dispersed. On the 7th November they sustained a heavy reverse at the hands of Lefebvre at Durango; on the 11th November they were beaten by Victor and Lefebvre at Espinosa, and again, on the 23d of the same month, by Lannes at Tudela. On the 30th November occurred the celebrated forcing of the pass of Somasierra by the Polish Ulans of the Guard under Dautencourt and Krasinski, and, on the 4th December, Madrid was compelled to succumb to the mercy of the victor.

In the meantime the English, to the number of thirty thousand under Sir John Moore, had entered Spain and, on the 21st December, were in the neighborhood of Sahagun. The well-laid plan of Napoleon to cut them off by a movement around their left flank was frustrated by adverse weather and bad roads. They escaped the trap, and, pursued by Marshal Soult, retired with loss to Coruna, where, on the 16th January, 1809, occurred the battle in which the brave Sir John Moore fell. Both sides claimed the victory. The English

†The writer of this review refers to Thiers, Sarrazin, Jonas, Rigel, and the military encyclopædia of Von der Lüke, as his authorities.

succeeded, at all events, in effecting their embarkation without too great sacrifice. Coruna capitulated on the 20th, and Ferrol on the 27th January, whereby a large quantity of arms and great stores of supplies, left behind by the English, fell into the hands of the French. Soult thereupon penetrated Portugal, while Ney, after the destruction of a Spanish corps under La Romana (known through his remarkable flight with his army corps out of Jutland in August, 1808), sought to subjugate Galicia. In the northeast, Gouvion St. Cyr overcame the Spaniards on the Lobregat on the 17th December, and thereby effected the relief of General Duhesme in Barcelona. On the 13th January, Marshal Victor defeated the Spaniards at Uclas in the vicinity of Cuenza. On the 21st December, Saragossa was once more besieged, and the city surrendered on the 21st January, 1809, after one of the most famous defenses known to history, in connection with which the enduring bravery and skill of the victors is also entitled to the highest praise.

Although Napoleon had already left Spain on the 24th January, 1809, the French are accustomed to refer to this entire campaign up to March as *la campagne de l'empéreur,* and not without reason, for everywhere the personal and energetic supervision of the emperor himself can be perceived. The capital and many important places are taken and secured, the Spaniards suffer a succession of reverses and capitulations, and the English are driven into the sea. And yet the success was but an incomplete and fallacious one, for the conquest of the Spanish people had not been attained. It can well be fancied that if Napoleon had not now been occupied with the war with Austria he might eventually, through the employment of the enormous resources which stood him at hand and by taking the leadership in person, have succeeded in the subjection of Spain, while we must not at the same time lose sight of the consideration that the better part of the nation could not be regardless of the undoubted superiority of the new government over that which had preceded it. It must appear to us as a sad fate for Spain now, that its energetic people should have been destined to bring to a successful termination such a gigantic contest and at such immense sacrifice to establish upon the throne a prince like Ferdinand VII.; that this people, which then defended itself with such enthusiasm against the king and government which it was sought to impose upon it, should since that time have passed through a totally different revolution without having had the power to attain to a fixed political and civil existence. To his misfortune, Napoleon did not return to Spain, and with his departure we observe the entire cessation for all practical purposes of a leadership under a single head,

which was so pre-eminently necessary for the successful prosecution of this war. Nominally, it is true, this leadership was in the hands of King Joseph, with Marshal Jourdan, later with Marshal Soult, for his major general, but the many able and thorough French generals who had remained in Spain rendered but poor obedience to the king, and were often derelict in reciprocal support of one another. While Napoleon personally prescribed the general conduct of the war, yet, as often happens in such cases, his commands and instructions, given at great distance, frequently came too late, were no longer suitable to the state of affairs, and either could not be carried out at all, or only partially. The allusions to which, despite his extraordinary shrewdness, Napoleon yielded throughout his career, became conspicuously observable with reference to Spain, and only in this manner does his remarkable neglect of this war become intelligible.

While Soult entered Portugal from the north in the beginning of 1809, Victor was to operate on the left bank of the Tajo against Lisbon. On the 28th March, Victor defeated a powerful army under Cuesta at Medallin, a battle having been won by General Sebastiani, on the preceding day, over the Spaniards under Urbino, at Ciudad Real, in La Mancha. Victor did not follow up his victory by a march upon Lisbon, nor is it likely that he would thereby have accomplished any tangible advantage.

Soult, after brilliant successes over the Spaniards and Portuguese, stormed Oporto on the 29th March, but he also, whose corps had dwindled to thirteen thousand men, no doubt justly considered himself too weak to press farther forward, especially as the Portuguese had at that time received a powerful leader and organizer in the person of Lord Beresford. Soult now occupied a tolerably extended position, with Oporto for a central point, and, devoting himself especially to the restoration of order, became the object of accusations (which, according to Thiers, were by no means groundless) that he was ambitious to possess the crown of Portugal.

Such being the condition of affairs, the new English commander-in-chief, Sir Arthur Wellesley, landed at Lisbon on the 22d April with twenty-five thousand men, and with his advent there steps upon the scene the most dangerous opponent of the French. On the 2d May he moved forward from Leyria with sixteen thousand English and six thousand Portuguese, and on the 12th May, after severe fighting, drove Soult out of Oporto, the latter losing his entire artillery and being compelled to retreat into Spain. Here, however, as Wellesley did not pursue, Soult effected a junction with Ney. Both marshals, who were later joined by Mortier, now sought to hold in check the in-

surrection in Leon, Galicia, and Asturia, in which they had only partial success. The French were more fortunate in the east, especially in Aragon, under General Suchet, who on the 18th June gained a brilliant victory at Belchite over General Blake. In Catalonia, General Gouvion St. Cyr was enabled, in the beginning of June, to lay siege to the important fortress of Gerona, but the city defended itself for six months in the most valiant manner. St. Cyr, in consequence, fell into disgrace and was superseded by Marshal Augereau, by no means equal in ability to St. Cyr. While under Augereau the capitulation of Gerona was effected on the 10th December. He was soon compelled to give up his command to Marshal Macdonald, who was in turn superseded, in April, 1810, by Suchet. During the entire time Duhesme maintained his position in the important city of Barcelona.

After driving Soult out of Portugal, Wellesley had turned against Victor, and had effected a junction with the Spanish army under Cuesta, the united effective being fifty-three thousand men and one hundred guns. King Joseph increased the strength of Victor's corps to forty-five thousand men. On the 27th and 28th July occurred the celebrated battle of Talavera la Reyna, which Wellesley won, but which can hardly be regarded as decisive, as he soon after drew back to Badajoz, while Soult from the north pressed forward against his left flank. In consequence of these movements the king was enabled to support General Sebastiani against the Spaniards under Venegas, who on the 11th August suffered a heavy reverse at Almonacid. A few months later, in defiance of the express counsel of Wellesley, the Spaniards, unaided and alone, with an army of fifty-two thousand men better organized than before, undertook an attack against Madrid, but were totally defeated on the 17th November at Ocana by twenty-nine thousand French under Soult and Mortier, with the enormous loss of thirty thousand men, including twenty-six thousand prisoners. General Kellerman‡ had also, on the 28th November, gained a signal victory over a Spanish corps at Abba de Tormes.

Yet notwithstanding all the reverses of the Spaniards, the guerrilla warfare, under a number of prominent leaders, such as El Empacinado, El Marquisito, El Pastor, and especially Mina, was prosecuted with the greatest bitterness. Indeed, the reverses of the Spanish troops themselves pre-eminently contributed to the augmentation of these bands. As a consequence the country of course suffered uncommonly. According to the estimate of the well-known German writer

*Marquis of Valmy, a son of the old marshal. He became famous through the effect he exerted upon the battle of Marengo by his cavalry attack.

Pönitz, the maintaining of these partisan troops entailed upon Spain three times the expense that would have sufficed for a regular army of the same dimensions. On the other hand, great difficulties were thus interposed to the French. Communication was everywhere interrupted or very uncertain, even between Madrid and Bayonne. Only Aragon, under the intelligent and energetic leadership of Suchet, constituted relatively an exception. We see, then, that the result of the campaign of 1809 was emphatically not a farvorable one for the French, who in Spain were only masters where they held large masses of troops together, while the English stood unconquered on the Portuguese frontier.

As Napoleon had vanquished Austria in the year 1809, and no new war was in prospect, he was readily enabled to employ all his means for the prosecution of the war in Spain and to take the field in person. His failure to do this entailed disastrous consequences, and appears now almost incomprehensible. *La foule de raisons* adduced by Thiers: Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louise in April, 1810; his quarrels with his brother Louis; the secret underhand negotiations with England, which had been entered into through Fouché (the extraordinary character of which, as they are alleged to have proposed the partition of Spain between Joseph and Ferdinand VII., and the erection of the Spanish colonies as a kingdom under Louis XVIII., may well cause us to doubt whether they were ever seriously entertained or discussed), which, as well as his wonderful activity at the head of the government, required his presence in Paris; finally, his antipathy to grappling in person with the indispensable necessities of the Spanish war, which, unlike others in which he had engaged, could not be brought to an end by a few brilliant victories, as well as his confidence in the tried military skill and energy of Masséna,—all these, considering the great importance of this war, are grounds which are hardly tenable, and if they be really the true ones, they show how greatly Napoleon was blinded and self-deceived.

With regard to the conflicting forces, Thiers, who is certainly not inclined to overestimate the strength of the French, relates that Napoleon, after the peace of Vienna, 14th October, 1809, had sent one hundred and fifty thousand men to Spain, bringing his armies up to four hundred thousand men. But, as shown by the result, even this enormous number was in no sense sufficient. After deducting a high sick-rate, and the innumerable detachments demanded to cope with the insurrection, there remained, according to Napoleon's own admission, scarcely half the number to be employed in the principal operations.

The French had to contend with two factors on the peninsula,—on the one hand the insurrection, prosecuted by regular armies and guerrilla bands, on the other, a small but otherwise rather formidable English army under a distinguished leader, supported by a powerful naval armament. It may be admitted that either of these factors alone would have been wanting in relative importance. The English, unaided by the insurrection, had no prospect of enduring success, while the latter betrayed, by its division into parties and by its highly incompetent management, the need of an energetic head, such as the English possessed in Wellesley. The expulsion of the French by either without the co-operation of the other was certainly not to be counted on. In their operations against the English three strategical points were of especial importance to the French,—Lisbon, with its great depot, the chief seaport of the English; Cadiz, where the latter had already landed two thousand men, and could readily land more; and Valencia, also well suitable for a landing-place, and an important middle station with reference to Malta and Sicily. Of these three points, Lisbon and Cadiz were long fruitlessly besieged by the French, and it was not until January, 1812, that Valencia succumbed, after the brilliant campaign of Suchet.

Napoleon judiciously recognized the importance, at the outstart of the campaign of 1810, of driving the English at Lisbon into the sea. To accomplish this,—to speak in general terms,—ten thousand men were to operate from the north and seventy thousand men from the center against Lisbon. But this plan was materially modified upon the representations of the king and his adviser, Soult, who urgently recommended the employment of the seventy thousand men last named for an expedition to Andalusia and Cadiz. This plan also seemed to promise great advantage, and the fortunate issue of it, which shortly followed, greatly raised the king in public estimation. The catastrophe of Baylen was to a certain extent revenged upon the spot; with Seville the seat of the Central Junta, the actual capital of the insurrection fell into the hands of the French; and as to Cadiz, its importance had certainly not been overestimated. On the other hand, the apprehensions excited by the growing rebellion in the southern provinces demanded a new division of the forces, although Napoleon thought that for this purpose forty thousand men might be spared a little later, leaving to be employed against Lisbon thirty thousand men, who, with the powerful army of the north, might well be considered a match for twenty-five thousand English. We shall see how fallacious these calculations proved to have been.

In the beginning of January the king passed the Sierra Morena with three columns,—Marshal Victor to the right, General Sebastiani to the left, and Marshal Mortier in the center, the latter by Baylen. In spite of mines and other almost insuperable obstacles, which made especially of the pass of Despena Perros* a veritable bugbear, the passes, badly defended by what remained of the Spanish army after the battle of Ocana, were everywhere forced with great gallantry. On the 20th January the entire French army stood on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, from Bacza to Cordova. Instead of now advancing forthwith with united forces and the greatest energy upon the main objective, Cadiz, the army, according to Thiers, upon the advice of Soult,† was again divided.

General Sebastiani pressed forward by Jaën, Granada, to Malaga, and possessed himself of this important post on the 5th February. Mortier, in Estremadura, advanced to Badajoz and, having no siege artillery, unavailingly called upon this formidable fortress to surrender. He finally occupied a strong position at Lerana. Victor, after an insignificant defense, occupied Seville. Into this city the king made an entry with great pomp on the 1st February, celebrated peace festivals, and made especial efforts to win over the populace. The Central Junta, many of the inhabitants of the upper classes, and the Spanish troops had already fled to Cadiz, which city now became the seat of the insurgent government. It should be remarked that the Central Junta was soon replaced by a regency, which called upon the entire Spanish cortes to assemble in Cadiz in the spring. The insurrection thus gained a legal status.

Although Cadiz was not very strongly fortified, its position rendered it difficult of access, and it had naturally easy communication with the sea. In the first panic which possessed its defenders it is quite likely that its capture might have been effected, but the favorable moment had passed, and they soon regained their courage. The garrison consisted of twenty-one thousand men, regular soldiers, and included, it should be specially remembered, four thousand English. The regency also soon turned over the chief command to the English general, Sir James Graham. Cadiz was then unavailingly besieged by the

*The most dangerous pass of the Sierra Morena. The name dates from the Moorish times, and signifies "Throw down the dogs."

†According to Thiers, Soult said to the king, "Répondez-moi de Seville et je vous réponds de Cadiz." Thiers, the bitter opponent of Soult in the Chambers, invariably, it must be remarked, seeks to detract from the reputation of Soult, especially with reference to Waterloo. As to the last, Thiers is, however, flatly contradicted by Charras and Chesnay.

French with the most praiseworthy endurance, but with totally inefficient means, for two and a half years, from 7th February, 1810, to 15th August, 1812. By the king's command, Marshal Ney, moreover, attempted the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo (11th February), and General Suchet that of Valencia (5th March), but both failed for the same reasons as Mortier's attempt upon Badajoz.

The emperor now manifested the highest displeasure at the results heretofore attained by the campaign. He especially made complaints to his brother of weakness against the Spaniards, and of favoritism towards them at the expense of the French troops. The unnatural tendencies of the Napoleonic system are none the less conspicuous in Spain than elsewhere. The vassal-kings, as Louis in Holland, Joseph in Spain, and Murat in Naples, involuntarily became representatives of the interests of their respective nations. Napoleon formally deprived King Joseph of the chief command of the French troops, and demanded as indemnity for the expenses of the war all the country to the north of the Ebro, which necessitated the absolute transfer of the control of affairs, untrammeled by the Spanish government, to the generals there stationed. It must be borne in mind that in the years 1810 and 1811 the Napoleonic power had risen to its greatest elevation. We find at this time not only the exercise of the greatest moral and material power, with reference to the police, the press, and commerce, but also the sway of absolutism in the course pursued towards the states composing the confederation of the Rhine, the absorption of Holland in July, of the Canton Wallis in November, of Oldenburg and the Hanse towns in December, 1810. These transactions evidence with peculiar force the climax to which despotism had reached in its utter disregard of justice and right.

With reference to the campaign, Napoleon determined that Soult should retain the command over the army of Andalusia, should hold the conquered provinces in check, and should besiege Badajoz as well as Cadiz. Not until after the capture of the fortress of Badajoz was he to turn against Lisbon. The command of the northern army was conferred upon Marshal Masséna (22d April). He was to take the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, and then to push forward against Lisbon from the north. The generals in the provinces of the Ebro were also to reduce the many strong and important fortresses, and thus prepare for the march upon Valencia. Here Suchet soon received the supreme command. Of the three leaders he alone was fortunate. After a long succession of really brilliant successes, he captured Valencia on the 12th January, 1812, whereby the actual

subjugation of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia may be regarded to have been finally accomplished.*

The army of Andalusia was so occupied with the insurrection and the siege of Cadiz that it was not until the 26th January, 1811, that Soult was enabled to undertake the siege of Badajoz after the capture, eight days before, of the neighboring town of Olivenza. On the 20th February the Spanish army under Mendizabal was badly defeated, and on the 10th March Badajoz succumbed.

Marshal Masséna† had in the mean time (in the beginning of May, 1810) arrived at Salamanca, and at once recognized the difficulties of the situation and the deficiency of his means for carrying on the war. He had under his special command three corps,—the Sixth Corps (Ney), the Second Corps (Reynier), all well-tried soldiers, the Eighth Corps (Junot), on the other hand, consisting mostly of new formations, and six thousand good cavalry under General Montbriun,—in all

*Suchet defeated O'Donnel at Margalet on the 24th April, captured Lerida on the 14th May, Mequinenza on the 8th June, 1810, Tortosa on the 2d January, 1811, stormed San Filipe de Baloguer on the 8th January, Taragona on the 26th January, Mont Serrat on the 24th July, captured Oropesa on the 11th November, and Murviedro on the 26th October, 1811, having the preceding day decisively defeated the army under General Blake.

†Masséna was born at Nice 6th May, 1758. The son of poor parents, he was for a short time ship's boy. In 1775 he entered the French regiment "Royal Italien," and in 1789 was discharged as sergeant. Soon after he entered the army of the revolution, became general of division in December, 1793, field marshal in 1804, Duke of Rivoli in 1807, and Prince of Essling in 1809. In the fall of 1807 he had the misfortune to have an eye shot out by Berthier while on the chase. Masséna took part in all the wars of the times, and greatly distinguished himself in 1796 and 1797 in Italy, in 1799 in Switzerland, where he defeated the Russian General Korsakow in the so-called second battle of Zürich on the 25th and 26th September (a most important victory, rich in results), in 1800 at the siege of Genoa, in 1809 at Ebelsberg on the 3d May, and at Aspern and Essling on the 21st and 22d May. Masséna had peculiarly the reputation of being an energetic and fortunate general. The soldiers called him *L'enfant gâté de la victoire*—"The spoiled child of victory." With Napoleon personally he stood high, and was on that account selected as commander-in-chief. Thiers maintains that Masséna accepted the command with reluctance, and promised himself but poor success in the campaign. Masséna's exterior produced an unfavorable impression. In the words of Thiers, "Avec trop peu d'appareil, sans cette hauteur d'attitude qui impose aux hommes." He was a great high-liver. "S'il avait la vigueur du commandement, il n'en avait pas la dignité, suivi d'un entourage fâcheux et notamment d'une courtisane." He was, moreover, pre-eminent among all French marshals for avarice, which is saying much. He had already been publicly reprimanded by Napoleon for his system of robbery and plunder in Italy in 1805.

barely seventy thousand men, instead of ninety thousand which had been promised him by the emperor. These troops were all badly provided. They had lived from hand to mouth; there were no magazines; all material had to be supplied anew, and money was withal very scarce. However excellent the troops of Ney and Reynier were in battle, their discipline had undoubtedly suffered by the method in which the Spanish war had necessarily been conducted. The corps commanders, especially Ney and Junot, were rather reluctant sobordinates. Both believed they had claims to the chief command, Ney by reason of his personal great fame, Junot, it is true, with less show of justice, as he had already been tried as commander-in-chief in Portugal.* At the most Masséna could not count upon more than from fifty-five to sixty thousand men for his march into Portugal, for at the outstart, by express command of the emperor, he was to take two strong fortresses, in each of which he would have to leave garrisons. With all this there was a high sick-rate (in Junot's corps nearly twenty per cent.), and the many detachments further impaired his strength. But were from fifty-five to sixty thousand men sufficient against a strong English-Portuguese army in a rebellious country, the nature of which everywhere offered the strongest positions for defence? Masséna at once developed the most extraordinary activity in the establishing of magazines, the creation of a siege-train, and in attention to all the minutiæ of transportation and supply. The Spanish fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo and the Portuguese fortress of Almeida were, moreover, each, after a brave defence of five weeks, compelled to capitulate by the Sixth Corps under Ney, the former on the 10th July, the latter on the 28th August. At Almeida on the 27th August, the day before the capitulation, the principal magazine had exploded. An English division under General Crawford had been beaten there on the 24th July. No further efforts were made to relieve either of these fortresses by Wellington, who, with the bulk of his forces, was at Visen. This occasioned great bitterness among the Spaniards and Portuguese. As an instance of this it may be mentioned that after the fall of Almeida the Twenty-fourth Portuguese Regiment to a man deserted, with all its officers, to the French.

On the 16th September Masséna, with fifty-six thousand men and one hundred guns,—the utmost strength that could be made available, —and with rations for sixteen days, commenced his invasion of Portu-

*Junot by no means regarded as a discredit the highly honorable capitulation of Cintra. Shortly before, on the 10th April, he had, moreover, captured the strong fortress of Astorga.

gal by the way of Pinhal and Calorico. Junot commanded the right wing, Reynier the left wing, and Ney the center. The French found the country depopulated beyond all expectation and the roads wretched. On the 19th September Masséna reached Viseu, and now determined to press forward on the right bank of the Mendejo to Coimbra, to gain there the great highway which leads from Oporto to Lisbon.

At Busaco, however, he found the English under Wellington in a strong position, blocking his progress.

As regards the latter, they had, with the exception of a short interval after the peace of Amiens (27th March, 1802), uninterruptedly contended until the French revolution in its various phases and consequences, principally by the employment of their vast pecuniary resources and through their naval power. The insignificant land forces had played but an unimportant part in the first wars. In the year 1808, indeed, an English army had delivered Portugal from the French, but the undertaking had come to an unfortunate end with the embarkation at Coruna.

In the year 1809 two land expeditions were equipped towards the support of Austria. The larger, forty thousand men under Lord Chatham, who did but little honor to his illustrious name, was intended to operate against Holland, and landed in July on the isle of Walcheren. The English had placed great hopes in this expedition, which proved, however, a total failure, and ended in a truly lamentable manner. Decimated by the climate, the English were compelled, in December, to betake themselves again to their vessels, without having accomplished more than the fruitless capture of the little fort of Vlieszingen (26th August). The other expedition, as already mentioned, had the second time delivered Portugal and beaten the French at Talavera. It was comanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who later, as Duke of Wellington, attained such renown. This title was conferred upon him in England after the battle of Talavera.*

*Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Vittoria, Prince of Waterloo, Marquis of Duero and of Torres Vedras, Count of Vimeira, and Viscount of Talavera, was born 6th May, 1769, at Dungan Castle, Ireland, the fifth son of a noble Englishman, the Count of Mornington. Educated at the military school of Angers, France, he became ensign in 1787, by purchase lieutenant-colonel in 1793, in the Dutch war colonel in 1795, major-general in 1803, lieutenant-general in 1807, and after the battle of Vittoria, in 1813, field-marshal. In 1797 he went to India, where he remained eight years and laid the first foundations of the fame which he later acquired. He especially distinguished himself there in the war with Tippoo Saïb, notably at the storming of Seringapatam, 3d May, 1799 (where Tippoo fell), and in the engagements with the Mahrattis from 1801-1803. In 1807 he commanded the

Wellington after this battle had retired to Badajoz, and, after the entry of the French into Andalusia, had even retreated across the Portuguese frontier. This long inactivity has been much censured, and at first sight seems incomprehensible. The true reason is no doubt to be found in the want of understanding and co-operation with the Spaniards. From the beginning the English had complained of bad management. The easy-going Spaniards thought these complaints groundless and laughable. John Bull was certainly not a very amiable guest, and the Spaniards further counted him as a heretic. The Spanish generals, none too much in unison with one another, regarded a subordination to Wellington as in the highest degree distasteful, although the latter had been appointed captain-general of all the Spanish forces. At Talavera they had rendered poor support. After this battle, owing to the premature retreat of Cuesta, the wounded English fell into the hands of the French. This created great bitterness, and it has even

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land forces against Copenhagen, and in 1808 a division in Portugal. Owing to the capitulation of Cintra, to which he had been a signatory, he was court-martialed but acquitted. Conspicuous among the noted acts with which his name is associated are the brilliant victories of Salamanca on the 21st July, 1812, and of Vittoria on the 21st June, 1813.

A sort of hero-worship similar to that entertained by the French towards Napoleon is indulged by the English with reference to Wellington, if with vastly less justification. Undoubtedly, Wellington possessed great qualities as a leader and an imperturbable equanimity in danger, an extraordinary sharp eye for tactical relations, especially to detect every point of exposure of the enemy, and an uncommon pertinacity in the carrying out of his strategical plans, in which he was at all times guided by high political considerations. On the other hand, through his methodical slowness and caution many excellent tactical advantages were either wholly or partially neglected, and when we view his cold indifference we are not surprised that on emergency he utterly lacked the moral power to electrify the masses. He never succeeded in bringing his Peninsular allies to the point of implicit confidence in his leadership. And yet for this war he was certainly the proper man, and contributed most to the expulsion of the French. As to the war of 1815, this is more calculated to impair the reputation of Wellington as a strategist than to add to it; for in Flanders the obstacle to rapid movements which existed in Spain were not to be contended with, and the many negligences in the war of 1815 which are to be exclusively attributed to the English commander strike us most forcibly, quite independently of the consideration that in his character as representative of the egotistical English political ideas he must be regarded as having been to a certain extent trammeled. His character, always praised by the English as having been remarkably straightforward and honorable, has been in later times the object of considerable animadversion. His conduct towards his Prussian companions in arms, both before and after the battle of Waterloo, is certainly open to the severest criticism, and his report upon the battle cannot be regarded as either generous or impartial.

been sought to make this an explanation for the massacre perpetrated by the English at the storming of Badajoz (5th April, 1812). The Spaniards, moreover, against the counsel of Wellington, gave battle at Ocana, and in consequence suffered a terrible reverse. Thus it is not to be wondered at that the English commander placed no confidence in the official Spanish conduct of the war, and looked no more than in a general sort of way for support through the insurrection of the Spanish people.

Wellington was, however, influenced by the political state of Europe and by English policy in the adoption of his system, under no circumstances to enter upon any undertaking the success of which could be regarded as in the least degree doubtful. He carried out this system with determined tenacity, and finally attained the most brilliant results.

In England much discouragement was felt after the peace of Vienna and the unfortunate Walcheren expedition. The enormous expenses of war and the cessation of commerce also produced a decided impression. Then came Napoleon's marriage with the Austrian princess, the absorption of Holland, etc. The opposition, favorable to peace, became clamorous. The sympathies of the Prince of Wales also tended in that direction, and there was every probability that his father, George III., whose mind was affected, would soon have to be relieved of the cares of the kingly office. In the following year the prince actually became regent. The Tory ministry, whose chief support was Wellington's oldest brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, thus maintained itself only with the greatest difficulty, and the secret negotiations with France, before referred to, were broken off. But the English ministry and people were forced to admit that all hope rested with the army in Portugal, and that Napoleon could now employ against this all his enormous power under his personal unequaled leadership.

All these reasons early induced Wellington to establish a secure asylum for his troops in Portugal.

Thus there came into existence the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras, which had been commenced as early as October, 1809.

Rigel is of opinion, no doubt with truth, that in all modern history there has never been a stronger fortification, nor a fortified camp of such vast dimensions, embracing some seven hundred and seventy-five square miles. It might also be added that up to that time intrenchments had never exerted so far-reaching and decisive an influence. The idea was not a new one. As early as the year 1799 a French engineer, named Vincent, had prepared a plan. This formed the basis of Wel-

lington's intrenchments, extended in a colossal manner. Lisbon, it will be remembered, lies at the point of the peninsula formed by the Tajo (the Portuguese call the river "Tejo") with the sea. The aim was, by intrenchments, to convert this peninsula—a highly difficult, mountainous region, traversed by but few narrow roads—into an enormous citadel impregnable to the French, and to intrust to it the hope of successfully withstanding the preponderance of power of Napoleon on the continent. Her absolute mastership at sea, with the expenditure of such vast sums of money as England alone could make available, contributed abundance of supplies. Even forage, hydraulically compressed, came from England. A powerful transport-fleet secured the embarkation of the troops in case of utmost need, and a turning of the position, in view of the breadth of the Tajo at its mouth and the naval power of the English, appeared impossible.

The intrenchments consisted of three lines, of which the outer two completely cut off the peninsula. The outermost line extended from Aljandra on the Tajo by Torres Vedras to the north of the little river Zezandra (Thiers says "Zizambre"), as far as the sea. It was distant from Lisbon from twenty-five to thirty miles, extended in a direct line twenty-five miles, and in actual length of parapet some thirty-five miles, and consisted of seventy works, with three hundred and nineteen guns and a garrison of nineteen thousand men. The second and stronger line extended from Quintilla (southward towards the mouth of the Tajo) to the entrance of the creek Lorenzo into the sea, was distant from Lisbon from fifteen to twenty miles, was twenty miles long, and contained sixty-nine works with two hundred and twenty guns and a garrison of fifteen thousand five hundred men. The third line consisted of thirteen works with ninety-four guns and a garrison of five thousand four hundred men, mostly English marines. It was ten thousand feet long, supported by two old forts,—San Julian and Majas,—formed on the coast a ring open towards the sea, and was intended to cover the embarkation of the troops. It was very properly laid out some five miles distant from Lisbon, Wellington desiring to be independent of the populous capital should this extreme necessity arise. On the left bank of the Tajo only some insignificant works were erected, notably, a reserve place of embarkation for a division at Setubal. On the right bank the works were everywhere suited to the favorable nature of the ground; were of the greatest diversity in point of size and extent; were in part closed, in part open; many mounted fifty guns, others but six; in a few the thickness at the breast-height was but six to eight feet, while some were revetted with the strongest masonry; the ditches were at least fifteen feet wide and ten feet deep.

In the outermost line, at the most accessible point, Mount Acrasso, forming a natural obstacle to the approach to the sea and the Tajo, a powerful citadel had been built, the capture of which would have necessitated a regular siege. The second line, as already remarked, was still stronger than the first; and here, also, the most accessible point, the pass of Buccellas, had been most powerfully fortified.

All these works had suitable communications, so that reinforcements could readily be dispatched wherever needed. At all important points places of arms had been provided, and the English naval signals constituted a great practical advantage. Permanent garrisons were established, consisting principally of Portuguese, partly even of militia, leaving the best troops of the line available for every emergency. Although these lines were not all in a state of completion upon the arrival of the French, work upon them was continued without interruption, and the nature of the ground, excavations, inundations, and obstacles of every kind contributed to render them wellnigh impregnable. The position of the enemy, especially from Mount Acrasso, was everywhere exposed, and demonstrations from that quarter were attended, on that account, with almost insuperable difficulty, while the movements of the garrisons remained concealed. With all this, Wellington had ordered a general devastation of the country. This, however, was only partially carried out by the inhabitants; otherwise the French certainly would not have been able to maintain themselves in Portugal as they did.

Thus these remarkable fortifications seemed fully to satisfy their purpose, especially as there was at hand an abundant force for their defence. Wellington's effective, the allegations of the English to the contrary notwithstanding, was numerically considerably superior to that of the French. It consisted at the outstart of twenty-five thousand English and thirty thousand Portuguese (the latter, in part, commanded by English officers, and single regiments being distributed to the various English brigades), and twenty-two thousand Portuguese militia. These were later reinforced by eight thousand Spaniards under La Romana (he died at Lisbon on the 18th January, 1811), various important additions and new formations, so that a respectable German author names the entire effective within the lines in November, 1810, as one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty thousand men, more than half composed of troops of the line. As regards the value of these troops, the English—the flower of the army—were troops of the line, possessing the well-known qualities of the English soldier: energy in attack, *sang-froid,* and determined endurance in defence. They were, however, a little too heavy and unwieldy, and too

dependent upon the commissariat. With them are included the troops of the legion, who, though not equaling the remainder in the qualities referred to, were superior in point of sobriety and nobility. The Portuguese were also quite good soldiers. Under the leadership of a renowned German warrior, the Count of Lippe-Schamburg,* they had already demonstrated, some fifty years before, that they could readily be developed into a capital force. Moderate in their physical requirements, inured to hardships, they were pre-eminently excellent on the march. Finally, the militia was very well adapted to its employment behind the intrenchments. A highly remarkable circumstance ought also to be mentioned,—one which seems almost incredible, but which is unanimously confirmed by all sources,—namely, that Masséna knew nothing of the existence of the lines until he stood before them.

Impetuously attacking the English who advanced to meet him at Busaco, on the 27th September, Masséna was nevertheless compelled to draw back with a loss of six thousand men, and it almost seemed as if his advance must come to an end then and there. Fortunately, General Montbriun found a poor mountain road, which turned the position of Busaco to the right, and led by Bojalva to Coimbra. By some unaccountable oversight Wellington, who was certainly well acquainted with the ground, had omitted to garrison or to observe this road, by which Masséna forced his way to Coimbra, reaching it on the 29th September, and finding considerable supplies. Wellington then retired behind the lines, having been pursued by Masséna by the way of Pombal and Leyria. Masséna unhesitatingly believed that the English would take to their vessels at Lisbon; nor did he recognize his great error until, from Alemquer, he for the first time beheld the formidable intrenchments. Careful reconnoissances seem to have brought him the conviction that his force was insufficient to overpower the position of his adversary. He never made a regular attack.

A sort of truce between the principal armies now set in, while, on the other hand, in the rear of the French, the guerrilla warfare, under the English commanders Wilson and Trent and the Portuguese Silveira, was prosecuted with great vigor. It then became necessary to relieve several thousand Frenchmen, who had been left behind at Coimbra, and finally all communication with Spain, not to speak of

*Born in London, 1728; an excellent artillery general in the Seven Years' War under Ferdinand v. Braunschweig. He was called by Pombal, in 1762, to organize the Portuguese troops and lead them against the Spaniards. Later he founded the celebrated Academy for Officers, one of whose scholars was Scharnhorst (Wilhelmstein).

France, was so absolutely cut off that Masséna remained without advices for months.

He had placed his three corps as close to the lines and as well covered as possible, and had also thrown up strong intrenchments. Yet his right wing (Junot), opposite to Torres Vedras, was much exposed, and necessarily remained passive, especially as Wellington, for some unaccountable reason, neglected to attack. The French, on their part, made the most strenuous efforts to secure supplies. This led to a system of robbery, whereby the country suffered immensely. In the middle of November, however, Masséna, through absolute want of subsistence, was forced to take up a position farther back, behind the Rio Major, by Santaram, Thomar, and Leyria, with headquarters at Torres Novas. Wellington did not press forward very energetically, though he seems to have thought that the French were about to evacuate Portugal. As soon as he observed that they again came to a stand, and that they covered their positions by intrenchments, he held aloof from every further attack. He allowed his troops to retire in part behind the lines, and in part to move into cantonments on the two banks of the Tajo. Of course, with the naval resources of the English, communication between the two banks was not very difficult. The English headquarters were at Cartaxo.

On the 10th November, Masséna had sent General Fay, a very shrewd and able officer, to Paris, to enlighten the emperor as to the hopeless situation of the army, and to demand the reinforcements which were so imperatively necessary. Fay was certainly the right man for this purpose. Personally much liked by Napoleon, he possessed tact and the gift of eloquence to a high degree. But no practical advantage came from this mission. Thiers, always quick to praise Napoleon, explains that on the one hand the emperor had entertained illusions with regard to this war, and, on the other, that he was then already so much occupied with his plans against Russia as to postpone to these all other considerations. As formerly remarked, it was the time when the fame and power of the imperator had reached its highest point. The pertinence of his own reflection, that "his destiny must be fulfilled," to which he had given expression in referring to Russia, commences at this time to strike us with especial force. At the very time when Napoleon, upon his advance, made the first notable halt (at Wilna), Wellington gained the brilliant victory of Salamanca (21st July, 1812). As, after the dreadful catastrophe which had fallen upon the conqueror like an unparalleled judgment of God, it became necessary to withdraw the best troops from Spain, Wellington gained, almost on the French frontier, the far more brilliant and

important victory of Vittoria (21st June, 1813), and at the same time Austria joined the coalition.

Fay returned to Masséna on the 2d February, 1811, and really brought only promises of reinforcements and orders as to the support of Soult,—mere directions, which either could not be carried out at all or only to the smallest extent. And this, when the starved-out and desperate army had indulged hopes of a formidable reinforcement, and above all that the emperor himself would come.

His only considerable reinforcement, some nine to ten thousand men under General Drouet d'Erlon, Masséna had received in the beginning of January, 1811. A short time before, Gardonne's division, amply supplied with provisions and ammunition, had approached the French to within four hours' march, but for some unaccountable reason had turned back,—a tolerably good illustration of the want of a leadership under a single head. Even General Erlon, who commanded the Ninth Corps, was by no means under the supreme command of Masséna. He was only to establish communication with Masséna, who thereafter retained him only with the greatest difficulty. Erlon's other division, under General Claparède, after having won great successes over the guerrillas, had been compelled by orders to return to Celorico. Masséna received successively a number of small reinforcements, in all barely six thousand men.

A complete truce between the principal armies had again supervened at the close of November, but the continually increasing want of supplies necessitated the greatest efforts on the part of the French. The wonderful energy and skill of General Eble* enabled him, with material procured on the spot under great difficulties, not only to throw two bridges over the Zezera, enabling the French to possess themselves of and to maintain themselves at the important place of Punjete, but also to prepare two bridge-trains for the Tajo. It is true these were put to no use; the undertaking appeared too hazardous to Masséna, in view of the breadth of the stream and the presence of the powerful enemy. Nor would the successful crossing have led to tangible benefit, except, perhaps, in the matter of supplies, or in the event of an advance on the part of Soult. On the other hand, it is not so clear why the French made no effort to capture the not very strongly fortified Abrantes, on the right bank of the Tajo. The only reason why this was not done is stated to have been the want of am-

*The famed builder of the bridges of the Beresina was born 1755, became captain of artillery in 1790, minister of war in Westphalia in 1807, and inspector-general of artillery in 1812. He died at Königsberg, 2d January, 1813.

munition, and the necessity for the strictest economy in this regard. But, considering the importance of the object, this explanation is barely tenable. Abrantes lay in rear of the French position, had a good bridge over the Tajo, and was the most convenient place of crossing for the enemy. With a little greater activity displayed from the direction of Abrantes, this spot might have become exceedingly dangerous to the French.

At the commencement of March the suffering and want in Masséna's army had become unendurable in an extreme degree. Then came news that the English had received important accessions to their strength from Malta and Sicily. All signs were at hand that Wellington would at last proceed to an attack in earnest.

Masséna no doubt justly believed himself too weak, in his extended position, with his troops decimated by hunger and disease, to sustain such an attack. He had no word from Soult. Thus, on the 5th March, he commenced the retreat towards Spain. With regard to this retreat, it need only be mentioned here that, on the 5th April, the French reached the Portuguese frontier with the not relatively great loss of five to six thousand men, and without leaving behind a single gun. Marshal Ney† led the rear-guard in the most valiant manner.

Here it must be again observed that Wellington's excess of caution prevented his vigorously taking advantage of the retreat of the French. The pursuit was carried no farther than the frontier, under the somewhat singular-sounding pretense of want of provisions on the part of the allied army.

Thus Masséna's troops were early enabled to recuperate. Newly provided and strengthened by the accession of two thousand artillery and cavalry of the Guard, they soon reached a condition calculated to inspire respect. In the beginning of May Masséna, with thirty-eight thousand men, made the attempt to relieve, or at least to revictual, the fortress of Almeida. Wellington opposed him with a superior force (of troops of the line alone some forty-five thousand men) in the position of Fuentes de Onoro, strong both by nature and art. After the heavy assaults of the French on the 3d and 5th May had been repulsed, Masséna relinquished his undertaking. Until the 10th May he remained before the English position, and then retired upon Ciudad Rodrigo. Before that he had, however, sent an order to General Brennier, commandant of Almeida, to blow up the works. A brave soldier, André Tillier, of the 6th Regiment of Chasseurs, brought the order,

†Shortly afterwards, however, Ney had a misunderstanding with Masséna, who on that account sent him away from the army.

despite every obstacle, into the fortress, and Brennier carried it out on the night of the 10th to 11th May. He then successfully cut his way out with the garrison.

A few days later Masséna, now fallen into disgrace through his reverses, quitted the army, and was replaced by Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa. Rigel relates that Masséna is said to have carried off from Portugal the sum of eight hundred thousand piastres, the result of unheard-of exactions. It must be confessed that these accusations, if well founded, cannot fail seriously to detract from our estimate of this leader.*

In conclusion, let us make a few observations upon the contention about the lines of Torres Vedras. Wellington's methods were crowned with success, and are certainly, in many respects, especially from a political stand-point, worthy of admiration. In this connection his deep penetration, his uncommon perseverance, appear in the strongest light. Yet it may not improperly be urged that he offered only a passive opposition. A decisive result was thus greatly retarded, and the appalling suffering of the country inordinately prolonged. Involuntarily the question suggests itself, whether Wellington, with the means at his disposal, might not have been enabled to inflict a catastrophe upon the French before his lines. And if that were possible, was he justified in hesitating to make the attempt? What security had he that Soult would not move to their support, or, indeed, that the formidable reinforcement which was certainly expected by the French, with the emperor in person in command, would not come? In such an eventuality, was it not of the utmost importance that Masséna's army should first be beaten, if not annihilated? Would it not seem that every possible injury at least should have been done to that army? On the other hand, this passive resistance of Wellington appears to demonstrate the respect in which Masséna and his forces were held.

As regards the total failure of the French expedition, the cause is no doubt to be found in the fact that in the estimates of means for carrying on the war the lines of Torres Vedras, whose existence was not known, were left entirely out of consideration. Under any circumstances one hundred and forty thousand men were insufficient for the conquest of the southern provinces, with Lisbon and Cadiz. It had been better to confine the operations and limit them to a definitive

*After this Masséna was given no command commensurate with his rank and fame. The 8th Military Division (Mediterranean) cannot be so considered. This he also kept under the Restoration. He took no part during the Hundred Days. He died 4th April, 1817.

object, of which Lisbon with the English was of the utmost importance. The miserable support rendered to Masséna is explained by the want of an individual leadership, which has been so often commented upon. Out of the Gardonne division, out of the corps of Drouet, out of the Guards, who stood almost inactive at Burgos, and out of the detachments which were continually being sent forward into Spain, it would certainly have been possible to form a compact force of from fifty to sixty thousand men. It must be admitted that even then it is much to be doubted if a decisive result could have been attained, and especially if the disadvantage in respect to the dearth of supplies and the limited means of communication were, under any circumstances, to be overcome. The possession of the other bank of the Tajo, where ample supplies were yet to be found, would certainly have been an indispensable preliminary to success.

Let us now turn to the question, What could Masséna accomplish with the means at his command? Rigel is of opinion that the lines, considering their great extent, might have been forced if Masséna had at once employed for this purpose ten thousand picked men of Ney's corps. But it is exceedingly doubtful if success could have followed this plan when we reflect upon the strength of the position; that demonstrations and surprises were scarcely possible, the French position being everywhere in view; and finally upon the thoroughness and excellence of the English troops, certainly not inferior to the French in fighting capacity. And with his effective combatant force, already so greatly reduced, would Masséna have been justified in this employment of ten thousand of his best troops towards the accomplishment of an object the event of which must have appeared to him so exceedingly doubtful?

Thiers, who in general defends Masséna against many unjust accusations, blames him for not having crossed the Tajo at Punjete. Independently of the danger and difficulty of the undertaking and the necessity for a serious division of his weakened army, this, as formerly remarked, could have been subservient to no purpose, save in the matter of supplies. An attack upon Lisbon from this side must have appeared purely chimerical to the practiced eye of Masséna.

This brings us to another question: Could the timely appearance of Soult have effected a decision? This must be unequivocally answered in the negative. Even supposing Soult, according to the idea of Napoleon, to have joined Masséna at the timely moment with thirty thousand men, he was absolutely in want of the means for a direct attack upon Lisbon. At the most, he could only have bombarded a

portion of the city. Of course this would have been quite annoying to Wellington, yet the character of the latter gives no color to the inference that this would have induced him to effect his embarkation. At all times, the possession of the lines of Torres Vedras could alone decide the conflict. If Masséna were powerless to capture these lines, nothing certainly remained for him to do but what he actually did,—to maintain his position with the greatest endurance, perseverance, and determination, and thus to hold in check a numerous army and a leader of the first rank, such as Wellington was. That he accomplished this during five months, despite the extreme need, despite the murmurings of his starved-out soldiers, and despite the opposition of his generals, is truly remarkable, and certainly did not merit the displeasure of the emperor. No matter how unfavorably the repulsive elements of avarice and slovenliness in Masséna's character may strike us, his excellent qualities as a leader of armies are worthy of the highest recognition.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER.

PREBLE tells us in his "History of the Flag of the United States," that in the early days of the Revolution each State had its own peculiar banner, and even long before this, in early colonial times, say from 1634 to 1766, there was a distinctive emblem, which we call a flag, raised on shipboard or among bodies of men who met for drill or other occasions of public interest. Undoubtedly it was the red cross of St. George, the patron saint of England, which waved over the Mayflower when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620, for that was the ordinary sea ensign of English ships at that period.

The records of Massachusetts show that this ensign was in use in 1634, if not earlier. In that year, John Endicott, at Salem, defaced an ensign by cutting out one part of the red cross, which proceeding, not meeting with the approbation of Roger Williams, who was then pastor of the church there, and afterward founder of the State of Rhode Island, was pronounced high-handed, and examined into as an act of rebellion to England. The ensign bearer, one Richard Davenport, was summoned to appear at court with his mutilated flag, which he did about a year afterward. Endicott was judged to be guilty of a great offence, for which he was deemed worthy of admonition, and debarred from holding any public office for one year. This seems to have been the first attack upon the English flag in the history of the colonies.

There were doubtless flags of all sorts carried by the various train bands, as they were called, each of which had a peculiar significance, until the troubles with England began to loom on the horizon, when it was deemed advisable for the colonies or provinces to have something of their own, which should be known throughout the length and breadth of the land as *the* flag. How or when the stripes on our flag originated is a mystery; some assert that they were derived from the national flag of the Netherlands, in honor of those Pilgrim Fathers who had embarked from Holland to land upon our "rock bound coast." Motley, in his "History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic," takes this view and says: "What more likely than in adopting a device for a Union flag our fathers should derive the idea from a country to whose example they were so much indebted." Others have said the idea of a Union flag was furnished because the different grades of our army of 1775 being without uniforms, were distinguished

by means of a stripe or ribbon, and that the daily sight of these distinguishing marks naturally suggested the same device for representing the United Colonies, and others have said they were taken from the coat of arms of the Washington family. But no matter what their origin may have been, there was a union flag containing thirteen stripes raised by Washington at his camp in Cambridge in January, 1776, and this flag, which was called "the Grand Union or Continental Flag of the United Colonies," gave birth, in a measure, to the present American flag.

John Paul Jones, who, in 1779, in the Bon Homme Richard, fought the most desperate naval battle on record, with the Serapis, in which he lashed the two ships together to deprive the enemy of the use of his superior battery, and fought from seven till ten at night, is credited with having been the first to ráise the American flag on board a naval vessel in this country and the first to make it respected abroad. Whether this was the famous rattlesnake flag, with the motto, "*Don't tread on me,*" does not appear, but whatever it was, it was known as the "Flag of America," and with it Paul Jones went up and down the British channel, frightening the islanders, as did old Van Tromp when he carried a broom at his masthead to sweep way the English from the seas. But it was not till 1816 that the attention of Congress was turned toyard the expediency of altering the United States flag. The old flag of the United States consisted of thirteen stripes and thirteen stars, as enacted by Congress, June 14th, 1777, but four new States having been admitted, viz.: Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana and Indiana, it became necessary that some change should be made. Accordingly a committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of altering the flag of the United States, and this committee took into its deliberations Capt. Samuel C. Reid, a man of remarkable sagacity and bravery, who is known in history as having made one of the greatest defences on record, in the privateer General Armstrong, in the harbor of Fayal, against an overwhelming British force, to which engagement future reference will be made. It is without doubt that to Captain Reid the present flag, or, perhaps, it is better to say the principle of the present flag, owes its origin. He took the ground that the thirteen stripes, representing a portion of the old colonial flag, should remain, and that for every new State admitted into the Union one star should be added. His suggestion was adopted by the committee, and their report became a law.

It is related by Preble that when the Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, was the United States Minister to Mexico (1825-29), there occurred a circumstance in which the power of the American

flag, to protect its citizens abroad, was strikingly illustrated, as related by Mr. Poinsett himself. The election of Gomez Pedraza to the Presidency of Mexico was not acquiesced in by the people, in consequence of which they proceeded to open revolt, in the course of which they established batteries along the streets, one being within three hundred yards of Mr. Poinsett's house in the City of Mexico. During the melee a shot was fired by one of the mob at our Minister, which passed through his coat and buried itself in the shutter of the balcony window. The insurgents approached the house and endeavored to thrust open the door, but the massive gates resisted the attack. At this moment Mr. Poinsett directed his secretary of legation, Mr. Mason, to throw out the flag of the United States, and they both stood on the balcony beneath its waving folds. The shouts of the mob were instantaneously hushed, and the muzzles of their guns, which had been levelled at the balcony and windows, were slowly dropped. Mr. Poinsett had the proud satisfaction of knowing that not only he, but others who had sought an asylum under his roof, were protected by the flag of the United States until tranquility was restored.

On the 24th of August, 1824, the Stars and Stripes were raised over the cupola of the Massachusetts State House on Beacon Hill, Boston, for the first time, on the occasion of the visit of Lafayette to Boston and, under the folds of that flag, he received the citizens who thronged to do him homage in the lower hall. In 1826 the ship Washington—auspiciously named—was the first to display the Stars and Stripes in the harbor of Quebec. In 1861, when Gen. John A. Dix was Secretary of the Treasury, he penned those immortal words in an order to Lieutenant Caldwell: "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot," the original draft of which is now in the possession of his son, the Rev. Morgan Dix, of Trinity Church, New York.

There were two naval engagements in the last war with Great Britain (1812-15) which deserve particular mention, one, the encounter between the Wasp and Frolic, because it was the first time in our history that the British Lion, in a bold and open sea fight, and, it may be added, hand to hand combat, having a superior force at his command, was obliged to succumb to the "Star Spangled Banner." Capt. Jacob Jones, of Delaware, originally brought up to the medical profession, became a captain in the United States Navy, and fought in the United States sloop of war Wasp against the British brig Frolic, one of the most terrific battles of which history has a record. It was purely give and take till one or the other of the two vessels should

cease from loss of energy; and so long as the exploits of our old navy are read, this action will stand at the head of all sea fights in which wooden ships have enacted a part. Jacob Jones, whom the writer of this article well remembers seeing in 1843-44, in the Norfolk Navy Yard, at Norfolk, Va., was a man of middle size, of an active mind and vigorous make, and an excellent constitution. His face was courageous and imperturbable in expression, and he bore himself modestly and in a manner becoming a gentleman and an officer. I remember he had a kind word for every one; there was nothing supercilious about him. Had he done nothing else than fight the Wasp against a superior force, it would have been sufficient to carry his name down to posterity. He passed over the borderland at the age of eighty-two, honored and beloved by all. His were real fighting days, such as Hull, Bainbridge, Biddle, and other heroes of the American flag participated in. Those were days of real fighting, when cutlasses, horse-pistols, and what not were made to do duty. Of all the victories achieved by single vessels, the most brilliant and without a parallel was the encounter between the Wasp and the Frolic. Within five minutes of the beginning of the action, the maintopmast of the Wasp was shot away, and fell with the maintopsail yard across the braces, which rendered her head yards unmanageable during the remainder of the engagement. But she kept up a close and constant fire. The sea was so rough that the muzzles of her guns were frequently under water. The Americans fired as the side of their ship went down, consequently their shot either struck the Frolic's deck, or below it, while the English fired as their vessel rose, whereby their shot only struck the rigging of the Wasp or were ineffectual. The Wasp then managed to shoot ahead of the Frolic, and poured a broadside into her which completely raked her fore and aft. Every brace on the Wasp had been shot away, and it was thought, being unsupported, her masts would go by the board. Then Captain Jones, resolving to board the Frolic, bore down upon her, the vessels striking each other; so near were they that the rammers of the Wasp were pushed against the sides of the Frolic. Mind you, all this was in a heavy sea, with nothing between the combatants but slight planks. When the deck of the Frolic was reached, it was slippery with blood and strewed with dead bodies; her berth deck was crowded with the dead, wounded, and dying, and, to crown the whole, her masts fell, adding to the confusion. Not above twenty of her crew escaped unhurt. In just forty-three minutes after the beginning of the action, Lieut. James Biddle (afterward commodore) jumped into the rigging and hauled down the British ensign. On board the Wasp there were only five killed and five wounded.

In this action the Frolic mounted four guns more than the Wasp, which fact completely demonstrated the superior skill and spirit of the American naval officers and seamen. There certainly were many heroes in the days of the old wooden wars.

The second engagement, to which reference has been made, was that in which Capt. Samuel C. Reid, the designer of our present flag, was forced into while lying peacefully at anchor in the port of Fayal, Azores, in the privateer General Armstrong, when he was attacked by a British squadron consisting of a seventy-four or line of battleship, a frigate of forty-four guns and a brig of eighteen guns. Fayal was a neutral port, belonging to Portugal; but what did this matter to those who were the stronger as against two weaker nations? Captain Reid, observing some suspicious circumstances on the part of the British, warped his vessel close under the guns of the Castle, and about eight o'clock in the evening he was approached by four boats filled with armed men. Hailing did not keep them off, and he let drive his ammunition, and so great was the enemy's consternation and apparent ill-luck, that they put about. Soon after midnight, however, twelve or more large boats attacked this little privateer of seven guns and ninety men, of whom two only were killed and seven wounded, while the British lost one hundred and twenty killed and one hundred and eighty wounded. This turned out, as you will see, a dear experiment. But Captain Reid, having held out as long as he could, scuttled his vessel, which the British subsequently burned. After the war was over, the British apologized for the violation of neutrality, but it was not until 1882 that the heirs of Captain Reid were paid their claim for the loss of the privateer General Armstrong, which kept at bay a British squadron of two thousand men.

Were Jones and Reid of any other civilized nation, the air would ring with shouts over some memento of their bravery. Such remarkable battles as they fought would not go unnoticed for a moment. As it is, their graves are hardly remembered by the great American public. Both were heroes just as much in their humble way as any of the Greeks and Romans of whom we read so much. Xenophon's retreat of the ten thousand was great, and so were the victories of Cæsar; but taking into account the means and material at hand, our naval battles of 1812-15, of which a slight description only has been given, were every way as great, for they were fought in spite of immense odds, and for the salvation of our country.

BENJAMIN F. STEVENS.

THE BATTLE OF SEDAN, FROM A GERMAN STANDPOINT.

"THERE being no information received up to the present time relative to the different positions occupied by individual corps at the end of the various skirmishes, it is taken for granted that the enemy has been everywhere forced to retire or defeated; therefore the forward movement is to be continued as early as posible to-morrow, and the enemy, wherever found on this side of the Meuse, is to be energetically attacked and pushed into the narrowest possible space between this river and the Belgian frontier. To the crown prince of Saxony is assigned the duty of cutting off the retreat of the enemy in an easterly direction, wherefore it is recommended that at least two corps be pressed forward to the right bank of the river, and that any force operating in the direction of Mouzon be attacked in flank and rear. The Third Army is entrusted with the surveillance of the front and right flank of the enemy. The artillery will take the strongest possible position on this side of the river-bank, in order to command and sweep with its fire the approach of the enemy and encampment on the valley of the right bank below Mouzon. Should the enemy enter Belgian territory without being previously disarmed, he is to be pursued without further delay. His majesty the king will leave here to-morrow at 8 A. M. for Sommauthe. Any changes made in the disposition of corps up to that hour will be reported to these headquarters."

The above orders were issued on the evening of the 30th of August, 1870, from the headquarters of his majesty the king of Prussia at Buzancy, and were made official by the signature of the chief of the general staff, the present field-marshal, Count von Moltke. These famous orders are, on the one hand, a testimony to the keenness with which the German headquarters scanned the military situation, and the quiet, decided manner in which it took its measures accordingly, while they offer, on the other hand, to the reader an interior view of the thrilling events of these stirring times.

Scarcely had fourteen days passed since the memorable 19th of July when the French declaration of war was received in Berlin, before the

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German army stood on the western frontier of the Fatherland, ready to defend it against French aggression. Prince Frederick Charles assembled the elements of the Second Army at the Hessian and Bavarian Palatinate. The First Army, commanded by General von Steinmetz, was posted on the Lower Saar. The crown prince of Prussia commanded the Third Army, and took position at Landau, his front facing south. This army was designed to cover the left flank of Prince Frederick Charles, and protect German territory in the south against French invasion.

In contrast to this promptness and activity the French were lamentably deficient, and the premature declaration of the French minister of war, that the imperial army was in perfect condition, and "complete even to the last button," proved to be wholly incorrect. Indeed, at the end of July four French corps stood between Metz and the German frontier, and two others between Saargemünd and Strasburg, but the officers in command officially declared that they were not properly equipped nor ready to engage in great military operations. The corps assembled at Belfort and the reserves that rendezvoused at the world-renowned camp of Châlons were in a much worse condition for war. This fortunate circumstance favorably influenced at the very beginning the conduct of the war on the part of the Germans. It decided the wavering states of Southern Germany to join the coalition against France, and the eagerness with which they placed their troops and munitions of war at the command of the Prussian king was a marked result. The reinforcements thus secured enabled him to take the offensive, and to carry the bloody realities of war into the very heart of the country whose people had so haughtily defied him.

The French attack on Saarbrück, on the 2d of August, was a genuine fanfaronade, though it occasioned great excitement throughout Germany, and timid souls predicted therefrom the invincibility of the Gaul, but the German troops received the enemy with such a withering fire that nothing living could withstand it, and the result was a glorious victory, standing out in bold relief in the history of wars for all time. Weissenburg, Wörth, Spichern, Colombey, Vionville, Gravelotte, Saint Privat! Who in Germany does not know these names, and who does not remember their meaning? Every father who fought in this war has again and again related to his listening family the terrors and hardships which were encountered, and the proud patriotism which filled every German breast during these times. The professor recalls them in his address to his pupils on the anniversary of these honorable and memorable days. Every

German home is more or less linked to the remembrance of them. The inherent strength of the German Army lies in the fact that the whole nation is represented in it, none of its sons being exempt from service; therefore, not only the entire people as a unit, but each individual is directly interested in its conduct, and its losses in prestige or in numbers meet with universal sympathy, while its successes give rise to national festivities. The greater part of the French army having been shattered and routed, and the rest of it with its hitherto victorious commander shut up within the walls of a fortress, the work of its destruction was already more than half completed.

The German leader now, with the bulk of his army, turned his attention to the neighborhood of Châlons, where the newly-assembled French levies already numbered one hundred and thirty thousand men. McMahon did not intend, as the Germans had a right to expect, to use this force for the immediate support of Napoleon, whose throne in Paris was now in a perilous condition, but he formed the bold resolution of uniting his forces with Bazaine's Army of the Rhine, which he assumed had by some chance escaped from Metz and was on its way westward. On the 23d of August the German army began its forward movement from the Meuse towards Paris, and the French moved on the same day from Rheims eastward. These two mighty columns would have passed each other, for McMahon felt it was essential to the success of his undertaking, viz., union with Bazaine, not to be detained on the way, had not the cavalry scouts that scoured the country in advance of the German column brought to the headqaurters of the German army, on the evening of the 25th of August, reliable information of the march of the French in a contrary direction to that of their own. This caused the famous order, "column right," towards the north on the following morning.

The French were now obliged to abandon the direct line of march towards Metz, and consequently, as appeared daily clearer to the German headquarters, deflected steadily from their objective-point and pressed on towards the northern Belgian frontier. McMahon did not continue in this direction long before he was compelled by instructions from Paris to change his line of march to the west. He soon found himself forced by hard marches, constant and unfavorable skirmishing, and especially by the shattered condition of his army after the eight hours' battle of Beaumont, to concentrate his forces in the vicinity of the little fortress of Sedan. A junction of his troops with the Thirteenth Army Corps, mobilized at Mézières, and commanded by General Venoy, was yet possible, but in the delusive hope of being able

at his pleasure to cut a way through either by the east or west, he postponed the opportune moment until it was too late. A manuscript afterwards found shows that he ordered the 1st of September to be a day of general rest, which his worn-out troops badly needed, and by this he precipitated his fate. The genial "we will" of the German headquarters, and the hearty co-operation of all its subordinate branches, appear the more conspicuous when contrasted with the vacillation and uncertainty of the French headquarters in regard to the military situation and the lack of unity and harmony among its officers. The military reader is already sufficiently acquainted with the internal organization of that army, in which was represented almost every German clan, and which, under the command of the king of Prussia, sought to engage in decisive battle the last field army of the French empire. Without rendering it necessary to give here the minor details, suffice to say that the consolidated morning report of the strength of the army on the 22d of August shows that the Third and Meuse Armies mustered for duty one hundred and eighty-three thousand nine hundred and twenty-three infantry, thirty-five thousand three hundred and sixty-four cavalry, and eight hundred and one pieces of horse artillery. By rapid marches the Saxons gained possession of the passage of the Meuse between Dun and Stenay, and the other corps were pressed forward by forced marches from the south into the country between that river and the Aisne. The more the enemy could be pushed towards the frontier,—the narrower the space for the movements of the Army of Châlons,—the more unfavorable the conditions for his final effort, the more certain his annihilation.

The German leader, after mature deliberation, endeavored to bring about this state of affairs. His excellent strategic position was not due to chance, but to the masterly manner in which he handled his troops, after considering all things, the mistakes of the enemy, as well as the devotion and capability of the rank and file of his own forces. Much depends on the latter, for neither Frederick the Great, Napoleon, nor even Von Moltke could achieve victories if the subordinate officers and the rank and file of their armies had not been animated by an active and willing spirit to shed even the last drop of their blood, if required, in executing the orders of their superiors.

In the army of 1870 every man, from the highest in rank to the lowest, vied with his neighbor in the conscientious fulfillment of his duty. For the first time in many years the warriors of the several German states joined hands in common cause in a bloody conflict with an old enemy, felt themselves sons of a strong united nation, and learned

to know and prize each other's virtues. The higher officers put aside all personal differences and jealousies, took the spirit of the orders received for their common interest and the rule of their thoughts and actions. This was right, for harmony and unity are essential elements of success. From this devotion and enthusiasm sprang the possibility of intrusting even the highest duties to the judgment, energy, and presence of mind of the generals, as well as reposing the greatest confidence in the readiness and capability of the troops. The commander-in-chief, freed from the many minor details of an army, with a far-reaching view to great and ultimate results, had only to assign to his generals tasks for which they were peculiarly adapted, and could be always certain of their hearty support and implicit obedience to his orders.

The battle of Sedan was the natural result of the combinations consequent upon the faithful execution of the orders issued two days previous, which are reproduced at the head of this article. While the Germans were converging on Sedan, Generals von Moltke, von Podbeilski, and von Blumenthal met at Chemery, the headquarters of the crown prince of Prussia, on the 31st of August, and held a short conference on the situation of affairs. Here the positions of the corps and plan of operation were matured. The crown prince made the necessary dispositions, communicated the same in their minutest details to the commander of the Army of the Meuse; who immediately issued orders to his army for the attack of the following morning. It seemed very probable to the general staff that the French would retreat westward by Mézières, it discovered the practicability of a hostile demonstration towards the east, while it scarcely credited that McMahon, in view of the conspicuously unfavorable condition, would risk a battle in the vicinity of the Sedan.

The object of the Third Army was to gain possession of the Mézières road, and that of the crown prince of Saxony to obtain command of the outlet toward the east. Each commander was assured by the thunder of artillery, heard early on the morning of September 1, that the French army was attempting to escape by a route contrary to that anticipated; therefore each hastened his attack so as to hold him fast and draw upon himself a corresponding fraction of his army. This attempt of each to surround the enemy and at the same time to afford material assistance to the other completely succeeded, and contributed in a great measure in bringing about the battle of Sedan. The action of both armies in deploying so far to their right and left while only a few battalions remained south of the fortress seems open to criticism. It is, however, perfectly justifiable when the circumstances are taken into

consideration, viz.,—the favorable natural features of the ground and the facilities offered for successful defense, although in front of a strongly fortified position, and the fact that in case the French should break through by the city and fortress southward, there was but a single bridge available for the purpose, their movements would be under constant observation, and therefore the necessary offensive measures could be taken at the proper moment.

The Army of Châlons comprised, according to the "Ordre de Bataille" of the 25th of August, one hundred and sixty-six battalions, one hundred and twelve squadrons, eighty-one batteries of four hundred and two pieces, and eighty-four mitrailleuse. On the 1st of September General McMahon had about one hundred and twenty-four thousand men under his command.

The position chosen by the French, offering three sides front, was well adapted for an obstinate defense, and especially so the ground still available should their present position be forced. They showed themselves during this war masters of the art of turning the ground to the very best advantage. The forest of Garonne, in connection with other clusters of woods, ravines, and deep gulches, afforded many covered positions. The advance of the Germans from Donchery against the strong position of Floing was only possible by the Big Bend of the Meuse, around which there was but one road, and that for the most part wound about deep precipices; it was very narrow and rugged, besides being hemmed in between rocks and the river. The lowland above the fortress was flooded by a break in the river embankment. The strategic position of the French in case of reverse was desperate, and must inevitably lead to either complete destruction or an unconditional surrender.

The difficulties of the French army were enhanced by the frequent change in its commander-in-chief and by many other contingencies. Marshal Mc Mahon was compelled to leave the field of battle about 8 A.M. on account of a wound received from the fragments of a shell, turned over the command to General Ducrot, thereby overslaughing many officers who were his seniors. Ducrot had only joined the previous evening at Carignan as commander of the First Corps. He knew nothing of the plans of the retiring marshal, nor was he acquainted with the military situation. The new commander issued orders at once for the massing of his army on the plateau of Illy, during the execution of which General Wimpffen claimed and assumed the chief command on the ground of an authority from the minister of war, Palikav, which he had until then withheld. Marching and countermarching, disorder and confusion resulted. The sardonic old French

saying, "Ordre, contre-ordre, disordre," reigning supreme for the moment. However, the admirable troops did not lose heart; they defended every inch of ground with heroic obstinacy. Great gaps were made in the ranks of the storming Germans by the heavy artillery, whirring mitrailleuse, and the annihilating fire of the chassepots. Again and again did the French dash against the wall that held them in its iron grasp; squadrons charged as only French horse can charge, but in vain, and the fast-imprisoned and sorely-tried army must finally succumb in a glorious but despairing conflict. It saved its military honor in a brilliant manner, and the heavy losses of the Germans—nearly nine thousand dead and wounded, among them four hundred and sixty-five officers—eloquently attest better than any description the severity of the action. On the evening of the 31st of August the German army had advanced close to the French position, and in some places was within feeling distance.

The crown prince of Saxony deployed his three corps and two cavalry divisions in the small space between the Meuse and the Belgian frontier, inclining to the east and southeast. The Third Army, consisting of four corps, one infantry and two cavalry divisions, was posted on the South, and was held in immediate readiness to repulse any possible attack of the enemy in that direction, or to fall on his flank should he, passing over the bridges, attempt a retreat towards the west. The Sixth Army Corps at Attigny, and the Fifth Cavalry Division at Tourteron, was held intact, in rear of the German left flank, as a kind of general reserve.

General van der Tann advanced against Bazeilles, at 3 A.M. September 1, over the pontoon bridges which had been laid the day before at Allicourt and over the railroad bridge farther down the river. He expected to take the town by surprise, or at least to meet with little resistance. Silently the Bavarians pressed forward to the warm reception that awaited them from the massive buildings of which the place for the most part is composed. Bazeilles had been carefully prepared for a stubborn defence, and the villa of Beurman in the northern suburbs had been turned into a veritable citadel. Here the well-known bloody battle raged with fiercest bitterness and terrible slaughter. On and on pressed the Bavarians with undaunted bravery, taking building after building, being at the same time exposed in flank and rear to the secret attacks of sympathizing inhabitants. General van der Tann was obliged by degrees to bring the greater part of his corps into the action, was finally reinforced by General von Hartman's corps, and the Eighth Prussian Division was transferred from Remilly to the right bank of the Meuse. If, on the one hand, the Bavarians did not suc-

ceed in capturing the town after hours of desperate fighting, on the other, the French, although having repeatedly received strong and fresh reinforcements, did not eject them from the position again.

The artillery, at the approach of darkness, energetically and successfully engaged in the action, and though late, made itself proportionately felt. The Twelfth Army Corps set out from Douzy at five in the morning, marched by Rulle to Lamecourt, and then advanced against Moncelle. The artillery unlimbered for action, and the town was soon in the hands of the brave Saxons, who also took possession of the heights on the west by a rapid and gallant onset. The possession of these now became the object of a fierce struggle, which ended with the Germans in command of the strategic point which they had so gallantly won. North and South Germany, in the persons of the Saxons and Bavarians, joined hands at Monvilliers in combat against an old foe. The French moved towards the forest of Chevalliers by Daigny, on whose bridges General Ducrot especially relied in case of retreat, but encountered the Saxon troops of the Twenty-fourth Division, who had not been engaged at Moncelle and Monvilliers. This division experienced great difficulty in holding their ground against the impetuous attacks of the French, but fresh troops coming soon to their assistance, the enemy was forced to retire, and the Saxons took possession of Daigny.

At daybreak of the 1st of September the Prussian Guard Corps, with the First Guard Infantry Division, advanced against Villers-Cernay, and with the remaining troops afterwards against Franchval. Villers-Cernay was quickly wrested from the French, and Gavonne won in earnest combat; other detachments of the Guards took possession of Haybes, reinforced the Saxons in Daigny, and deployed farther to the right, in the direction of the cavalry of the Guards. The actions in which the Saxons and Bavarians participated were especially severe, and in the early stages in many instances the want of ammunition was greatly felt. Bazeilles was finally taken after hours of frightful carnage, and General von der Tann occupied it in force so as to be able to hold it in any event.

In the mean time a vigorous artillery and infantry fire raged all along the line, under the cover of which the Twelfth Corps was to advance against Saint Menges, and the Guard Corps against Fleigneux. These movements were not carried out to their full extent, for the skirmishing hussars of the Guards had already advanced within feeling distance of the Eleventh Army Corps at Olly. The emperor was at his post on the heights south of Frenois about 8.30 A. M., and the crown prince of Prussia had taken his position several hours earlier

on the adjacent hills. When the thick fog which prevailed since the early morning had disappeared, the whole surrounding country, even the deeply hidden Bazeilles, was distinctly visible. The roar of artillery proceeding from that direction indicated that a hotly-contested battle was in progress. The crown prince therefore ordered a division of the Second Bavarian Army Corps to proceed there immediately. This division, later on, materially assisted in the capture of Balan. The only force left south of Sedan was the Fourth Bavarian Division. Small detachments of it advanced to the very works of the fortress at Torcey, others by Wadelincourt to the river-bank, and the artillery took position on the heights.

The Würtemberger Division, at daylight, crossed the river below on bridges thrown across it, near Dom le Mesnal, and served as a general reserve north of Donchery. Running fights with the French from Mézières led them at the close of the day to the very gates of that city. The Fifth and Eleventh Prussian Corps crossed to the left bank of the river on the 1st of September, in the darkness of the early morning, on the bridge at Donchery and on pontoons that had been thrown across it to the west of that town. Here both corps received orders about 7.30 A. M. to advance around the bend of the river against Saint Menges, for the Mézières-Sedan road being free of the enemy, it was concluded he must be still in his position or in retreat to the east. The march was over the narrow and precipitous road already mentioned, the Eleventh Corps leading. Generally the Fifth Corps followed in rear of the left flank of the former, therefore its head was directed on Fleigneux by General von Kirckbach, its gallant commander. In the darkness of the morning some detachments lost their way, and several minor mishaps occurred while crossing the bridges, so that when the column debouched from the narrow defile north of the river bend it was found that a portion of the Eleventh had fallen in rear of the Fifth Corps. Saint Menges was taken in the first onset, after which the Eleventh Corps gained ground to the right and left and formed the first or front line of battle. The Fifth followed in close order, forming a general reserve, and the artillery of both corps as soon as practicable proceeded to crown the commanding heights. The Germans now gained ground only step by step, for the position was defended with great courage and stubborn tenacity, and here the weak German battalions unflinchingly withstood the many desperate onslaughts of the French, and especially the famous charge of Gallifert's brigade. They gallantly held their ground until about noon, when the rest of the column having emerged from the defiles took hand in the fray, the French were then forced to give way, and the Germans, after heavy losses, remained

in possession of the Floing-Fleigneux line of defence. The brave commander of the Eleventh Corps, General von Gersdorff, was severely wounded in the very moment of victory. Small bodies of the enemy crossed over the Belgian frontier, many were turned back upon Illy, and the German horse took many prisoners.

The capture of Fleigneux, and the possession of the country to the south and east of Sedan, completed the iron circle around the doomed French army. The "Kettle-Battle," as a recent military writer aptly termed it, now reached its climax. The whole French army must shortly make one supreme struggle for life or death. For the moment an ominous silence prevailed,—a pause in the deadly conflict. It was the calm before the storm,—the concentration for the last effort to rend the chains that bound them,—the beginning of the end. The respite was short; suddenly the fire of seventy-one batteries burst upon the cooped-up French army. Its organization had already been loosened, itself shattered, and the division of General Liebert was the only force available to defend the remaining space of the strong position between Floing and Cazal. The fate of the day was now virtually decided, and General Wimpffen recognized the fact that he could no longer retain his present position. In the erroneous supposition that he could yet succeed in overthrowing the Bavarians, whom he considered somewhat shaken, and thus open a passage for his army to the east, he prepared for a desperate effort. The Twenty-fourth Division, on its way from Moncelle to attack Illy, met this suddenly improvised column, and the action resulted in the repulse of the French. The Germans continued to gain ground over a difficult country on the north and west fronts of the enemy. The spirited charges of the Margaritte Division on the plains between Floing and Cazal, led by General Gallifert, which were characterized by the greatest contempt of death, could delay, not stop, their victorious advance. Illy, Calvaire, d'Illy, and Cazal fell into the hands of the Germans. The forest of Garoenne was simultaneously attacked on all sides by battalions of the Prussian Guards and of the Eleventh, Fifth, and Twelfth Corps, who charged into this last refuge, which had already been for hours swept by artillery. General Wimpffen placed himself at the head of a small force and succeeded in reaching Balan, but was confronted by the Bavarians and Fourth Prussian Corps, who forced him back, and pursued him to the very glacis of the fortress.

The king of Prussia, who watched all these movements from his position, now perceived that his artillery completely commanded the narrow space in which the French army was inclosed. In order to hasten the certain result, the capitulation of the French, he ordered

about 4 P. M. the town of Sedan to be shelled. It was soon on fire in several places, and the Bavarians began to scale the palisades at Lorcy. At 2 P. M. the white flag had been displayed on the tower of the fortress, but it must have been withdrawn; at any rate, the Germans did not see it. The French commander now ordered the white flag to be shown on the tower, but only after great urgency from the French emperor did the emblem of defeat float on the breeze. The fire gradually ceased, and the bloody duel was brought to an end. The bowed-down French emperor, hard hit by events, and surrounded by dying officers and soldiers who obstinately held to the belief that Bazaine was on his way to their rescue, threw himself at the feet of his royal opponent in the following letter, the delivery of which, a very unpleasant task, was intrusted to General Peille: "Not having met death in the midst of my troops, it only remains for me to place my sword in the hands of your majesty." Now began the work of capitulation. Twenty thousand prisoners were taken in the detached fights around Sedan. By the capitulation eighty-three thousand men, one eagle, two colors, four hundred and nineteen cannon and mitrailleuse, one hundred and thirty-nine pieces of heavy artillery, one thousand and seventy-two transport-wagons, sixty-six thousand stands of arms, and about six thousand serviceable horses fell into the hands of the victors.

J. J. O'CONNELL,
Colonel U. S. Army (retired).

BEYOND AND BACK AGAIN.

CAPTAIN SPOONER was a lonely man, of quiet habits and simple tastes, who liked nothing better than spring violets, and hated nothing more than the dust and bustle of crowded streets. He was wont to dream much upon the things both of earth and heaven; believed in special providences, which, he said, were mere local interpretations of a general fact, like the separate sparkle of sunshine thrown off by each little ripple on the bay, and so the captain strove to extract from every incident in life its appropriate lesson, with, probably, the usual result of a view largely colored by the opinions and wishes of the moment. Regularly came to him the duties and relaxations of each day; the former of which he discharged in his office, while the latter took him in solitary rambles over the country upon a horse that botanized in harmony with his master, so far as generical differences of taste allowed.

The leisure of peace was consecrated by the captain to all manner of investigation, from the campaigns of Joshua to the visions of Swedenborg, on the genealogy of words and the possibilities of chemistry; but at present he was enjoying his afternoon ride through the pinewoods with reference partly to the pulmonary benefits of terebinthine and partly to specimens of the carnivorous *sun-dew*, and he had recently read several speculations upon what lies "beyond the gates," and his thoughts readily took a celestial direction.

True and trite enough it is to every man that "Heaven is farther off than when he was a boy." Its glories seem to recede into misty uncertainties, very slightly clarified by the compound adjectives of sensational preaching. "The low sun makes the color," and the noonday of eschatology lies far in the future. If, however, our ideas of heaven want body, it is doubtless because the body to terms of which we are now limited is in no respect like what we shall be. Still, "the captive beats against the bars," and would tempt the mysteries of unknown worlds. But the most creative imagination can only cross the abyss from this side in vehicles of terrestrial construction. Celestial sights and sounds, even as told by Swedenborg, are of the earth, earthy. There is a legal idea of heaven as a place where one can sit

at *nisi prius* all day long and play whist all night, while Sydney Smith rose to the conception of eating *foie gras* to the sound of trumpets. The old heathen poet was possessed of much finer sensibilities apparently,—

> "There the sun with glorious ray,
> Chasing shady night away,
> Makes an everlasting day,
> Where souls in fields of purple roses play;
> Others in verdant plains disport,
> Crowned with trees of every sort—
> Trees that never fruit do bear,
> But always in the blossom are."

Conservative Uncle John waives all discussion, insisting that the chief end of man here and hereafter is "to glorify God and serve him forever." Certainly. But how and where? And the question evokes only the imagery of harp, psalm, and pearl.

Surely, quoth the captain, this life is a discipline for that which is to come. What is learned here is to be useful there. And God created this world and saw that it was good, at least before man spoiled it with his violence. Here in these very woods the air is laden with the breath of pine and flower that are his handiwork. The sunlight flashes through the shadows, lighting up yonder a tangle of gray moss, and here a holly-bush, spangled with berries of red. Nothing could be purer than this blue sky, nothing brighter than that veil of golden cloud, nor any path lead straighter to the infinite than this long glade that opens on the gulf, far out over which glided a solitary sail,—

> "One moment white, then lost forever."

What can we do more than the savage who paints a hereafter with the colors of his choicest experience?—

> "By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews,
> In vestments of the chase arrayed,
> The hunter still the deer pursues—
> The hunter and the deer a shade."

Shall there be new heavens and a new earth, and shall there be no May-days, no trailing arbutus hidden under the green leaves, none of the sweet clover of June, nothing of the harvest of October? "Verily," thought the captain, as he took in a mighty breath of the air that came up through the pines from the sea, "verily, even *my* bit of the world here would make a very satisfactory heaven."

Just then a gnat flew into the captain's eye. The pain was intense.

He dropped the reins and thrust his handkerchief under the smarting lids, only to irritate them more. A rabbit sprang out upon the path. The horse shied violently, and the captain found himself prostrate among the brakes, his presence of mind vindicated by the fact that he still kept his handkerchief, and diligently proceeded with its use. While he thought with vexed wonder how great an ache so small a creature made he heard a faint *halloo,* and visible in the distance was his runaway steed in the custody of a semi-naked negro. The captain came up, and, holding before the impromptu hostler a dime, "John," said he, slowly wiping away his tears, "John, whatever heaven may be, remember there are no gnats there."

Trifles like these, then, make up our sorrows and delights; a bit of sunshine, a waft of perfume, and we say, O soul, enjoy thyself forever! A sting of pain, a blast of storm, and, behold, we cry, It is better for me to die than to live.

The captain was now in the way to secure a "Science of Being" by the process of exclusion. He modestly deferred, for the present, any assertions as to what heaven was, though more confident as to what it was not. Some further police is necessary before the millennium. Celestial zoology might admit the existence of the minister's old mare, and the doctrine of compensation should provide for the costermonger's donkey, to say nothing of the problem of cats and canaries, but noxious plants and animals, being simple incarnations of life already poisoned in its flow downwards through the evil hearts of men, shall be burned up in the fires of the last day.

In the office of the captain were gathered his books. Here was the trysting-place to which he could summon Miss Martineau or Maud and be certain both would come, whether busy with the mysteries of mesmerism or dancing to the strains of flute and bassoon. Here also were waiting Brahma and the Vedas, or Uncle Remus and his stories. Within these four walls were solemn joys known only to the initiated. Mighty machinery is laboring and huge ships are buffeting with wind and wave to lay their treasures in goodly octavos at the feet of the seeker. Gutenberg and Aldus are his saints, and he believes heartily in the immaculate conception of the press. Blissful moments are those which witness the arrival of closely-knotted bundles from some metropolitan Mudie, in which is a long-planned selection, the inspiration of the children of Mnemosyne. Nor do Houris alone visit his dreams. They abide with him ever in all the varied charms of primer, pica, and nonpareil.

As the captain's eye, now restored to service, wandered lovingly along the library shelves, dwelling each moment upon some familiar

acquaintance, he felt how completely they sympathized with all his moods, nor ever failed, moreover, in that happy unobtrusiveness which knows that at times no consolation is so sweet as that of a dumb presence.

At the open window a vine was tossing its leaves in the wind, while the sunshine painted their play upon the opposite wall, until a cloud came up out of the west and breezes, freshened with cool sea-spray, rustled through the leaves of the magnolia.

Very pleasant and comfortable it was as the captain looked up, and then turned over another leaf, reading: "To the man of business with a taste for books, who through the day has struggled in the battle of life with all its irritating rebuffs and anxieties, what a blessed season of pleasurable repose opens upon him as he enters his sanctum, where every article wafts to him a welcome and every book is a personal friend!"

Shall, then, a man's learning die with him? Truly do we labor and others gather the fruit. He that would save for one he loves often saves for those he hates. The very prizes we collect so eagerly and esteem so highly will in a few short years be tossed about the trays of some Nassau Street itinerant. Yet it is written that before Solomon lay all the treasures of this earth awaiting his choice, and the divine voice said, "Because thou hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself . . . wisdom and knowledge is granted thee, and riches and wealth and honor." It is possible that once beyond the grave the atomic theory, and even the Athanasian creed, will very inadequately fit the facts, at least on their farther side; but, quoth the captain, "No man will be the worse who takes more delight in Plato than Torquemada, or who prefers Wordsworth to Wall Street. The most narrow-minded literalist cannot deny that there are books in heaven, though no mention is made of publishers, and where ledgers are to be found one might reasonably hope for Lamb." And looking up again, he passed his volumes in review, gleaming in purple and gold, and said, "Perhaps it was bold to expect anything like the other life under the pines, but surely I have it *here*."

Just then clouds of dust swept in from the street and, like the harpies of Strophades, swooped upon person, book, and table, filling the room with the vile débris of townward travel as the storm passed down the road. Finally the aggressive refuse eddied itself to rest on desk and shelf. Morocco and gilding looked out in dim eclipse, Socrates seemed foolish, Erasmus sober, Tennyson cacophonous, and the captain remembered with penitent thankfulness that the old-fashioned

heaven was paved with gold and built up with all manner of precious stones, and resounded with the murmur of crystal streams.

"After all," concluded the captain, "St. John knew what he was talking about. In the streets of his Jerusalem there shall be neither sorrow nor crying, *and* there can be no dust there."

That evening as the captain went to bed and the day's ideas drifted by, in those moments when consciousness gets cross-eyed and we seem to see double, looking curiously out from one self upon the other just ready to "roll down the gulfs of sleep," his faith in St. John was a little obscured. Verily, night with its recompense of rest and the morning with its renewed glow of life may well be a heavenly experience. Bright visions and sweet thoughts have come to all of us out of the darkness. It can bring no fear to the soul that is not afraid of itself. Is not *rest* the prominent feature of the orthodox elysium in many a New England farm-house, where man and maid are wont to go forth to their daily task at the break of dawn? Did not Swedenborg see beds in heaven with, doubtless, an innate power of self-adjustment, and with pillows of down from angels' wings? Shall we always, then, be in the midst of "that fierce glory which beats upon the throne"? Has twilight no charms and the silent midnight no memories to be recalled with tender regret in that "sacred high eternal noon"? Rather shall Immortality have its shadow, if not of care, yet of repose. And the captain fell asleep.

Outside the harbor bar there was a storm. Gray clouds trailed heavily past the water. The wind swept up the slope burdened with the smell of weed and wreck along the reef, where the surf was beating with monotonous roar. The branches of the old oak that served as roof-tree were writhing and tossing in the blast. It was a night to dream of danger and disaster, and the captain was suddenly wakened to an atmosphere that seemed full of strange sounds and even of invisible presences. In the distance a door swung to with a hollow roar, and above something fell with a dull jar that died out at once, as if smothered in the fear of its own noise. The captain searched in vain for a light. The mystery of darkness was upon him and defied any attempt of memory or reason. Window and stair, table and shelf, had all changed places, and nothing was familiar to the touch. Stealthy footfalls seemed to follow him, and stifled breathings were heard whenever he turned. Whatever he put his hand upon either shrank from his approach or grew rigid with menace, and when he finally gained the entry and called for his orderly the very tones of his voice seemed not his, but another's. A light appeared in the passage, footsteps disengaged themselves from the confusion, matter began to

orient itself, mind to assert its control, and the captain, with many a contrite shake of the head, repeated, "And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun."

It happened among the incidents of service that the captain changed his station, but he carried his cares and problems with him, if not his furniture, no tariff hampering the transit of the former, still among which were his attempts at a reconstruction of the "Science of Being." As essential elements, the landscape, the library, and the night-time had been tried and found wanting, except with conditions and reservations that naturally interfered with the simplicity and universal application of statement so characteristic of our best science. Exceptions only show that a fag end or two is still outside our reach, and until this is wholly gathered in there is no telling how much slack is unaccounted for.

After much speculation, it appeared to the captain that music afforded an infinity of resource well worth exploration. There was no heresy here either, at least at the starting-point. Song and trumpet are approved elements of all Catholic eschatology. It is more than probable that the strains which the great masters have made immortal were all of them but echoes from a higher and better world. There shall be many a spiritualized *Trovatore,* and such ravishing *Sounds from Home* as no exile or wanderer along the shores of earth has ever heard. The very stars in their courses sing as they roll, and Emerson himself experienced religion at an opera. Alexander felt that his conquests were incomplete without a Homer to sing them. Welcomes of celestial harmony have reached the ears of the dying, and if the ordinary sense has to be educated up to Wagner, there are none so dull as to find no melody in the voice of the robin and the lark. Here, if anywhere, we seem to have substantial ground from which to push our researches into the regions whence no man has returned.

Again it was midnight. *Rub-a-dub, rub-a-dub, rub-a-dub.*

Clearly round the corner came the triumphant strains of the Hardscrabble brass band. The captain sat straight up in bed. "This is *too* much," he groaned. And he thought of tom-toms reverberating in dull iteration through African jungles, or of the sacrificial drum that shook Aztec temples with its horrid clamor, or of the butcher Santerre, who drowned with his tambours the dying protest of a king. The captain well knew what was coming. From the yard, on the right, of Major O. Rockerty, commanding the Hardscrabble Fusileers, where fife and cymbals were now disburdening themselves of *Garry Owen,* etc., they would adjourn to the residence, on the left, of our worthy

Mayor Schneider, for the performance of *Die Wacht am Rhein.* Then in front of the windows of the belle opposite would be a scrub-race of brass and reed through the intricacies of *Am I not fondly thine own?* and yet another in honor of the rival beauty below, waiting to be duly assured, *Ever of thee I'm fondly dreaming,* closing up towards morning with a grand medley under the editorial attic of the *Hardscrabble Herald.*

The captain lay down and pensively ruminated, now to the sympathetic strains of *John Brown's Body.* He determined to abandon entirely any attempt at the composition of what apparatus and pursuits might belong to heaven, confident only that no gnats, and no dust, and no darkness shall enter therein, nor in any wise the Hardscrabble brass band with their instruments, at all events. For the rest, he remains content with what was seen at Patmos.

H. W. Closson,
Brigadier General, U. S. A. (retired).

OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

An analysis of the contents of the principal military periodicals, systematically classified under a few general heads for the convenience of the reader and student, comprising extracts and comments, in which special attention is given to the most important and valuable articles.

ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION AND MOBILIZATION.

1. Report of General Corbin.—*A. and N. Reg.*, Sept. 24; *A. and N. Jour.*, Sept. 24.
2. Report of General Sumner.—*Same.*
3. Report of General Bates.—*Same.*
4. Report of General Wint.—*A. and N. Reg.*, Oct. 1.
5. Mr. Arnold Foster's Army Scheme.—*Unit. Serv. Mag.*, Sept.; *Ind. Vol. Rec.*, Aug. 15; *A. and N. Gaz.*, Aug. 27-Sept. 24.
6. Voluntary or Compulsory Service.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, Aug. 27.
7. How to Get Recruits.—*Unit, Serv. Mag.*, Sept.
8. The Standard of Strength for Imperial Defence.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Sept.
9. Budgets: Belgium, Cuba, Japan, etc.—*Bulletin of Mil. Notes,* II.*
10. Organization of Armies: Bulgaria, France, Germany, etc.—*Same.*

The first four articles are the annual reports of Division and Department Commanders, and are of more than usual interest. They have been published in the above service weeklies, but we desire to call special attention to points of general interest in each.

From *General Corbin's Report*:

"COMMUTATION OF QUARTERS.

"The chief paymaster again recommends that while the rate per month per room for commutation of quarters remain at $12 per month, the number of rooms be: for a second lieutenant, two; and for each additional grade, one room over the grade below.

**Bulletin of Military Notes.* Occasional. War Department, office of the Chief of Staff, General Staff, Second Division, Washington, D. C.

"The need for some relief for officers on duty where quarters in kind are not furnished hardly needs argument to support it. Except in some of the smaller cities, the amount now allowed is simply insufficient to provide quarters in any way suitable. It is easy to say that an officer should live within his income and that his expenditure for rent should conform to his income; but it is not so easy to practice it. The slight relief which is recommended by the chief paymaster is endorsed by me, if nothing better can be done. That rents have increased greatly since the present schedule was made is of course well known to all.

"A better solution, however, at any rate for officers, stationed in cities near military posts, would be to erect at these posts suitable quarters for their occupancy. * * *

"MILEAGE.

"The present system of mileage, to meet the expense of officers traveling at government expense, is only partially satisfactory. For long, continuous journeys, the sum received as mileage is ordinarily sufficient; but for the shorter and broken journeys, it is entirely inadequate. Inspectors and paymasters possibly feel it more than others; but very many other officers, traveling on government service, are obliged to pay out of their own pockets a portion of the expenses that should be met by the government. Just how the relief should come is a problem worthy of the attention of the general staff. * * *

"THE GENERAL STAFF.

"The working of the general staff under my personal observation and experience confirms my opinion expressed at the time the general staff law was under consideration, viz.: that the adjutants general of divisions and departments should be officers of a division of the general staff. The position of chief of staff and that of adjutant general of a division or department are analogous. The present practice creates two positions, one of which is wholly unnecessary. Should the chief of staff have more duties than one officer can perform, and often he will, his assistants should be officers of the general staff, and, of course, always junior to the chief. The assignment of a chief of staff with rank less than that of the adjutant general is hateful from a military point of view and hurtful to discipline, and should, in the best interests of the service, be discontinued. Both are officers performing, under the present conditions, duties so nearly akin that the dividing line is often difficult to deter-

mine, and there is every reason why the chief should be the senior in rank. The cure for this is executive action, by transfer as vacancies occur of all the officers remaining in the military secretary's department, to the general staff. If this is not practicable, then the senior should in every instance be the chief and all juniors his assistants, and assignments be made to division and departments with a due regard to rank, which should not be ignored under any circumstances. Any other course is a menace to every principle of military organization and of discipline.

"It is recommended that the general staff take into consideration the subject of working out a scheme by which line officers shall see from time to time service in an arm other than their own. I believe this would be of the greatest benefit, in fitting for possible command in the position of general officers, where knowledge of the capabilities and endurance of all arms is so necessary and vital to success in the field. * * *

"THE COAST ARTILLERY.

"Taking all these facts into consideration, the need for congressional action is urgent. I say this, not for the benefit of the officers of the artillery, or of the artillery arm, but for the army and the nation. * * *

"I therefore very strongly advocate that the coast artillery be increased at least one-half, and the pay of the enlisted men in the grades noted raised. * * *

"It is recommended that the district commander be not in command of any artillery post, though he may have his headquarters and be stationed thereat.

"It is also recommended that existing orders be so modified as to permit artillery post commanders to allow reputable citizens to see a portion of the fortifications. A liberal spirit in this direction would assist the artillery and the army generally by giving an interest in it to the public. * * *

"If it were possible by my act to absolutely stop the manufacture and use of intoxicating drinks of any kind, I would do so; if it were possible by my act to prevent the use by any person in the military service of intoxicating drinks, I would do so; but realizing that the impossible, however desirable, must give way to what is possible and practicable, I am firmly of the opinion that it would be in the interests of discipline to re-establish the canteen feature of the post exchange, recognizing that in this way the evil of the use of drink can be minimized. I say this, realizing that there are many objections

to the selling of beer and light wines at military posts, both on ethical grounds and from actual results in the past, but as the almost universal testimony of post and company commanders is that many more men will leave the post to get drink when none can be obtained thereon than if there were beer and light wines sold at the post exchange, I can but advocate the re-establishment of their sale at military posts."

From *General Sumner's Report*:

"PROMOTION.

"In addition to the recommendations which have been made in the body of this report, I have the honor to make the following:

"The serious consideration of the general staff should be devoted to some general system of advancement which will prevent the stagnation in promotion that now threatens the army. The ill effects of slow promotion are too well known to need comment."

From *General Bates' Report*:

"MILEAGE.

"The complaint is general that the mileage received by these officers does not nearly cover their expenses, owing to the fact that the stations of the militia companies are separated by but small distances, and that hotel expenses are heavy. To avoid making an order to inspect militia a heavy drain on an officer's purse, it is recommended that, in making inspections of militia, officers be reimbursed the full amount of their actual expenses.

"POST LAUNDRIES.

"There is a growing necessity for the establishment of laundries at permanent posts. They should be built at public expense, and the charge for work done limited so as to cover operating expenses only."

The *fifth, sixth, seventh* and *eighth* articles above cited refer to the present scheme of reform and reorganization of the British Army. A few quotations will suffice to illustrate their general trend:

From the *United Service Magazine*:

"No intelligent person would for a moment contest the soundness of the three main principles asserted by Mr. Arnold Forster: (1) That we should aim rather at increasing our military strength for over-sea operations than at maintaining large land forces for the local defence of these islands; (2) that land forces which are "redundant" (that is to say, do not appear capable of returning good value for the money spent upon them, because useless or

superfluous), should be dispensed with; and (3) that the efficiency of the Army stands in very urgent need of improvement, whilst the cost must at the same time, so far as possible, be reduced.

"With the above entirely praiseworthy objects in view, Mr. Arnold Forster has produced a scheme under which the regular army, as well as being reduced in numbers with the Colors (a perfectly sound proceeding), is at the same time foolishly reduced to a lower standard of mobilized efficiency. * * *

"Moreover, though we might have, for what is called 'Home Defence,' an army of 400,000 or 4,000,000 of the best trained troops in the world, and even if every ship, naval and commercial, belonging to a great Continental Power had been sunk or captured, we should still fall short of procuring an advantageous peace unless we had arranged matters so that an army of at least half a million could actually be made ready for service abroad. Having such an army, we might not require to use it, but being without it we should most certainly be compelled to create it.

"Whatever scheme may be adopted for the regeneration of the British Army, the 'recruiting difficulty' remains the crux of the problem. It may or may not be possible to evolve a system under which an ample supply of recruits would be obtainable by voluntary enlistment, for both regular and 'national' forces; but in any case compulsion could be employed only in the case of the latter. Mr. Arnold Forster has endeavored to show that what he is pleased to call 'conscription' is out of the question, upon account of the expense, altogether apart from other objections. But his arguments are entirely fallacious; he assumes that we must train 380,000 men annually, for one year, whereas we could obtain forces ample for our needs by the enlistment of 100,000 annually for twelve years' training and reserve service, and all the efficiency required could be secured under the by no means onerous conditions already suggested above. Mr. Arnold Forster further assumes that, as the result of adopting compulsory service, the pay of the regular army would need to be doubled. The reason of this is not apparent; the effect would most probably be in the contrary direction. * * *

"For the British Regular Army what is required is *quality*—uniform quality—not *quantity;* whilst for a National Defence Force, immediately tangible *quantity* coupled with latent *quality* would suffice for our needs; because, in our case, unlike that of a Constitutional Power, the Navy, not the Army, is our "First Line," as well as the foundation of all our strength, offensive and defensive."

A. W. A. Pollock.

The matter of Imperial Federation is one upon which it behooves a foreigner, although of a race so closely allied with your own, to speak with befitting modesty of expression at least. But it is quite impossible for an American who is at all familiar with the history of his own country not to feel a profound sympathy as well as interest in the general progress of a movement which as yet, I presume, is in its incipiency at the present time. You are going through a history not only very analogous to our own, but I may say very similar to our own. Of course you are familiar, in a general way at least, with the genesis of the United States of America—how we began some three centuries ago as a number of Colonies, some of them of different nations, not even a group of Colonies, because in no way related one to another. Although the majority was settled by the English people, you know how those Colonies grew separate from each other, with jealousies that were perhaps accentuated by the very fact that they were so close one to another. The differences betwen them, differences of religion, differences of habit and thought, differences of social custom, alienated them very markedly one from another. A feeling that was worse than jealousy, a feeling approaching at times almost to hatred, and certainly aversion, was felt among Colonies that were very closely situated together, geographically. In the work at which I am at present engaged—a history of the war of 1812 between your country and my own—I was led at a very early period, even before I began the history of that war, to notice that the factors which brought about the war, the conduct of the British Government, proceeded from ideas that far antedated the particular period at which those measures originated. The habit of thought of the British Government which led them to those particular lines of action had its origin long before the Napoleonic period, or the period of the French Revolution. It sprang directly from certain habits of thought, and certain policies, which were entirely familiar to them in the period of colonial relations, and when they put them into action and gave us grievous offence—and, I think, very reasonable offence—they were only carrying out lines of thought with which they were already familiar. That led me to pursue my studies a little more into this matter, and pay more and more attention to the general condition of the American Colonies at that period, and it enforced more and more upon my mind that of which I have just spoken, the general aversion of the Colonies one to another. * * * It has been maintained by American thinkers that it was that war, 1812-1814, to which we first really owed the vital spark of union. I mention these things as of interest, because it shows how slowly and under what difficulties any great idea must take its shape, what in-

exhaustible patience is necessary on the part of those who would nourish an idea of a Union such as that of the United States, or of Imperial Federation, whatever shape that may ultimately take for the British Empire of the present time.

CAPT. A. T. MAHON, *U. S. Navy.*

The tenth is a valuable article on the subject of general interest to all nations, and was discussed by a number of prominent men, such as Sir Edward Grey, M. P., Captain Colomb, Admiral Bowden-Smith, Colonel Balfour, Lord Brassey, and Mr. Shea, secretary of the National Service League.

MILITARY INSTRUCTION AND TRAINING.

1. The Russian Scheme for Instruction for Battle.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Sept.
2. Coast Artillery Drill.—*A. and N. Reg.*, Oct. 1.
3. The Military Maneuvers.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, Aug. 27-Oct. 24.
4. Lessons of the Military Maneuvers.—*Same*, Sept. 17.
5. The Autumn Maneuvers.—*Mil. Mail*, Sept. 9-23.
6. Physical Effects of Modern Gunnery.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, Sept. 24.
7. Maneuvers: Russia, Italy, Germany, etc.—*Bulletin Mil. Notes, II.*
8. Colonel Wagner on the Maneuvers.—*A and N. Reg.*, Oct. 1; *A. and N. Jour.*, Oct. 1.

The *first* of the above articles is an interesting outline of directions for battle for forces of all arms, arranged under the following headings:

1. General Precepts.
2. Disposition for Battle.
3. Respective Duties of the Several Arms.
4. Maneuver in Fighting Formations.
5. Offensive Action.
6. Defensive Action.
7. The Characteristics of Night Fighting.
8. Orders for Battle.
9. Duties of the Different Commanders in Battle.

We have space for only a few extracts:

"1. In battle, as in every encounter, success will be on the side of the man who knows what he wants, and who acts with the greatest energy and perseverance, and with a thorough knowledge of the matter he has in hand.

"The best way to beat the enemy lies in attacking him. Consequently, the tendency to act on the *offensive* should be converted into a fixed principle at the time of each encounter.

"The *Defence* has equally the same object, viz., to beat the enemy; consequently, when one has to defend oneself, it is not sufficient merely to ward off blows, it is necessary also to strike them.

"It is essential always to strive to take the *initiative in action,* that is to say, we must not do what the enemy wishes, but we must compel him to do what we want.

"In battle, *the efforts of all the troops ought to aim at one common object; and everyone, from the Commander-in-Chief down to the private soldier, ought to recognize this object as the one it is his special mission to attain.*

* * * * * * *

"2. *Disposition for Battle.*—It should fulfil the following requirements:—

"*a.* All arms ought to be in a position to develop their full strength.

"*b.* The reciprocal support of the different arms ought to be assured.

"*c.* The form of disposition for battle ought to admit of piercing or enveloping the enemy, and of foiling his attempts to pierce or envelope in his turn.

"Taking into account the nature of the ground and of the importance of different portions of the position, the disposition should scarcely ever have the same density of formation along the whole extent of front; it will be deepest at the important point (in the defence), and opposite the important point (in the attack), and thinner at others.

"The disposition for battle includes the *Fighting Line* and the *General Reserve.* This force is divided in units, each under its own commander.

"Each of the units comprises in its turn a Fighting Line and a Divisional Reserve.

"The duty of the Fighting Line consists in preparing the ground for the decisive attack by means of its fire and corps attacks.

"The General Reserve is intended to *strike the decisive blow,* and to support the fighting lines.

* * * * * * *

"3. *Respective Duties of the Several Arms.*—All arms ought to support and aid one another.

"The *infantry* ought always to yield place to the artillery, because the artillery is more tied down by the nature of the ground than the infantry. It is only in the last phase of the battle, at the moment of the assault, that the artillery accompanies the infantry.

"In default of the special support, the artillery is protected by the nearest infantry detachments.

"The infantry co-operates by its fire with the cavalry at the moment of the charge, if within effective range.

* * * * * * *

"5. *The Offensive.*—The decision to attack the enemy ought to be irrevocable, and carried through to the finish; one must be resolved heart and soul to conquer or die.

* * * * * * *

"These new Russian Instructions, which have been in force since 1901, are founded on the maxims of the well-known General Dragomiroff, the eminent soldier, who has for long been the principal Instructor of the Russian Army, and whose long and distinguished career has recently been brought to a close by his retirement. General Dragomiroff was a devoted admirer of the great Field-Marshal Suvaroff, and his military maxims are admittedly founded on the precepts of that great commander."

The *second* article contains part of the new drill regulations for coast artillery.

The *third, fourth* and *fifth* articles relate to the recent British maneuvers.

The *sixth* is of special interest to the navy and the artillery, but has also a more general interest attached to it:

"Among the papers read at the last annual meeting of the British Medical Association was one by Fleet Surgeon Lloyd Thomas, which makes a strong claim upon the interest of naval officers. These 'notes,' as the fleet surgeon modestly calls them, have appeared in the *British Medical Journal,* and are now reprinted in pamphlet form. Twenty or thirty years ago naval surgeons did not think it worth while to study the effects of gunnery practice upon the nerves and hearing organs. To-day the matter is beginning to attract professional attention. At present there are no statistics to enable us to judge whether or no 'gun-deafness' is increasing in the fleet, but it seems probable that serious injuries both to nerves and hearing are being caused afloat, and that these physical evils may be in some degree checked or alleviated. The importance of good shooting is now so

fully recognized in the Royal Navy that far more practice with heavy guns takes place than formerly. To every man who is not exceptionally proof against violent noise, prize-firing and quarterly practice are ordeals often followed by headache or nervous strain, sometimes by temporary or permanent injuries to what the unscientific call their ears. It is a moot point, says Dr. Thomas, whether the men serving the guns inside a casemate or barbette, or those working an upper deck battery, suffer more from the effects of firing. Those on deck are more affected by the muzzle concussion, known as the 'blast,' those within enclosed areas by the violent shaking in the breech of the guns, which, for want of a precise word, may be termed 'breech concussion.'

"In the judgment of Dr. Thomas, breech concussion rarely damages the drum of the ear, although it is liable to produce distinct concussions of the skull, spinal column, and the larger joints, and to give rise to headache, tongue bites, and general shock. But 'blast' is a form of concussion which may have far-reaching consequences upon those within its radius, and so it is important that officers and men should avoid needless exposure to this form of shock. It is felt most acutely on the level of the muzzle, within a certain distance, and especially in advance of the firing point; but the effects of 'blast' are also severely felt by those stationed above the gun level.

"Breech concussion, on the contrary, is probably less severe afloat than ashore, owing to the resiliency of the ship as a floating substance. Dr. Thomas shows that the use of telescopic sights, now fitted with india-rubber eye-pieces, is attended with little risk to the eyes. Complete 'gun-deafness' is stated to be quite exceptional afloat, but there is reason to believe that most gunnery officers and instructors suffer from impaired hearing, which may or may not improve in later years. The symptoms of pronounced injury to the hearing organs can usually be detected by skilled surgeons, and thus it is very important that officers and men should seek medical aid in good time. Too often, says Dr. Thomas, the injury is ignored, even when accompanied by severe pain.

"With regard to the precautionary measures to be taken, this pamphlet will be found suggestive, although the author frankly admits that medical knowledge is still very imperfect. He believes, however, that it is important to use cotton wool, wax, oil, or india-rubber nipples, and indicates that these precautions are commonly neglected by the men, who think it more or less effeminate to plug the ears, or are reluctant to deaden their hearing when on duty. It is evidently worth while to experiment further with all of these pro-

posed preventatives, and to impress upon officers and men the urgency of seeking expert treatment when pain or deafness is experienced. As most gunners know, the mouth should be kept partially open at the moment of discharge, and—this is less familiar—the muscles of the face and throat should not be kept in a state of tension."

MILITARY HISTORY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

1. Extracts from the Journal of Major André.—*United Serv. Mag.*, Sept.
2. Across the Northeastern Frontier.—*Same.*
3. Imperial Federation for Defence.—*Same.*
4. Australia's Unpreparedness.—*Same.*
5. The Evolution of Modern Strategy.—*Same.*
6. The Uses of the British Navy.—*Same.*
7. Machine Guns up to Date.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Sept.
8. Campaigns against India from the West.—*Same.*
9. Command of the Sea and the Value of Torpedo Flotillas.—*Same.*
10. The Strategic Position of Russia.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, Aug. 27.
11. Japanese *vs.* South African Tactics.—*Same*, Sept. 10, 17.
12. Forts and Fleets.—*Same*, Sept. 10.
13. The Thibet Expedition.—*Same*, Sept. 17.
14. The War in the Far East.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Sept.; *Mil. Mail*, Aug. 26-Sept. 23; *A. and N. Gaz.*, Aug. 27-Sept. 24; *Mar. Rund., Beih.* 12.

The *first* of these articles is a reprint from our own most important military periodical, to which the editor of the British journal makes his acknowledgments in these terms:

"For permission to reprint the following extracts, the Editor of the UNITED SERVICE MAGAZINE is indebted to Brigadier General Theo. F. Rodenbough, Editor of the *Journal of the Military Service Institution* of the United States, whose invariable courtesy and kindness it is a great pleasure to have so notable an opportunity of acknowledging."

The *second* and the *thirteenth* articles relate to the Thibet Expedition; the *third* and *fourth* to British Federation schemes.

The *fifth* is a continuation of the excellent articles by Colonel Mande, the present instalment relating to the development of the modern German army from the days of Scharnhorst to the present time, especially as regards the General Staff:

"Hence, when the campaigns of 1864-66 and 1870 ensued, though there were still in the higher ranks a few survivals of Napoleonic times for the most part too old to learn new tricks, each of these had at his right hand a picked and trained intelligence, accustomed to sift the true from the false, and to decide rapidly, on sound general principles comprehensible to all, what orders to issue to meet the special emergency. Their maneuver training gave them the necessary grasp of the situation, and their military history study the knowledge of the strength of their materials, *i e.*, prepared them to estimate the phenomena inseparable from war, the confusion of the battlefield, the excitement of victorious troops and the depression and exhaustion of defeated ones, at their due and proper value in relation to the work remaining to be done and the sacrifices still necessary to secure the ultimate result.

"This is the true purpose of the study of military history, and the end cannot be gained by confusing the subject with what we are pleased to call 'strategy.' The simple combinations which are discussed with such tedious elaboration in the pages of 'Hamley's Operations of War,' for instance, in so far as they are true at all, can be grasped by 90 per cent. of the subalterns of every army. The difficulty of enforcing their execution in a peace-trained force, in which the junior ranks know nothing of the all-absorbing excitement and extreme tension of mind, soul, and body involved, is quite another matter, and the only guarantee possible that the phenomena of war, when encountered, should be judged in their proper proportion lies in a dissemination amongst all ranks of a knowledge of what these things are and how they have been conquered, or the reverse, by their forefathers in days gone by.

" 'What men have done that men can do,' is a saying intelligible to every one; and if in a regiment when face to face with a difficult situation, every man more or less remembers how the same regiment met and overcame the same or similar difficulties, they, as a corporate body, will bear with ease dangers and hardships, which without such knowledge would fill them with the deepest despondency."

The *sixth* is a very well written and an entertaining article:

"The subject into which we are about to inquire is one of very great and, it might be said, of quite capital importance to all of us. It is the significance, the functions, and the employment of the British fleet, of that force upon which we all largely depend for our material safety and the immunity we enjoy, whether we be inhabitants of these islands, or members of that race which is sometimes spoken of as 'our children beyond the seas.'

"I shall not dwell upon what would result from an invasion of these islands. We cannot admit that any invasion in force is possible. We cannot contemplate such a possibility without dismay. We do not contemplate it. I think it is clear that command of the sea is at once the natural and the only defence of a country like ours, or of any other similarly circumstanced against invasion. This is the teaching of history. The records of eight hundred years are the proof of it. Never, when Englishmen have held together, has hostile foot been set upon our shores. We cannot misread the lesson of such a history. We cannot explain it unless we admit, as we must, that it results from immutable conditions. The truth is that the operations of war are ruled by the risks they involve, and we shall not be true to ourselves unless we make that risk so appalling that no would-be invader will venture the attempt.

"And now I enter upon the last part of my subject, a part of it, indeed, which, though I separate it for clearness, is really inseparable from the considerations already suggested. We are not an island people only. We are an Empire with dominions scattered throughout the globe, upon which the sun never sets. The world has no parallel for an Empire like ours. We are accustomed, sometimes, to look back to the Colonies of Greece as something of a prototype, but there never existed that intimate bond between them which holds our Empire together. We cannot do without our Colonies. They cannot exist as prosperous communities without ourselves. 'If our islands fall,' said Nelson, speaking of certain possessions then of value, 'England would be so clamorous for peace that we should humble ourselves.' It is by reason of our possessing sea-power that the commerce of the Colonies has grown, that their credit has been maintained, and that they have been able to borrow cheaply the money necessary for their development.

"Much of what I said concerning the defence of the kingdom against invasion applies with equal force to the defence of the Empire at large. Without command of the sea, each of our Colonies is open to attack, with the ultimate consequence, if success attend the enemy's arms, that the bond of our Empire would be severed.

"It has already occurred to you, I am sure, that the Navy cannot suffice for everything. We must have an Army as well. We cannot defend the land frontiers of India without one. We cannot enter upon territorial operations, unless we have military forces in adequate numbers. But I would point out, as a paramount fact, and as one sufficient for my present purpose, that no military forces can avail without command of the sea, without the fleet to transport them to

their over-sea base, and to maintain their communications with their base at home."

ARTILLERY.

1. Machine Guns up to Date.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Sept.
2. Quick-Firing Field Artillery.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, Sept. 3.
3. Artillery: France, Germany, Japan, etc.—*Bulletin of Mil. Notes, II.*

WARSHIPS.

1. The New French Battleship Suffren.—*Jour. R. U. S. I.*, Sept.
2. Navy: Germany, France, Japan, etc.—*Bulletin of Mil. Notes, II.*

TRANSPORTATION.

1. Military Transportation by Sea.—*A. and N. Gaz.*, Sept. 17.

"The complaint which has been made in some quarters that the maneuvers which recently came to an end have been of little serious value is wholly unwarranted. If alone from the circumstance that the Army and Navy were brought together to undertake conjoint operations, these maneuvers have had an educational result which can hardly be claimed for any that preceded them. Naturally those who were anxious to obtain from the proceedings arguments for or against the possible invasion of this country have been disappointed, and it is to be feared that, as a consequence, they are laying the blame on the military authorities. But there is really no ground for anything of the kind, and if the purpose of the scheme is held steadily in view, and not an altogether fictitious purpose introduced, it must be acknowledged that the result has been both useful and satisfactory.

"The continued safe-being and prosperity of our Empire rest upon the provision and maintenance of an adequate Navy, and an Army of which that portion which is in these isles should be always ready for service abroad. The potentiality of the land force is extended by the mobility it derives from, and is ensured by, our supremacy at sea, a fact which recalls the terse phrase of Sir John Fisher that 'no soldier of ours can go anywhere unless a sailor carries him there on his back.' In these maneuvers we have a demonstration, partial and incomplete, but valuable and educational, of the method by which the mobility and potentiality of the Army can and must be increased. Herein is no new conception of the object and purpose of sea power, but it is a conception which is inadequately realized by our countrymen, as was never more clearly shown than by the criticism to which we have referred above. The value of such an extension of strength is

understood in Germany, where similar maneuvers have just been carried out; it was brought home to the United States in their war with Spain, and has left its mark on their military policy; while in the Far East we have had a demonstration of its larger issues and results which should be to us both a lesson and a warning. It is in the harmonious co-operation of the land and sea forces of Japan that we find a feature of the war most strongly marked out for our guidance and teaching. If we are able to take these lessons to heart, to make a study of them, to profit by their invigorating and tonic effects, we shall do well. But we must rid ourselves first of the parochial abortion which limits our ideas of military strategy to the defence of London and preparations for resisting an invasion of this island behind the hedgerows of its southern counties."

EQUIPMENTS.

1. Equipment: France, Great Britain, Russia.—*Bulletin of Mil. Notes, II.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. A New System of Securing Secrecy in Wireless Telegraph Signaling.—*Scien. Amer. Suppl.*, Sept. 17.

"The securing of absolute secrecy in the dispatches sent by wireless telegraphy is a problem that is yet to be solved. Before the new telegraph to which Marconi has contributed so much, can enter the domain of industrial practice, a solution of this problem will be absolutely imperative. We have syntonization, it is true; but it is conceded by every one, even by the inventors of wireless telegraphy apparatus, that this offers but a provisional and very imperfect solution. On the other hand, no one up to the present has practically solved the problem of the concentration in any one direction of the energy emitted by the antennæ, that of the determination, at the receiving office, of the direction of the waves coming in. Several contrivances have been proposed, but none has given conclusive results.

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"We conclude, then, that it is by concentration, such as Hertz effected with his reflectors, that we shall be able (granting that the waves can be directed) to solve the problem of the absolute secrecy of dispatches in wireless telegraphy."

SERVICE SALAD.

Readers of the "United Service" are cordially invited to contribute to this department items of either fact or fancy, grave or gay, instructive or only entertaining; in short, any literary flotsam and jetsam likely to interest our subscribers.

THE SIREN OF THREE-MILE BEND.

I.

Three-mile Bend was a typical Australian mining camp. There was the usual mixture of languages, creeds, and nationalities, and representatives of almost every clime mingled fraternally or otherwise beneath its glowing northern skies. It differed perhaps from some of its prototypes in one respect,—it was richer. The nuggets lay in bushels beneath the yellow sands that formed the bed of the huge curve in the creek from which the camp took its name. It was situated in a rugged chain of mountains near the Roper River, in the Northern Territory. Remote as the spot was from civilization, the magnetic influence of the royal metal, finding its subtle way over mountain, desert, creek, and plain, kindled the *auri sacra fames* in the hearts of hundreds of eager fortune-seekers in the far-off cities of the south, and impelled a multitude of adventurous spirits to brave the hardships of those distant wilds.

There were exciting times in the early days. An insulting remark often caused the daring speaker his life; men settled old scores—new ones too, for that matter—with the knife; and whenever the stillness of the night was broken by the sharp crack of a pistol-shot, —as it frequently was,—those who had retired to rest simply turned in their blankets and muttered, "Another 'chum' lost the number of his mess." There was no restraint. Law and order did not exist even in name. The lust for gold aroused the basest passions of the human heart in all their fierce intensity. For gold, men quarreled, fought, and died. For gold, half the decalogue was set at naught. For gold, honor was lost, conscience stifled, and friendship betrayed. *"Aurum omnes, victa pietate colerunt."*

II.

Dick Hogan and Charles Inglefield were two among the many who went to the field, Hogan with the first rush, Inglefield some twelve months later. Two individuals more dissimilar in every respect it would be impossible to conceive. Theirs was one of those incongruous friendships so often seen in mining-camps. Inglefield was young, handsome and graceful; Hogan was middle-aged, rugged, and plain. Inglefield was a Melbourne 'Varsity man, and consequently educated, while Hogan's mental attainments were of the most ordinary kind. Inglefield was shallow, selfish, and unprincipled; Hogan was simple, generous, and true-hearted.

Their connection was of some years' standing, and dated from a

day when Hogan jumped from an incoming steamer in Cleveland Bay and periled his own life to save that of Inlgefield, who had been accidentally knocked overboard from the deck of a passing cutter. That was a fortunate day in more ways than one for Inglefield. He had landed in Queensland several months before with a few hundred pounds, a liberal education, and an all but hopeless prospect of making amends for a wasted life in Victoria by a new start in the younger colony. He found as many before him had done, that the *sine qua non* of success in the new country was work, and hard work at that. But for work of any kind he had no aptitude or inclination whatever. At the time of his rescue by Hogan he had done nothing, his little capital had dwindled to two figures, and the outlook for the future was particularly dismal.

Hogan at that time was a simple-hearted, ignorant miner, who could barely write his own name. Sensitively conscious of his deficiences, he had at once recognized in Inglefield a mind superior to his own, and he looked up to the University man with respect ignorance always concedes to education.

Inglefield was at first amused and then bored by this rude homage, but finding that his preserver, so far from wishing to terminate the acquaintanceship, seemed to take a sort of fraternal interest in him, he accepted the situation with a serenity none the less philosophic in that Hogan, with the effusive generosity characteristic of his class, insisted on paying all the bills. He became still more reconciled to the infliction when he learned that Hogan was a successful miner, with the result of several profitable enterprises on the Herberton tin-fields lying to his credit in the Queensland National Bank in the shape of a snug balance of two thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds.

In view of this comparative wealth Inglefield felt no compunction in requesting a loan of fifty pounds, and when, in response, Hogan handed him a check with a vermicular signature for twice that amount he, figuratively speaking, kicked himself for his moderation.

One evening as they were dallying over the third bottle in the smoking-room at their hotel, Hogan said, in the rude vernacular of the bush, "Pardner, you are a scholard an' I ain't. Now, I've spent 'bout all the time I want to in this yere city, an' I'm thinkin' of goin' up to Cairns nex' week for the Mulgrave to prospect a bit. I was made for work, *I* was, an' you wasn't. No offense, I can see for myself. You're what they call a gentleman, *you* are, an' I ain't. But what I want to put to ye is this: as I said afore, I'm no scholard, *I'm* not, but I want to l'arn; it's hard work doin' business when you can't neither read nor write, an' bein' as you ain't got no money—no offense, ye're welcome to half I've got —or ye wouldn't ha' borrowed o' me, an' seein' as ye seem to ha' had plenty o' schoolin', what I put to ye is this: you come along wi' me, an' we'll go prospectin' here an' there, *we* will,—I'm reckoned pretty lucky. *I* am,—an' I'll do the work an' ye can take half the dust, providin' you l'arn me to read an' write and figger some, for, darn my skin, I never had no schoolin', *I* didn't."

Inglefield's eyes gleamed at this proposition. An arrangement in which he received half the profits while the other undertook all the labor—for he did not look upon his tutorial duties in the light of work—suited his temperament exactly. But he thought it politic to affect to be un-

able to fall in with the scheme; it would not do for a man of his superior breeding to be patronized by this bush boor. Hogan, however, was not to be denied. He repeated his request, as Inglefield had calculated he would do, and this afforded the latter the pretext of yielding to pressure. So, as he phrased it, "he subordinated his personal interests to the claims of friendship," a spirit of magnanimous self-denial that touched Hogan very deeply.

The preliminaries having been agreed upon, Inglefield laid aside his "store clothes" and donned the moleskin trousers, laced leggings, red shirt, and broad-brimmed hat of the typical miner, a costume that became his graceful person to picturesque advantage.

The curious compact between them was rigidly kept. During the following two years Inglefield received quite a respectable sum as his moiety of the profits resulting from his partner's native shrewdness and judgment, while Hogan's humble ambition "to read an' write an' figger some" was not only attained, but he learned to express himself in tolerable English and acquired quite a little fund of general knowledge besides.

At Charters Towers they heard of the discovery of gold on the Roper River. Hogan, believing the new field to be one of great promise, proposed to go, but Inglefield demurred. The novelty of a miner's nomadic existence had worn away. Moreover, as a result of Hogan's labor he again had a bank account, and he longed once more for the excitement and dissipations of his past life. At Townsville they parted, but not before Hogan had exacted a promise from his whilom partner to come north and rejoin him if the field should turn out well.

"I consider you my partner yet," he had said, with moist eyes, as they shook hands for the last time at the gangway of the steamship "Warrego," "and half of what I strike is yours; and I'll write to the post-office at Melbourne and let you know how my luck pans out." The simple miner felt the parting keenly, for during the two years of their association together he had become warmly attached to his city-bred chum. But Inglefield at heart despised his humble friend. His shallow, selfish nature experienced no regret at the severance of old ties. He sailed southward with a light heart and a heavy purse, intent only on the meretricious pleasures to be purchased with his friend's hard-won gold.

III.

She was plump, *petite*, and pretty, with a profusion of golden hair, a pair of laughing, violet eyes, and a rosebud of a mouth, which, when she smiled, rippled into dimples, and disclosed two perfect rows of dazzling white and even teeth that gleamed like pearls in a coral setting. Her delicate loveliness was a revelation to the miners of Three-Mile Bend, and aroused quite a furor of admiration in their rugged bosoms. It is true there were one or two other women in the camp, but they were middle-aged, slatternly creatures, whose presence did not inspire any great amount of chivalric enthusiasm. Compared with these she appeared to the astonished miners like a radiant vision from another world.

Her arrival in the camp was the sensation of the hour, and robbed the current topic of conversation—the shooting of Red-nosed Bob by Whistling Pete—of all its interest. They called her the Queen of the Ranges, an appellation which, how-

ever, soon became abbreviated to Queenie.

Two months agone she had been a barmaid in a swell hotel in Sydney, with but one desire in life,—to be rich,—and with no apparent prospect of ever attaining that ambition. The husband of the woman with whom she then lived was an ex-miner, and when, seized with the gold fever, he announced his intention of taking his wife and family to the new El Dorado, she resolved to go with them. An idea had occurred to her practical mind. She had a little capital of some three hundred pounds, and with this she determined to purchase a stock of liquors in Sydney, for co signment to the port in the Arafura Sea, and transhipment to the new gold field. She would go there and retail them herself.

"There is five hundred per cent. profit in it," she had said to herself, "and who knows but that I may marry some lucky digger?"

"Go, by all means," the ex-miner had said in answer to her request for advice. "A hotel on a gold-field is worth more than a well-paying claim, and with your face you ought to draw half the trade of the camp. Being a carpenter, I can do a little towards giving you a start. I haven't forgot the time you nursed my wife through her sickness, and I'll build a shanty for you first thing after we get there. Yes, go, by all means."

And this is how she came to be in Three-mile Bend. She was not slow to see the impression she had made, and she determined to profit by it. As soon as her stock-in-trade arrived by the pack-train she began by revolutionizing the hotel system of Three-Mile Bend. There were half a dozen other "hotels" in the camp, dirty, stuffy, little dens, built of bark, where bad whiskey was dispensed in a devil-may-care sort of a way across an unplaned board that did duty for a bar. "Queenie's," as the miners called her place, was a spacious, well-lighted "shanty." The bar was covered with marbled oil-cloth, and kept scrupulously clean. In other places men stood up to drink for lack of facilities to sit down. Queenie had several tables made. These she also neatly covered, and her patrons were thus enabled to play a game of cards in comfort whenever they wished. She kept her liquors in tastefully-labelled bottles instead of forbidding-looking jars, and she knew how to mix all kinds of drinks that were grateful to palates weary of a long course of fiery whiskey and flat beer. It was wonderful, too, to see the moral power she exercised over the minds of these lawless men. In the other "hotels" fights and shooting scrapes were of nightly occurrence. Nothing of the kind ever happened at Queenie's. One night two miners had grown quarrelsome over a game of cards. Knives were drawn, and there was a prospect of bloodshed, when she rushed fearlessly in between them and, with flashing eyes and imperious mien, ordered them to desist. The two men stared at her in stupid amazement for a minute or two, then they laughed and shook hands. This courageous action on the little woman's part endeared her to the hearts of the whole community. After that night, if any man had attempted to create a disturbance, she could have counted on a dozen stalwart champions to throw the brawler out.

She understood their wild natures exactly. She had a pleasant greeting for every one, and, in the evenings, as she glided about the room, smilingly executing her numerous orders, the eyes of those rough men followed her dainty figure with honest admiration. There was not a man among them who would not have been will-

ing to do and dare anything for her sake.

"I never see the likes," said Whistling Pete, the camp oracle, to a circle of bibulous satellites. "The inflooence o' that little critter is somethin' amazin'. Look at Big Mike. He never shaved for ten year, an' now he's gone an' cut off his beard; he parts his hair in the middle, an' wears store pants all the time, an' all on account o' her. Then there's Fossicking Bob, who never *was* known to put on a clean shirt till the one he was wearin' fell to pieces, so to speak. He's had his hair cut, an' he spruces hisself up every night, an' sports a biled dickey an' a red tie. Why, I believe Whiskey Jim 'ud take to drinkin' soft stuff if *she* arskt him. Lord, what fools these wimmen do make o' us to be sure." And Whistling Pete held his whiskey against the light, looked through it critically for a moment with one eye closed, and then slowly swallowed it with an air of profound meditation. Whistling Pete being the deadliest shot in the camp, his remarks were followed by a running comment of acquiescence.

No wonder, then, that the little adventuress absorbed fully three-fourths of the patronage of the camp, and that dust and nuggets flowed into her coffers in a continuous golden stream. During the first three months she had no less than six offers of marriage. To attain her ambition she was quite prepared to sacrifice sentiment to riches, and was perfectly willing to marry any man, however uncouth, if he only had the recommendation of sufficient wealth. But her would-be lovers, though owners of rich claims, spent everything they earned, and she had learned enough of mining vicissitudes to know that even a "ten-ounce-a-day" claim may "play out" all at once and leave its owner with no more capital than a pick.

There was only one man in the camp who came up to her mercenary ideal. His name was Dick Hogan. The miners called him "Lucky" Hogan, and not without reason. His claim which was by far the richest in the diggings, had yielded "pocket" after "pocket" of nuggets. Hogan was a quiet, reserved man, who lived a solitary life in a tent remote from the camp. He was seldom seen away from the vicinity of his claim, save when he came into the Bend to deposit his gold at the Bank Agency, and he had never visited Queenie's.

She had several times heard of "Lucky" Hogan and his valuable claim. "If I find these tales are true," said the sprightly little adventuress, "I'll marry him," and she laughed a gay little laugh at her own conceit in leaving Mr. Hogan's possible objection to the arrangement out of the question altogether. So one evening she addressed a cautious inquiry on the subject of Hogan's wealth to Whistling Pete, who, as a rule, knew a great deal more about his neighbors' business than he did about his own,

"Why, bless yer pretty face, miss," said Whistling Pete, with bush gallantry, "Dick Hogan's claim is a perfect Mount Morgan.* It's bin pannin' out fifty ounces a day for the past three weeks, an' only yesterday he struck a vein o' quartz in a new prospect that'll likely go ten ounces to the ton. Why, he must ha' took thousand pounds' worth o' gold out o' the hole at least, an' he's refused an offer o' thirty thousand, cash down, from the bank since he struck the reef, an' I shouldn't be surprised if——" At this point a man appeared in the door-way, and Whistling

*The richest gold deposit in Australia, perhaps in the world.

Pete paused. He bent over the counter and, placing his hand to his mouth, said, in a stage whisper, "That's him, miss. That's Lucky Hogan hisself."

Queenie glanced towards the door, and saw an unkempt-looking man, apparently about forty-five years of age, dressed in a miner's working-suit. He walked with a slight stoop, and his grizzled beard was plentifully sprinkled with gray. His bearing was awkward and uncouth, and he had never in his best days been more than an ordinary looking man. He had only one good feature—his eyes, which were large, dark, luminous orbs, soft and tender as a woman's. In them one could plainly read the trustful, generous nature of the rugged Crœsus. "Rough," thought Queenie, "very rough; but also very simple and very rich."

Whistling Pete left the bar and walked over to the solitary table at which Hogan had taken his seat. He was curious to know the meaning of the lucky digger's unusual visit to Queenie's.

"Good-evenin', Mr. Hogan," he said, deferentially. "Good-evenin', sir. It ain't often we have the pleasure o' seein' you among us here."

"No," said Hogan. "That's a fact. This is the first time I've been so far from my claim; but I heard you had tables up here, and I came around the bend to write a letter. I want to bring my partner up here from Melbourne."

"Why, I never knowed you had a pardner, Mr. Hogan," said Whistling Pete, whose curiosity was aroused at this piece of news.

"Yes," said Hogan, who was in a communicative mood. "Yes, he's a young chap,—a city chap. I met him in Townsville when I was last in Queensland, and took quite a liking to him. Mine is a lonely sort of life," he continued half sadly, "and I'm longing for companionship. Then, again, I've got some sort of a complaint here,"—he placed his hand over his heart,—"Anjner pectris I think the Port Darwin doctor called it,—I didn't rightly catch the name, —which takes me in stiffish spells at times. My partner promised to come if I wrote to him, and, as I'm likely to go off the hooks all of a sudden, I thought I'd have him by in case anything should happen, and then ——" A silvery voice interrupted him. It said—

"Mr. Hogan, what shall I bring you to drink?"

The miner looked up and saw the lovely face and wonderful eyes of the little adventuress looking smilingly down into his own rugged visage. He had often heard extravagant praises of this woman's beauty, but without any degree of interest. All his life had been spent in the bush, and he had no higher ideal of womanhood than the shanty-keepers' wives with whom he occasionally came in contact in his wanderings. Queenie's dainty, piquant beauty took him quite by surprise. He stared at her in speechless amazement, until Whistling Pete, who chafed at any delay, however slight, with a drink in the near perspective, put an end to the pause by ordering whiskey for himself and writing materials for "Mr. Hogan." Hogan gazed after her in rapt admiration as she went to execute the order. Though nothing more than a perfect specimen of a very ordinary type of beauty, to the untutored miner she appeared like a goddess amid such rude surroundings. His eyes dwelt upon the supple curves of her lithe and graceful figure, her slender white hands, her snowy throat with its circlet of creamy lace, and caught the gleaming sheen of her dead-gold hair as

she moved to and fro in the lamp-light. And when she came back with the order, and turned her great violet eyes upon him and smiled, a flush arose to his weather-beaten cheek, and he dropped his gaze in awkard confusion.

Before he left he wrote a long letter to "Charles Inglefield, Esq.," telling him all about the diggings, and reminding him of his promise, and that "Charles Inglefield, Esq.," might not be prevented from coming by lack of funds, he inclosed a draft on the Bank of Victoria for two hundred pounds. And then he bade her good-night, and walked thoughtfully home to his tent.

Some weeks later a young man stood on the steps of the Melbourne post-offiice reading a letter he had just called for. He was evidently surprised at its contents, and he read it half aloud in disjointed scraps, mingled with running comments of his own.

"Took three thousand pounds out in three months." "By Jove!" "Offered thirty thousand pounds in cash for the reef." "Whew! Why, damme, the old boor will be a millionaire!" "Living all by myself and feel lonely." "The devil he does; so do I." "You promised to come north if my luck panned out well." "So I did, but I did not expect my own luck to turn out so cursed rough." "I should be very pleased to see you; will you come?" "Will I come? You bet I'll come, my unsophisticated friend; I want some of that thirty thousand pounds very badly,—especially just now." "I've always considered you my partner, my boy, and half of what I've made is yours, and half the claim also." "By Jove! this is the devil's own luck." "I send you a draft on the Bank of Victoria to meet your expenses." "It's deuced fortunate for me you do." And "Charles Inglefield, Esq.," tore the letter to fragments, and, having refreshed himself with a brandy and soda on the strength of the good news, walked jauntily to the Bank of Victoria, where he cashed his draft.

Thence he went to the office of the Australian Steam Navigation Company and secured a cabin passage in the next steamer for the north.

V.

After his first visit Hogan became a regular nightly frequenter of Queenie's. She was the first beautiful woman he had seen, and her beauty completely fascinated him. He soon appreciated the difference between the comfortable bar and his comfortless tent. Every night he was greeted with a smiling welcome, the easiest chair and snuggest corner were kept for him, and his glass of grog was always mixed exactly to his taste. And Queenie would come and sit opposite to him each evening, and laugh and chat with him in her own naive and charming manner until he became intoxicated with her presence. He had no intimates in Three-Mile Bend, and, like many men who lead a solitary life, he was addicted to a habit of expressing his thoughts aloud.

"This won't do, Dick, my boy," he said to himself, at the end of a month; "you're getting too fond of that little woman. What can an innocent, delicate, young thing like that have in common with a rough, weather-beaten hulk like you. She's made of different clay to you"; and he looked down at his knotted, toil-worn hands and sighed. "You'll have to knock off going up there or you'll be making a fool of yourself." So by a mighty effort of self-restraint he remained away for three nights, and was miserable. For the first time in

his life he experienced the joylessness of his existence. He looked out upon the circling chain of sun-baked hills and the wide expanse of brown and barren plain. All his toilsome days had been spent amid solitudes like this, and the only gleam of sunshine that had brightened his lonely life had been his friendship for Inglefield. But now his solitary heart yearned for something to love, something to cherish. He was rich, and could afford to give up this wandering, friendless existence. More than once in his reveries he caught himself dreaming of a placid retirement in some lovely spot in the south. If he could only believe that Queenie would be willing to share that retirement with him, he would indeed be happy; for he had learned to love the little woman with all the strength of his rugged, faithful nature. But how could this fair young creature in all the pride of her youth and beauty possibly care anything for him, a gray-haired, middle-aged man, old enough to be her father?

"No," he said to himself, sadly; "I'm too rough, too old; such happiness is not for me. I'll go near her no more." But his strength of will failed him. On the fourth night he was again in his accustomed corner at the hotel. "Oh, Mr. Hogan," she said, with her sweetest smile, when he entered, "I am so glad to see you! I have missed you so much. I was beginning to fear you were ill."

The miner's sunburnt cheek flushed with pleasure and hope at the warmth of her greeting. Perhaps she cared something for him after all, and that night he walked home with a jauntier step and a lighter heart. "I'll wait a week or two," he said to himself; "she hardly knows me yet."

Poor, simple-minded Hogan! She knew him too well. He wore his heart upon his sleeve, and the keen woman of the world read it like a book, and laughed at her easy conquest.

Every day now he left off work at noon and went up to the hotel. In the afternoon the bar was deserted, and he could talk to her alone. He always brought her the largest nugget he had found during the morning. Many a time he was on the verge of approaching the subject nearest his heart, but he hesitated at the supreme moment. He was entirely ignorant of amorous amenities, and knew not what to say.

"This will never do, Dick, my boy," he said to himself one night. "You've got to do the asking, she hasn't. You've known her now nearly two months, and you'd better try your luck." Next morning he went to work at his claim as usual. In the first cradle of dirt he washed he found a nugget of gold of extraordinary size. It was the largest that had been found on the field. "It'll weigh over three pounds," he said, surveying it with admiration. "It's two days' work in itself, so I'll knock off and take it up to her, and just ask her to take it along with myself."

He found Queenie seated at one of the tables in the bar engaged in some feminine occupation. As she came forward to greet him with a smile, he thought she had never looked so lovely. He sat down beside her. Several times he essayed to broach the momentous subject, but each time he was at a loss for words. His manner was nervous and embarrassed; he could only talk disconnectedly in an aimless way upon the most commonplace topics. At last he mustered up courage to come to the point. "Miss," he said, in a husky voice, and then he gave a great gulp and paused. She sat beside him apparently unconscious of his agitation, though she knew very well what was

coming. "Miss," he began again, "I—I—it's a fine day." Now there had not been a cloud in the sky for months, and the observation was so inapt and unexpected, and was blurted out with such comical solemnity, that she almost laughed outright in his face. But restraining the impulse, she leaned forward, gazed out of the window, and said, in a tone of surprise—

"Why, *so* it is, Mr. Hogan, a beautiful day," as though she had previously been under the impression that it was raining very hard outside.

An awkward pause ensued, and Hogan shuffled about uneasily in his chair. At last he drew in a deep breath, as men do when about to undertake some great physical feat, and stammered, "I—I—only wanted to ask you if—that is, I wanted to say—in fact, I—I—only came over to—to—make you a present." He put his hand in his pocket and drew forth the nugget. Queenie's eyes gleamed at the sight of the huge yellow lump of gold.

"Oh, Mr. Hogan, I cannot take it; it is too kind of you," she said, meaning to take it all the while. He pressed it on her, and she took it with feigned reluctance. Another pause. Her hand toyed with the nugget in her lap. Hogan took the slender fingers in his horny palm. She did not withdraw them, but turned her head away with an admirable assumption of modest confusion. Hogan was emboldened to proceed.

"Miss," he said, in a low tone that vibrated with intense earnestness, "I'm only a rough miner. I'm not much to look at as looks go, and I'm getting on in years. But if I'm rough, I've got an honest, manly heart, and it would make me the happiest man in the Territory to-day if—if—you'd take it along with the nugget."

"Mr. Hogan," she said, with demure look and downcast eyes, "I have long had a sincere regard for you, and if you think I could make you happy, I——" She paused, as if at a loss for words.

"You will be my wife?" he added, joyously.

"Yes," she said, and the comedy was over.

He stayed for some time, and talked to her of his plans for selling the reef as soon as it was developed sufficiently to ascertain its value. This suited her views exactly; she was utterly weary of this rude life, and longed to make her appearance as a woman of wealth and fashion in the *beau-monde* of the south. She heard of the existence of the partner and his prospective arrival in Three-Mile Bend with some misgiving. She said but little on the subject, but she inwardly determined that Hogan's ridiculous intention of giving him a half-share in the claims should never be fulfilled. As for Hogan, he underwent a complete metamorphosis. He trimmed his unkempt beard and changed his clay-stained garments every evening for store clothes. His step was sprightlier, his eye was brighter, perfect happiness shone in every line of his honest visage, and he looked ten years younger.

A week or so later a pack-train wound slowly into camp along the creek. When it halted at the paddock a horseman detached himself from the group of packers and rode up to Queenie's, where he dismounted and stepped up to the bar.

It was not yet noon; the miners were at work in the claims, and the hotel was deserted. The new arrival was a young man of handsome presence and graceful bearing, and when he saw that the bar was attended by a pretty woman, instead of the dishevelled slattern or bearded ruffian, as is usual in bush shanties, he doffed

his broad-brimmed hat in courteous salutation.

"Can you tell me where I am likely to find Mr. Hogan?" he inquired. "The packers told me you would be able to direct me from here."

She gave him the required information, but the stranger seemed in no hurry to leave. The fact is he was agreeably surprised to find so pretty a woman in this remote spot, and he ordered something to drink that the interview might be prolonged. In the course of half an hour's conversation he found that beauty was not her only charm. She was also educated, witty, and vivacious.

"By George! she's a stunner," was his mental comment as he srode down the creek towards Hogan's claim. "How the devil did she get into this God-forsaken country I wonder?"

"So that's Mr. Charles Inglefield, the partner," thought Queenie. "Well, it's one comfort he's a gentleman, and a handsome one, too. He will be able to talk to me in decent English at any rate, which will be quite a relief from the conversation of these clownish diggers."

Inglefield had nearly reached the solitary tent out in the bend when a clay-stained figure emerged from a hole in the ground to his right. It was Hogan returning from work. The miner, who was short-sighted, stopped to await the stranger's approach; but as soon as he recognized his partner he rushed forward with arms extended. "God bless you, my boy!" he said, with tears in his eyes. "You don't know how pleased I am to see you. It's been mighty lonely out here without you; why, it must be a year since we parted. But come and look at the claim."

"You don't mean to say you've been offered thirty thousand pounds for that mud-hole?" said Inglefield, looking down into the claim with an incredulous air.

"No, no, not for this, though this mudhole, as you call it, is not to be sneezed at. I've taken eight thousand pounds out of that hole—half of it is to your credit at the Agency—and it still pans out close on twenty ounces a day. The claim the bank wants to buy is a quartz reef out there in the ranges. We'll look at it to-morrow. It's in your name. You see I had to take it out in your name—it don't matter whose name it's in being as we're partners—for the mining laws don't allow a man to hold two 'prospects' at once unless he buys them, and this one here was too good to give up, so I registered the reef in your name—I'll give you the license when we get to the tent—and I pay a fellow called Whisky Jim an ounce a day to work at it to keep it from being 'jumped.' There's several other reefs been found since, and there'll be a set of stampers up in a month or two, so's we can crush the stone. and then we'll put a whole gang at work. If the reef's half what I think it is, it's dirt cheap at three times thirty thousand pounds."

Inglefield gasped. Ninety thousand pounds, and this claim was in his name, in fact was his property. It is true Hogan considered himself a partner, but supposing he quarreled with Hogan, supposing he wished to sell and Hogan didn't, there was nothing to prevent him from doing as he pleased. The claim was his absolutely, and Hogan would have no voice in the matter at all. These thoughts passed through his mind like a flash, and even then his scheming brain was busy devising an act of selfish treachery against the humble, generous-hearted man whose toil had placed wealth within his reach. He was aroused from his thoughts by Hogan.

"Come with me to the tent," he said. "I'll just change my clothes, and then I'll show you something I value even more than the claims."

"What on earth can this be?" thought Inglefield. "By the way, Dick," he asked, as they talked on, "who is that remarkably pretty little woman in the shanty over there on the slope?"

"I was just going to take you down to introduce you," said Hogan, with a mysterious smile.

"I was never so surprised in my life," continued Inglefield; "one would never expect to find a woman of her stamp in this infernal desert."

"No, that's a fact," said Hogan; "and she's just as innocent as she is pretty, though she does keep a hotel; and I'll tell you what, my boy,—I may as well tell you now, since you've seen her—I'm the luckiest man in these diggings in more ways than one. She's promised to be my wife. Congratulate me."

Inglefield uttered some stereotyped phrases with an affectation of warmth, but in his heart he was thinking, "What on earth can that woman see in this uncouth old chap?" Suddenly he remembered the claim. "Ah! ah!" he said to himself; "I have it. It's the claim the little damsel with the violet eyes is in love with, not the man. I wonder what she will say when she finds that I hold the certificate?" And with thoughts like these in his mind he walked with Hogan up the creek to the hotel.

It was soon noticed by the miners of Three-Mile Bend that Hogan's partner was not a worker. He lounged about Queenie's all day long, drank wine, and laughed and talked with the pretty proprietress from sun-up to sun-down. When Whistling Pete, with mild sarcasm, remarked to Hogan that he better keep a watch on his partner, or he would "be killin' hisself with work," the latter replied, somewhat warmly, "That's all right. The boy's no worker, and couldn't work if he tried. He's city bred, and never did anything in his life. But I've known him two years now, and he did what was right by me; he taught me to read and write, and in fact all I know. Work's pleasure to me, and it ain't to him, and if he don't like to work, it's nobody's business but his own. I'm his partner, and I'm satisfied, and I reckon everybody else may as well be."

As for Queenie, she was delighted with Hogan's partner. He knew all the latest gossip from the great Southern cities; his manner was easy and well bred, and he had a way of making himself agreeable that seemed perfectly delightful, after the rude *gaucheries* of the diggers. And Inglefield found in Queenie a woman with a thorough knowledge of the world; a woman of ready and cultivated wit, to whom it was a pleasure to talk, and he saw that his stay in Three-Mile Bend bade fair to be one of the most interesting episodes in his life, instead of a period of dreary *ennui* as he had expected it would be.

During the day the miners were at work, and little or no trade was done at the bar. Queenie had formerly been in the habit of whiling away the time in sewing or some other feminine occupation, but now she closed the place and took long rides with Inglefield along the creek and in the wooded valleys of the ranges. And the trustful Hogan, in his ignorance of the ways of the world, saw these things with an approving eye, and said—

"That's right, my boy; it must be lonely for her up there alone these long days, and you're just the chap to talk to her and amuse her." A hint from any one as to the possibility of treachery on the part of his

friend would have been taken by him as a personal insult, and he would as soon have doubted his existence as Queenie's faith. And so these daily rides continued, while Hogan went about his work in blissful fatuity, happier each succeeding evening in that he was one day nearer his wedding day.

Inglefield, as a man about town in the great southern cities, had had his little *affaires du coeur* by the dozen, but steeled, as he fancied he was, against the arrows of the blind god, he found his pulses stirred by this woman as they had never been before. There was an indefinable personal charm about her and a witchery in her deep violet eyes that enthralled him. One afternoon as they were returning from the daily ride he reined in his steed, turned towards her, and said, abruptly,—

"Alice,"—he called her by her true name, which no one else, not even Hogan himself, had learned,—"Alice, I love you." She raised her great liquid eyes to his; the glamor of her beauty was upon him, and he bent forward in his saddle and kissed her on the lips.

"Really, Mr. Inglefield," she said, with calm composure, "you are quite histrionic. What would Mr. Hogan think of the partner in whom he places such implicit faith had he witnessed this little scene?"

"But, Alice," he said, "do you really intend to marry that clod?"

"Certainly I do," she replied. "Do you think I wish to spend my entire existence in this Sahara?"

"But at any rate you cannot possibly care anything for him; he is old enough to be your father."

"You forget that his claim is worth ever so many thousand pounds," she said, with a cynical little smile.

"You are mistaken," he said, laconically.

"How so?" she asked, in some surprise.

By way of reply he drew forth a paper, which he handed to her to read. It was a miner's license giving him the right to work a certain claim known as "Eureka Reef."

"What does this mean?" she inquired.

"It means," he answered in a triumphant tone, "that the claim is mine. It appears that Hogan was not allowed by the mining laws to hold two claims, so he registered the Eureka Reef in my name. The claim is mine absolutely, and I have made up my mind to sell it and get out of this infernal desert."

Her face grew pale as marble. So, after all, her scheme had fallen through, and her dream of wealth which she had thought so near realization, had vanished. She spurred her horse ahead that he might not see her bitter disappointment, but he caught up to her and placed his hand upon her rein.

"Alice," he said, "listen to me. You must have made money since you have been here. I have four thousand pounds which Hogan has already placed to my credit at the bank, and I can raise thirty thousand, perhaps more, on the claim tomorrow. This sum will enable us to begin life afresh in London or Paris, where we have the advantage of being unknown. Let us not inquire into the past, which perhaps in either case will not bear rigid investigation. I have already told you that I love you. Come with me." She heard him out in silence. Hardened woman of the world though she was, such a piece of cold-blooded villainy as this infamous proposition to rob the confiding Hogan of wife and fortune at one stroke made her

shudder. But she could not allow any feelings of compunction to thwart her ambition; she was determined to attain that at any cost.

This handsome scoundrel was not indifferent to her, and he really owned the claim, while for the simple miner to whom she had plighted her faith she did not care one jot. She looked up into Inglefield's face. "Let us leave this frightful place as soon as possible," she murmured.

"To-day is Monday," he said, 'I will go down to the bank and obtain an advance on the claim in the morning, and we can leave in the afternoon when the miners are at work. This will give us ample time to catch the coach at Dead Man's Gulch."

"But do you know the way?" she asked. "I have heard that it is considered a very dangerous ride for those who are not familiar with the country."

"Bah!" he said. "It is a mere bagatelle. The first twenty miles are in the ranges, the track is rough, but well defined. Then comes a stretch of seventy-five miles of sandy plain, which is monotonous but entirely free from danger. We have only to ride straight ahead. There is a water-hole half-way across; it is barely a month since I made the journey, and I know the landmarks well."

That evening she went about her business as usual, and Hogan thought she had never looked so bright and pretty. She laughed and chatted with him with more than ordinary vivacity. She felt no qualms of conscience at the blight she was about to bring upon this man's happiness; perhaps, if the truth were known, it was not the first time she had done this thing.

In the morning, Inglefield went down to the bank, and asked the manager point-blank what he was prepared to offer for the claim. "I have already offered Mr. Hogan thirty thousand pounds for it," said the official, "and I am prepared to stand by the bid."

"But Mr. Hogan has nothing to do with it," said Inglefield. "The claim is mine and is registered in my name."

"Yes, I am aware of that," said the manager; "but you are partners, are you not?"

"That may be," replied Inglefield, coolly; "but the fact remains that this claim is mine, and I wish to sell it."

"I should not care to act in the matter," said the man of business, "without consulting Mr. Hogan."

"Very well," said Inglefield, "I'll bid you good morning; with such a property I need not hunt for a purchaser."

Now, the manager was perfectly well aware of the great value of the reef; he knew that it was a bargain at twice the sum he had offered. The claim was indubitably Inglefield's, and though he knew that in selling it Inglefield was guilty of the basest ingratitude towards Hogan, he could not allow ethics to stand in the way of business.

"I'll repeat the original offer," he said, as Inglefield turned towards the door.

"I want fifty thousand pounds," said Inglefield.

"I cannot increase my advance," said the manager. Though after half an hour's discussion he did increase it by five thousand pounds, for he was as anxious to secure the property as Inglefield was to sell it. At this price the bargain was made, and Inglefield having signed the necessary transfer papers left the agency with a sight draft on Sydney for that amount, together with his credit balance in his pocket.

At three o'clock that afternoon two sturdy little pack-horses stood in front of Queenie's fully equipped for the journey to Dead Man's Gulch. Inglefield strode up and down the veranda waiting impatiently for Queenie. She came forth looking very lovely in a short dark blue habit. In her hand she held a huge nugget of gold,—Hogan's last gift. "We may as well take this," she said, handing it to Inglefield, who placed it in a pouch at his belt. "I think that is all," she added, "except my money; I have over two thousand pounds in the bank."

"Oh, that's all right," he said, hurriedly. "We can draw against that in Sydney." He was about to lift her in the saddle when the tall form of Whistling Pete appeared on the scene. Whistling Pete, having had a run of bad luck, had given up work for the day several hours earlier than usual, and was coming up to Queenie's to drown his disgust in a "nobbler" or two of whisky.

"Afternoon, miss," he said.

"Good afternoon, Mr. Pete," replied Queenie, without the slightest trace of discomposure. "You came just in time to do me a favor. Mr. Inglefield and I are going for a rather longer ride than usual, and I should be much obliged if you would attend to the bar in my absence. In case we are not back by the time Mr. Hogan comes up, you might tell him—— But stay, I'll write him a little note. I'll not be a moment," she said, turning to Inglefield. She went into her room at the back of the bar, and wrote a few lines. "There," she said, with one of her sweetest smiles, "if you will give that to Mr. Hogan for me it will explain my absence."

"I wrote the note for a purpose," she said, in reply to an inquiry Inglefield made as to its necessity as they rode away. "He will not feel inclined to follow us after he has read it."

Whistling Pete gazed after them until a turn in the track hid them from view. "I reckon you are going for a ride, an' a mighty long ride, too," he muttered,—his quick eye had noticed the water-bottles and bags of corn at the saddle-bows.—"an' if I tend the bar till ye return I reckon this yere claim's mine ontirely."

Whistling Pete was not troubled by any punctilious scruples. As soon as they were out of sight he opened the note and spread it out flat upon the bar. Unfortunately, however, his early education had been neglected. He could read the label on a bottle with remarkable facility, but he might as well have tried to decipher a transcript from an Egyptian obelisk as the fine Italian hand in which Queenie's note was written. At sun-down, when the miners returned from work, they found Whistling Pete behind the bar rearranging the bottles on the shelves with a proprietary air.

"Read that," he said, handing the note to Whisky Jim. "Read her out aloud."

Whisky Jim took the note, and, assuming a tragic manner, read as follows:

"Dear Mr. Hogan:—In accepting your generous offer of marriage I fear I allowed myself to construe mere sentiments of a warm regard into the promptings of affection, for I have lately learned that that undivided love, without which no union can be truly happy, is not mine to give you. Believe me, I am sincerely sorry, for I esteem you very highly. But we cannot control the dictates of our hearts; and since that love which I had thought was yours

has been won by another, I feel sure you will not be unwilling to terminate our engagement. I deemed it best to write, as being less painful to both of us than a personal explanation.

"We leave for the coast on the Saturday coach.

"Wishing you every happiness and prosperity in all your undertakings, I am, Yours sincerely,

"QUEENIE."

"I knowed it!" shouted Whistling Pete, striking the counter with his clinched fist till the glasses rang again. "She's bolted. I knowed it when I seen 'em this afternoon. An' consequentually, bein' as she has bolted, I hereby proceed to jump this yere claim. Drink up, boys, it's my shout this time."

The close intimacy existing between Inglefield and Queenie had been the subject of general comment. No one was much surprised at her flight, but every one was curious to see what effect it would have upon Hogan. It was growing dark when they saw him coming along the flat, a little ahead of his usual time. He had not felt well that day. That alarming sensation of constriction about the chest, attacks of which had been rather frequent of late, had affected him all morning, and he had left off work earlier than usual. He called at the bank on his way to Queenie's to deposit the result of the past two days' labor. "There seems to be no end to my luck," he said to the manager, in a cheery voice, as that official weighed the gold. "I struck another reef to-day, and in my original claim, too. I want to see you some time during the week. I'm thinking of floating the two claims into a company; but I must talk to my partner first and see what he thinks of it."

"Your partner was in here this morning, Mr. Hogan," said the manager, "and he sold the Eureka claim to me."

Hogan could scarcely believe his ears. "Sold the Eureka claim?" he repeated slowly, as though he had not heard aright.

"Yes, and he seemed anxious to sell, too. The claim was registered in his name; and business is business, you know, Mr. Hogan," said the manager with an apologetic air.

"What did you advance on the claim?" asked the miner in an agitated voice.

"Thirty-five thousand pounds."

"Thirty-five thousand pounds! and in six months it will be worth a hundred thousand."

For the first time in his life Hogan's heart was filled with anger. He was deeply hurt that his friend should have taken it upon himself to sell the reef without asking his opinion. He had discovered and developed it, and knew its value; and now the claim, which would have made a fortune for both of them, had been foolishly sold for a third of its value. He had left the bank abruptly and walked up to the hotel, filled with feelings of just resentment at the folly of his friend. As yet no thought of treachery crossed his mind.

Whistling Pete was officiating behind the bar. Hogan saw nothing extraordinary in this, as Queenie frequently asked this man to assist her, much to his own satisfaction, as his services were paid in kind. Nor did he notice the sudden silence that fell upon the crowd when he entered, or observe the curious looks with which they regarded him. "Where's my partner?" he asked, in evident perturbation.

"He went out ridin', as usual, with

Miss Queenie this afternoon," said Whistling Pete.

"I want to see him as soon as he comes back; he's sold my claim—our claim; leastways, it was in his name. I had to take it in his name, but the claim was mine; though, being my partner, of course he had a half-share," Hogan blurted out in his agitation.

"Sold the Eureka claim?" asked a dozen curious voices.

"Yes, and for less than half its value."

Whistling Pete gave utterance to the long low whistle that had earned him his sobriquet. "I'm sorry for ye, Mr. Hogan," he said, with a ring of pity in his rough voice, "but brace yerself like a man, for I'm afeard there's worse news for ye;" and he handed him Queenie's note. Hogan opened it without the least suspicion of the blow that was to fall. At first he did not seem to fully comprehend the import of those hypocritical sentences, but as the heartless treachery of the faithless pair dawned upon him in all its naked truth, an ashen hue overspread his tanned and weather-beaten cheek, and all the light and life seemed crushed out of his being at a blow. The scene about him grew blurred and indistinct, a rushing noise surged within his brain, his lips moved but they uttered no sound. A frightful feeling of suffocation oppressed him; he placed his hand on his heart and swayed to and fro like a drunken man. With a mighty effort he recovered himself. These men should not see his agony and mock at his misery and shame. He crushed the note in his hand, turned his pale face upon the company with a ghastly smile, and then walked slowly but firmly out of the place.

"He didn't seem to take it much to heart," said Big Mike, with a grin. "If it had been me, now, I'd ha' got my horse an' rode after them, an' had a word or two to say to that young whipper-snapper of a pardner o' his'n."

"Takes it quieter than I expected," said several other miners.

"*Curae leves . liquuntur ingentes stupent,*" quoted the drunk-sodden ex-Oxonian known as Whisky Jim.

"You're right, Jim," added Whistling Pete, who had caught the sound of the last syllables. "The gent is stoopid,—knocked completely stoopid."

And then the crowd adjourned to the bar to discuss the affair in detail over their drink. Meanwhile, Hogan walked towards his tent like a man in a dream. He lifted the flap and stepped inside. Mechanically he lighted his lamp, and stood for some minutes in the centre of the floor, passing his hand across his vacant eyes as though trying to recall something he had forgotten. Then he read the note again. Its cold tone cut him to the heart. How could she have done this shameful thing, —she whom he had believed to be so childlike and innocent, and on whose faith and purity he would have staked his very soul? And his partner, too, the man he had befriended and enriched, the man he had loved as a brother, how could he be guilty of such a double-dyed treachery? He groaned in his agony of spirit. But now mingling with his keen mental anguish there came a sharper physical pain. Another of those spasms from which he had suffered at intervals during the past year came over him. His heart felt as though it were being crushed in the grip of a vise. He gasped for breath like a drowning man, beating the air with clinched hands, and then, uttering a loud cry, he fell for-

ward with arms outstretched upon the floor.

VI.

Night falls in the ranges as a man and woman pick their cautious way, on horseback, over the stony mountain track. In the recesses of a gloomy defile they hear the clatter of approaching hoofs, and a voice hails them in the darkness, "How far to Three-Mile Bend?" They cannot see the solitary horseman, but the sound of his voice agitates the woman strangely. She involuntarily spurs her horse ahead as her companion shouts in reply, "Fifteen miles, and deuced rough at that." They continue their way through narrow gorges and rocky plateaux, trusting to the instinct of their steeds, for they cannot see the track. At last they descend and reach the plain. A strip of sandy desert seventy-five miles in width lies between them and the next range in which their destination lies. But it is nothing. Did they not both cross this same strip before when they came to Three-Mile Bend? It was a safe enough journey then; they simply rode straight ahead. They do not know that this narrow strip is but the corner of a vast barren tract that extends miles upon miles to the westward; they forget that when they crossed this strip before they were under the leadership of men who knew the country; they forget that these shifting sands are constantly obliterating old landmarks and forming new ones; or, if they think of these things they heed them not. They have but just time to catch the coastwise coach at Dead-Man's Gulch. Their horses are still fresh, and they themselves feel no fatigue. They decide to ride on in the cool night time; it will be better to halt during the heat of the day at One-Tree Water-Hole, which is something less than halfway across. And so with the confidence born of ignorance of the perils of the bush they ride blindly onward in the darkness.

Several hours before sunrise they halt, though they have not yet reached One-Tree Water-Hole. They have traveled many miles since starting, and the horses are now in need of rest. So they hobble the hardy animals, give them a feed of corn, and lie down themselves to snatch a brief repose while the air is yet cool. When they awake the sun is high in the heavens. There is nothing in sight but an undulating sea of sand. They look for the track. Fatuous fools, to expect to find a track in the ever-changing surface of that sandy waste.

As yet they feel no alarm. Why should they? The strip is barely seventy-five miles wide. They have only to ride straight ahead, as they did on the journey out, and they are bound to reach the water-hole, or sight the other range in an hour or two at the least. But sundown finds them in the centre of an unbroken circle of earth and sky. They camp for the night with feelings of chagrin rather than of alarm. They must reach Dead-Man's Gulch by Friday night or they will miss the coach. This thought, and not the idea of their danger, is uppermost in their minds.

At sunrise they start again. The horses have had no water for nearly forty hours, and are beginning to show signs of distress. But they must push forward. About noon the weary horses prick up their ears, sniff the air joyously, and break into a canter. A thin line of brush appears ahead, and beyond something gleams in the sand like a sheet of glass.

"Hurrah!" shouts the man. "The water-hole at last."

The horses race madly towards the water, and the pool is soon reached. To their surprise the animals instead of drinking deeply merely dip their noses into the water and turn away. The man dismounts and kneels down in the sand to take a drink himself.

"Good God! the water is as salt as brine." It is not One-Tree Water-Hole after all, but one of those salt lagoons so common in the Australian desert.

The woman grows deathly pale trembles violently. She is the first to realize their perilous position. The man, tries to reassure her though his own confidence has left him. But they have no time to dally, there is only a quart of water left in the canvas bottles. They have evidently gone too far to the westward. If they now ride eastward they will doubtless make the hills, though too late for the coach. But sundown again finds them in the centre of an unbroken circle. They halt near a huge hummock of drifted sand. The horses are dead beat and can go no farther. They lie down, making piteous noises, and the woman sees that they will never rise again. The travelers sleep through the night in spite of the black outlook before them. When day breaks their prospects are still gloomier; both the horses are dead. They have but a pint of water between them now, but as a forlorn hope they set out on foot to the eastward in the hope of yet making the hills. On, on they go in the blinding glare until the woman is ready to faint with heat and fatigue. Long before noon the last drop of water is gone, and still the same unbroken circle surrounds them on every side.

Another hummock of sand looms up ahead, and they hasten their faltering steps to gain a moment's respite from the oven-like heat in its friendly shade. What are those dark objects in the sand beyond? They strain their eyes. The woman utters a shriek of horror. She recognizes the bodies of their horses. They have returned to the starting-point of the morning. They have been traveling in a circle. They are "bushed."

The woman flings herself upon the man's breast and clasps his neck in a frenzy of terror, and then sinks helplessly down in the shadow of the hummock. All hope is gone now. She clasps her knees with her hands and bows her head. Her long hair falls about her shoulders as she rocks herself to and fro in the very abandonment of despair. And the burning sun shines pitilessly on, and the brown and barren waste smokes with the heat, and a silence as of death broods over the desert. Throughtout that blazing afternoon and calm, starlit night they sit there motionless and silent—words are useless now—and await the end.

Yet another day breaks,—a day of mental and physical torture. During the burning hours that seem unending they lie panting in the small area of shade, their bodies racked by the agonies of thirst. The cool air of evening brings no relief; wild-eyed and haggard, they pass another night in sleepless horror. They dread the torments of the coming day. Once more morning dawns upon the desert and finds them both alive. All that day the woman leans helplessly back against the hummock of sand. Her strength is spent; her tongue cleaves to her palate, and she cannot speak. She sits with eyes fixed upon the hazy horizon in hopeless vacancy. The sun is yet high in the heavens when she turns feebly to-

wards the man; a look of piteous agony is in her haggard eyes; she clutches his hand convulsively, and with a faint gurgling moan leans back in his arms to die. The man, too, suffers frightfully, but his stronger organization dooms him to agonies more prolonged. He lays the dead body down, and rising to his feet shades his eyes with his hands, and scans the wide circumference for some faint sign of hope. Poor wretch! The shipwrecked sailor adrift on the pathless ocean has a better chance of rescue than he. He gazes hopelessly at the huge coppery disk of the setting sun as it slowly sinks below the level of the plain. He knows that he will never see it set again. Darkness deepens over the wide expanse, and the man flings himself face downward upon the earth and prays for death until fitful slumber steals over his wearied senses. Throughout the night he tosses and turns in his troubled sleep, oppressed with a hideous nightmare. Grim goblin forms—creatures of his fevered brain—hover about his sandy pillow, and menace and mock and taunt with frightful gestures. An hour before sunrise he awakes from the ghastly phantasm with a shuddering shriek, and awaits in dumb despair the dawning of his last day of life. Anon the sun leaps above the edge of the desert and the day begins. Higher and higher mounts the blazing orb; hotter and hotter grows the air. The man lies gasping in the sand like a hunted animal, and his swollen tongue vainly licks his dry and blackened lips for relief from the torment of thirst. But lo! a gentle breeze arises, and a tiny cloud appears in the west. A mighty wave of hope surges up in the heart of the man. The breeze and the cloud may bring rain, and if they should he has yet a chance for life. He kneels down in the powdery sand, his hands uplifted in an agony of supplication. But alas for his hopes; the fitful breeze dies down, the cloud of promise fades away. He shakes his clinched fist at the brazen sky, and curses his Maker and the mother that bore him in his torment. He feels for his revolver; it is not there. Instead his hands encounter a wallet which contains a huge nugget of gold. He flings it from him. Curses on the gold, the glittering dross cannot purchase a drop of water to assuage his burning thirst. He sits down beside the dead in a semi-stupor; he takes the cold hand in his, and tenderly strokes the long yellow tresses. Low mutterings escape his parched lips; the light of a merciful madness is in his eyes.

"Ha! ha! ha!" he laughs; "won't they be surprised to see us? Scapegrace Charlie they used to call me; but now we have thousands, they'll welcome us. What a joke it is! Hurrah for the magic power of gold, gold, gold! Who says it is not ours? It *is* ours; it is mine; the claim is mine, and we shall have horses and carriages, and a villa at Toorak; and I tell you we'll live a right royal life." And then his delirious fancy takes another turn. He is in Melbourne surrounded by a jovial crowd of boon companions. "Fill up, boys, it's my shout! Here, waiter, bring us champagne; we'll have a night of it, for I've got the dust. See here! isn't that a beauty? That nugget weighs three pounds if it's an ounce, and I know where there's lots of them—lots of them. There's thousands—millions in my claim. You've only to scratch the soil and nuggets are there for the gathering. And there's quartz too in the ranges. But drink up, fellows, your glasses are empty; let us make a jolly night of it." And

the poor wretch seizes an imaginary bottle and pours out a barmacidal bumper, and goes through the motion of drinking with an air of ghastly hilarity. 'Tis but the beginning of the end. These wild ravings soon die away into disconnected mutterings, and finally cease. The sitting posture becomes a recumbent one; the breath comes in stertorous gasps; the lack-lustre eyes gaze upward to the sky with a filmy stare, and soon Silence and Death reign over all.

And the ghoulish beetle bids his comrades to the feast ere it is too late. For the rains will come and the flesh will wither and rot away and nothing will remain but a heap of whitened bones to mark another episode of the bush.

* * * * * * *

Shortly after sunrise on the morning after Queenie's flight a solitary horseman rode into Three-Mile Bend. In front of a large shanty, above the door of which he read "Queen of the Ranges Hotel," a crowd of men were standing. He addressed himself to them. "Can any of you tell me," he said, after the usual salutations had been exchanged, "If there is a woman in this camp of the name of Hillington—Alice Hillington?"

"No, there's no Hillington. There's a Hilton, wife of Tom Hilton as keeps the 'Miners' Rest' up the creek," said a man who appeared to be a leader in the party, and whom the others called Pete.

The new-comer's face fell. "Stop a bit. What an ass I am! Of course she would change her name," he said; "but perhaps this will help you. Here's her photograph."

"Why, it's Queenie!" said the man called Pete. "Is she anythin' to *you*, stranger?" he asked, in a curious voice.

"She's my wife," said the new-comer laconically.

"Sorry for you, then," replied the man called Pete. "She bolted last night with a young feller by name o' Inglefield, an' she bein' engaged to Dick Hogan, the luckiest cuss in the diggins,' too."

"Then, by G—d, I passed them both last night not twenty miles from here. It was dark and I could not see her features," said the stranger, with a furious oath.

"Well, that *is* kinder rilin'," said the man called Pete, with a sympathetic inflection.

"I should think so," the young man said, hotly. "Listen. When I knew that woman first she was an actress in New Zealand. I was a lawyer in good practice in Dunedin, but she bewitched me—curse her!—with her innocent face and siren beauty, and I married her. She nearly ruined me in a year with her extravagances; and then, when I lay sick with brain fever, she ran away with a squatter from Otago. When I recovered I could find no clue to her whereabouts, though I afterwards met and shot the squatter. But that's neither here nor there. At last, however, I traced her to Sydney, where I learned she had kept a bar in the Metropole. They told me there that she had gone to the diggings on the Roper, and I followed her here only to miss her."

"An' ye can't catch them now," said the man called Pete. "Yer hoss is dead lame, an' they'll catch the Saturday mornin' coach, an' there ain't another for a fortnit." Then the man called Pete proceeded to tell Queenie's doings in the camp with such fanciful exaggerations as his exuberant imagination suggested.

"It's rather hard on this poor devil Hogan, if he was as 'gone' on her as you say," said Hillington when the miner called Pete had finished. "But he'll thank his stars things have

turned out as they have when he learns what she is. She would have made ducks and drakes of his money in no time. Where's his tent? He's probably feeling sore over it, and I'll go and ease his mind a bit."

"It's away round the bend, furthest tent on the flat, a mile from the edge o' the camp," said the man called Pete.

Having received these directions, Hillington turned his horse's head and rode slowly down the creek. When he rounded the bend he saw the solitary tent on the flat. He reached it, dismounted, raised the flap, and looked in. A man with his arms outstretched lay prone upon the floor, and Hillington saw that he was dead. He raised the corpse and laid it on the narrow pallet, and took the siren's note from its stiffened fingers. "Poor old chap," he said, compassionately, as he looked down at the rugged features, on which a look of agony still lingered. "Poor old chap. Well, it's an ill wind that blows no one any good; and if she killed you, your death has brought wealth to me." And he went out and jumped the dead man's claim.

R. MONCKTON DENE.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA.

The first volumes of "The History of North America," under the editorship-in-chief of Dr. Guy Carlton Lee. of Johns Hopkins and Columbia Universities, have issued from the press of Messrs. George Barrie & Sons, of Philadelphia. We are now in a position to form a just estimate of the literary and historical value of this history, whose advent has been a matter of widespread interest in literary and educational circles. A comprehensive and complete history on these lines had been promised, but in view of the wide scope of the undertaking curiosity regarding this work was unusually great.

We are not called upon to draw a comparison as to its style and method with any other history of America. We need not name the works that come under this heading; the titles will at once suggest themselves to the minds of our readers; but we will say that within their scope these works are of the highest value and the nation is deeply indebted to the authors for their excellence.

"The History of North America" takes a field of its own; it has no predecessors; but though we may venture to hope that it will have successors, its claim cannot be superseded or its value impaired. In looking over the titles of the twenty volumes, we find little room for criticism as to their subjects, only wonderment that so comprehensive a scheme did not appall its projectors. We are most of us accustomed to bound our backward view as to the history of North America at the landing of the Pilgrims; and this event, moreover, together with the events that immediately followed it in New England and the South, is regarded by the majority of readers rather as an interesting and sentimental episode than a period of stirring activity full of historical value and as a true formative period from which should develop and spring into life that social vigor and independent spirit to which the world owes the existence of the nation whose career stands out so conspicuously among modern nations; but even this boundary is probably too extensive for the general estimate of the historic period which seems sentimentally to be fixed at the Revolution. It would perhaps be considered a bold statement to make that the most important part of the history of North America antedates that

period, yet it is perhaps true; that event, great as it is in the outward and legal expression of national existence, was rather the physical manifestation or symptom of a deep-seated condition. The Revolution is therefore but an incident in the history of North America, and when we read the volumes now before us we in part realize how considerable is its history long before the period in question.

We are reminded that the treatment of history according to modern ideas is something more than a record of great national events or of the remarkable acts of eminent persons, as also it is something more than the prolix narratives of the annalists or the romantic episodes which pertained to periods; all these matters are excellent in their way; but the historian should possess, above all, the analytic spirit and a judicial sense, as the history of modern times must be based on broad lines if it is to be regarded as of much value beyond that of a mere chronicle. The period and events of greatest importance must be viewed in relation to the many-sided events that are their causative forces. The development of society, traced through the influence of external policies, race tendencies, religious sentiments, physical conditions, and numberless other influences, must be of the body of history; indeed, they are of prime importance. Hence, histories that are limited to the consideration of particular events, localities, or periods cannot transcend their straitened boundaries; their purview precludes the examination and even the consideration of the situation that is comprised in anterior events, as also that which results from those earlier happenings. It may seem paradoxical, but it may be illustrated by comparing it to a view looked at by a spectator from the large end of a telescope. Having in mind the conception we have indicated of the requirements of a general history, we would measure by this the standard of "The History of North America," so far as the four volumes that have appeared and the summarized statement of the contents of the sixteen volumes which are to follow will permit. We said that we were impressed with wonderment that so comprehensive a scheme did not appall its projectors, nor were we without misgivings as to the possibility of the satisfactory carrying out of the plan outlined in the prospectus of the history. It seemed that such a series must inevitably be but a multiplication of a number of just such histories as we possess already; to be sure, with new matter probably, and with new methods and styles. The wisdom of the plan of the history is amply justified by the progress made and the subject matter, scope, and method of the volumes that have left the press. The publishers have wisely given an insight into the method of procedure adopted to secure the treatment of the various divisions on the broadest and most critical lines; we have before us a facsimile reproduction of the opinions of the members of the board of advisers on inclusion and exclusion, which shows the exacting care exercised by the editorial corps in the establishment of authentic, though full, data for the work. Thus not only is the research of the individual author substantiated and supplemented by that large body of historians, but also the use of data of relatively small importance or perhaps insufficiently established has been guarded against, so providing not accurate merely, but accurate and important material. In a like way we find boards of special advisers on colonial, military, and naval affairs, thus ensuring accuracy as to admin-

istrative details. Although such provision may appear to be of the first importance in the execution of a work of this description, it is not less noteworthy that it has been carried out in the present instance. In fulfilment of the promise made in respect of "The History of North America," the same care is evidenced in respect of the editorial department, which consists of a large body of men whose names are familiar in every section of this country and in Canada.

We cannot doubt that the same standard of excellence reached in the four volumes already issued will be maintained throughout the series. The same regulations and spirit should result in equally valuable work, and the unity of the plan will be assured. The selection of Dr. Lee as editor-in-chief is a happy one—himself a man of high scholarly attainment and a historical expert, he enjoys the confidence and has been able to secure the co-operation of men whose collaboration must command entire trust and secure for "The History of North America" a foremost place in the world of literature.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The United States: A History of Three Centuries. 1607-1904. Population, Politics, War, Industry, Civilization. By William Estabrook Chancellor and Fletcher Willis Hewes. In ten parts. Part I., Colonization, 1607-1697. New York: G. P. Putnams Sons. Pp. 533.

A complete history of the United States is really a desideratum at the present day, when our country is taking so prominent a position in world history, and the spirit of Americanism is attracting the attention of all the civilized nations. There is at present no continuous history of marked importance, which covers the entire period of its three centuries of existence, none that contemplates its development in all the different phases of industry, commerce, civilization, education, literature, religion, politics, social life, expansion and war. There is, therefore, ample reason for the appearance of the present work, and the present time is most auspicious for its appearance.

The fundamental plan of this history is to trace the evolution of all our distinctive national qualities and industries, "the varied causes that led to what may be called the final Americanizing of the varied national elements from which were made up the people of the American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf." This plan is kept constantly in view, hence the *philosophy* of history is prominent as an element in the treatment of the subject-matter, and constitutes its most attractive feature.

The authors are particularly fitted for the production of a work of this character. Mr. Chancellor, who wrote the main part of the narrative, has been for many years a student of American history, and has had a wide experience as a teacher and successful lecturer. His style is vigorous and dramatic, his descriptions are picturesque, and his characterization of the great men who largely made American history what it is is discriminating and critical. Mr. Hewes has for many years been recognized as the leading authority in the domain of statistical and economic history, which is his part of the work. This part is, indeed, a distinctive contribution to American history, not obtainable elsewhere, and adds an element of exceptional value and novel interest to the work, which appeals to the practical business man as well as the special student, but which will be of infinite value to the younger generation in its future development.

The work will be completed in ten parts (each part a separate volume, complete in itself), comprising:

Part I. Colonization. 1607-1697.

Part 2. Colonial Union. 1698-1774.

Part 3. Revolution and Constitution. 1775-1788.

Part 4. The Early Republic. 1789-1821.

Part 5. Industrial Awakening. 1822-1845.

Part 6. The Great Debate. 1846-1860.

Part 7. Civil War and Reconstruction. 1861-1869.

Part 8. The New North and the New South. 1870-1885.

Part 9. Economic Crises. 1886-1897.
Part 10. A World Power. 1898-1904.

The first volume of the work, Part I., comprises the period of *Colonization*, 1607-1697, and is a record of the settlement of the twelve English colonies of the seventeenth century, preceded by a brief review of the period of discovery and settlement.

Each volume discusses its subject-matter from four different points of view, under four different heads or sections:

Population and Politics.
War and Conquest.
Industry.
Civilization.

In the present volume the first section opens with a dissertation on the expansion of Spain in the latter part of the fifteenth century, with an outline of the beginnings of New Spain; then follows an account of the rise of England as a sea power, the founding of Jamestown, and the Pilgrims at Plymouth; the beginnings of New Netherlands, of New Sweden, and of New France are similarly traced, as well as the appearance of the Quakers, and the settlement of the Carolinas.

The second section is devoted to the Indian wars, including, besides a number of minor wars, the Pequot, King Philip's and King William's.

The third section contains entertaining essays on early colonial agriculture, manufacture, ship-building, iron and steel, textile and minor manufactures, trade, transportation and finance.

The fourth section presents the state of religion, morality, education, literature and social life.

This first volume is illustrated with eighteen large maps and diagrams, and 132 smaller maps throughout the text. Many of the larger maps are of exceptional interest, and the diagrams (historical perspectives of civilization, industry, war and politics) are very useful and instructive. The smaller maps are a novel feature and serve a useful purpose.

The thoroughness of treatment, the comprehensiveness of plan, and the completeness of the historical picture are thus indicated. A single extract must suffice to illustrate the author's style:

"The region of the two Carolinas was first called Carolina in honor of the boy-king Charles IX. of France. The name continued until its renewal in honor of Charles II. of England. From the very beginning of the rule of the lords proprietors a north district, Albemarle, and a south district, Clarendon, had been recognized with separate governments. Already Carolina had been a battle-ground between France and Spain, as appeared earlier in this narrative. Here, had been the scene of the ill-fated experiments of Raleigh. Here, in the last decades of the seventeenth century, Old World feudalism battled with New World democracy. And here in the eighteenth century, was to be the struggle between the English and the Spanish. The name was to cover two diverse colonies, for North Carolina and South Carolina were to be more unlike than any other adjacent English colonies in America. Population in North Carolina tended to small towns, but that in South Carolina to one city. North Carolina received her settlers from the farming class, South Carolina from the commercial. The one developed small farms, the other great plantations. The one chiefly inland, the other chiefly upon the coast. North Carolina never had a great proportion of negro slaves; but even before 1700, South Carolina had more black than white people. " * * The destiny of South Carolina by this time was already indicated. It remained for the next two

hundred years to disclose that destiny, upon the vast and crowded stage of American history."

The great importance of this new history of our country to the young American is evident. To the army it is of particular value, since education (not only in technical military matters, but also in general information, especially a knowledge of our history and institutions), has been adopted as a principle by the authorities. The present work, together with the following, which had been planned with express reference to the requirements of post libraries, viz.: *American Men of Energy, Heroes of the Nations, Story of the Nations, Heroes of the Reformation, The Winning of the West* (Roosevelt), and *Civil War* (Ropes), can therefore be cordially and sincerely recommended for all libraries at military posts, official and personal. They will serve to foster patriotism in its highest sense. J. P. W.

History of Andrew Jackson. By Augustus C. Buell. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1904. Pp. 432 and 427. Price $4.00 per set.

Mr. Buell, in this work, has not only given us another entertaining life of a great American, in addition to his recent valuable "Life of Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy," but has also made a noteworthy contribution to American history. The spirit of the nation in the days of Jackson was intensely American, and Jackson was a typical American of his time. The author, by his devotion to his subject, has become imbued with the spirit, and has written his history in full accord therewith. Jackson has been a life study with him; from his seventh year on he has read everything relating to the great hero, and had found opportunities to have personal interviews with eminent men and women, who had passed their prime of life as friends and acquaintances of the great subject himself, so that the present work, besides being a history, is also filled with personal anecdotes and reminiscences of the great man and his prominent contemporaries.

After a brief account of Jackson's Irish ancestry (to which we may trace some of the hero's peculiarities, by the way) and of his childhood and youth (wherein are to be found the explanation of his self-reliance, energy and strength of character of later years), the author describes the life of the subject of his history, in all his various careers, as a frontier lawyer in Tennessee, as a representative and a senator, as a judge, planter and merchant, and finally as Governor and President. In all these portraits he is interesting, strong and self-reliant, and in his social and domestic life always lovable. His duels and quarrels add further interest, and the charm of the narrative is enhanced by his associations with the prominent men of the day: Burr, Jefferson, Benton, Francis P. Blair, and many others. His Indian campaigns and the defense of New Orleans mark him as a remarkably able military commander, and in the field of politics he was a great power.

Jackson was a natural hero, and the people worshipped him as such. In spite of all his peculiarities his character had the true ring of truth, sincerity and sterling worth, consequently he retained the affection of the people, as well as their admiration, and always had their sympathy.

The author has portrayed the man so faithfully that when the reader

closes the book, he really knows Jackson intimately, and whatever may be his political views, he admires, respects and honors the hero. The work is full of interest and fascination, a splendid portrayal of a great American, written in a truly American spirit, the Jackson spirit itself, as it has passed into history, and the volumes are very appropriately dedicated "To the Embodiment in Our Times of the Jacksonian Spirit, Theodore Roosevelt."

The interesting political and military events of the times are set forth in simple but effective language, and among these the most impressive are the Battle of New Orleans (especially the chapter on British Designs in Louisiana, which led to the battle and gave it its importance), and Nullification, which put off the Civil War for some twenty-eight years.

In regard to the former, a brief quotation is here given to illustrate the author's style and the interest attached to the narrative:

"The War Office minute embodying the order to General Pakenham 'to proceed to Plymouth and embark there for Lousiana to assume command of the forces operating for the reduction of that Province,' was dated November 14, 1814. The Peace Commission had then assembled at Ghent. * * *

"Twenty-two days after the date of Pakenhams' orders, the combined armament set sail for the coast of Louisiana. The fleet carried more than an army. The narrative of "The Subaltern and Captain Cooke," reputable officers of the Eighty-fifth and Forty-third Light Infantry respectively, tells us that there was on board the fleet 'a complete Civil Government staff, to be installed in place of the State Government of Louisiana at the moment of occupation. * * *

"Besides his general orders at Plymouth, Pakenham brought with him a proclamation approved by the Home Government or Colonial Office. This proclamation was to be published as soon as the British army should occupy New Orleans. * * *

"It denied the validity of the secret treaty by which Spain receded Louisiana to France in 1800. It denied Bonaparte's right to act for France in 1803. And finally it 'denounced the pretensions of the United States to sovereignty under the alleged purchase from Bonaparte.'"

The question of union or nullification, which came up in Jackson's second presidential campaign, is even more deeply interesting, and the charm of personal reminiscence is added in the author's account of the controversy with Calhoun.

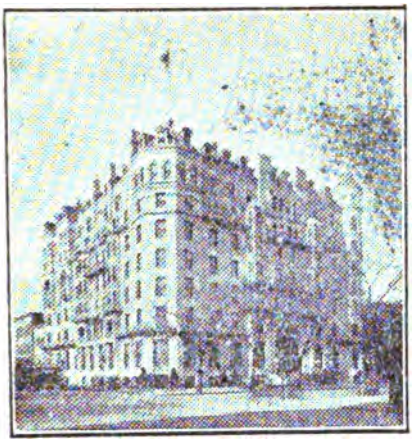
The work as a whole is a strong characterization of a very remarkable man, and deserves a high place as an historical production. It is well printed in large, clear type, on heavy paper and handsomely and substantially bound. Two excellent portraits of Jackson adorn the volumes as frontispieces. J. P. W.

There is a large number of "medical" preparations that the newspapers of the country have proven, by analysis and test, to be either valueless or else injurious. There are some exceptions; some of such pronounced merit that physicians indorse them, in spite of the average physician's aversion to indorsing an advertised remedy.

In this class may be placed Hydrozone and Glycozone. Although these preparations have been widely advertised, leading physicians concede their wonderful curative properties by prescribing them right along, with the most gratifying results, in the treatment of diseases caused by germs, such as sore throat, skin diseases, stomach dieases, etc.

JACOB KLINE, Brigadier-General U. S. Army (Retired).

Brigadier General United States Army; born in and appointed from Pennsylvania; First Lieutenant Sixteenth Infantry, Sept. 9, 1861; Captain, Sept. 30, 1864; transferred to Twenty-fifth Infantry, Sept. 21, 1866; transferred to Eighteenth Infantry, April 26, 1869; Major Twenty-fourth Infantry, Oct. 6, 1887; Lieutenant Colonel Ninth Infantry, March 23, 1892; Colonel Twenty-first Infantry, April 30, 1897; Brigadier General Volunteers, May 27, 1898; honorably discharged from Volunteers, March, 1899; brevetted Captain, April 7, 1862, for gallant and meritorious services in the battle of Shiloh, Tenn., and Major, Sept. 1, 1864, for gallant and meritorious services during the Atlanta campaign; retired as Brigadier General, 1904.



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